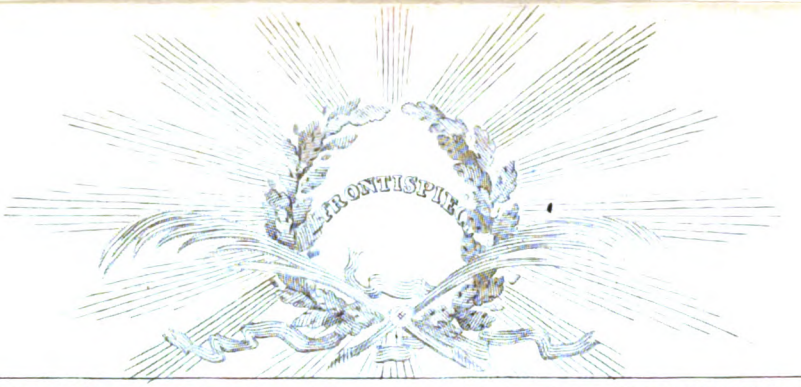
A full and circumstantial account of the memorable ...

Christopher Kelly



Britannia attended by British & Prussian Officers. Victory decending and placing the laurel on the brows of WELLINGTON, while Europe is presenting badges of Honour to the Military HEROES of WATERLOO.

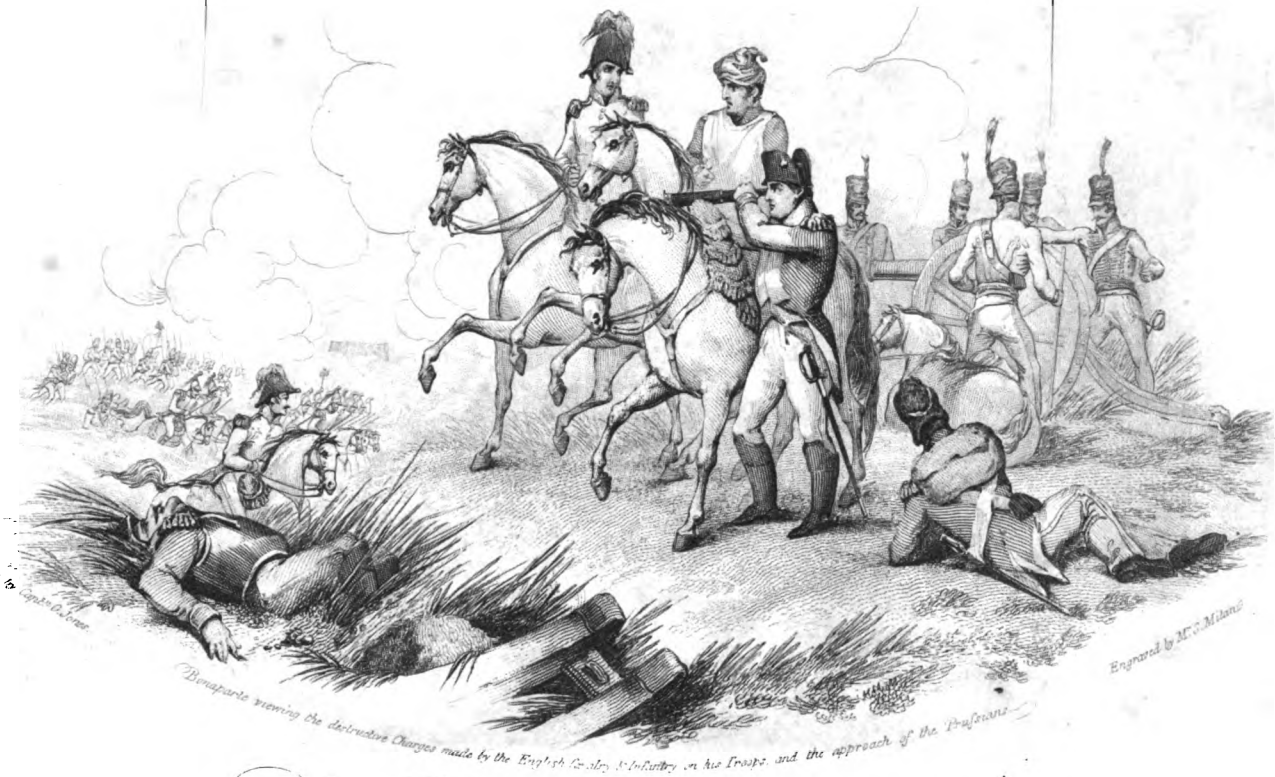
London Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row August 28 1816.

The Memorable Battle of Waterloo, &c. &c.

By

Christopher Kelly, Esqr.

Elizabeth Kelly



Bonaparte viewing the destructive Charges made by the English Cavalry & Infantry on his Troops, and the approach of the Prussians

London

Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row, April 26, 1817.

A

FULL AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

MEMORABLE

BATTLE OF WATERLOO:

THE SECOND RESTORATION OF

LOUIS XVIII;

AND THE

Deportation of Napoleon Buonaparte

TO THE

ISLAND OF ST. HELENA,

AND EVERY RECENT PARTICULAR RELATIVE TO HIS CONDUCT AND MODE OF LIFE IN HIS EXILE.

TOGETHER WITH

AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE,

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED

Waterloo Heroes.

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

By CHRISTOPHER KELLY, Esq.

Author of "The New and Complete System of Universal Geography," &c. &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS KELLY, 53, PATERNOSTER-ROW,

By Rider and Weed, Little Britain.

1817.

PREFACE.

FEW subjects have ever possessed more genuine interest, or excited more universal attention, than the BATTLE OF WATERLOO; whether it be regarded with respect to the treason which produced it, the circumstances of desperate valour and individual heroism by which it was attended, or the important consequences which have resulted from it.

Scarcely had the nations of Europe congratulated themselves on the happy termination of a tedious, expensive, and sanguinary war, when the demon of Discord, in the person of Napoleon Buonaparte, issued from his seclusion in the isle of Elba; and, landing on the shores of France, diffused the pestilence of rebellion around him:—an infatuated army—a deluded populace—disgraced themselves and their country by unexampled treason;—a legitimate prince, recently restored to the dominions of his ancestors, was driven into exile;—the arrangements which the greatest of sovereigns and the first of statesmen had made for the repose of the world, were suddenly overthrown;—and the only alternative which remained was that of a renewal of hostilities, or a disgraceful submission to a tyrant who had proved himself regardless of every treaty and of every tie.

The decision of the allies was marked by wisdom and promptitude. Indignant at the Corsican's attempt to regain by subtlety an empire which he had been unable to defend by arms, they announced their determination to avenge the cause of injured justice, and never to sheathe the sword till the disturber of mankind should be driven from the seat of his usurpation.

The conflict which ensued was most tremendous. The usurper and his adherents fought with the madness of desperation, and the fate of Europe seemed to hang in trembling suspense between the contending armies. Heaven, however, frowned on the unhallowed attempt of imposing new chains on the human race. The commanding genius, the cool equanimity, the intrepid gallantry of a WELLINGTON, aided by the consummate discipline and unparalleled bravery of *British troops*, and the splendid achievements of their allies, baffled all the arts and exertions of the foe;—convinced the haughty curiassiers that their boasted armour was not proof against the shafts of death;—and proved to the admiring world that the *imperial guards* of France were no longer *invincible*. Foiled and defeated at every point, the rebel troops gave way; and their unprincipled leader, abandoning them to the sabres of their triumphant pursuers, fled ignominiously to Paris; there to confirm the news of his decisive overthrow, and to sign a second abdication of his self-assumed authority.

The results of this memorable battle, which has been justly and emphatically styled *the salvation of Europe*, were equally important and beneficial. Paris, occupied a second time by the allies, was compelled to restore those sumptuous works of art of which she had plundered the surrounding nations, and which had served to legalize robbery in the eyes of her

inhabitants;—the throne, too long stained by usurpation, was again filled by its lawful possessor;—and the disgraced and defeated Corsican, who had so often cursed the world by his criminal projects, or his actual atrocities, surrendered himself to the British government, and was justly doomed to hide his guilty head in the obscurity of St. Helena; whilst WATERLOO, the scene of his defeat, exhibited an imperishable monument of the retributive justice of God, the brilliant success of the allied armies, and the general peace of 1815.

The *history* of a battle, so astonishing in itself, and so magnificent in its results, will be read with avidity by ages yet unborn; but to the *present* generation, the contemporaries, friends, and relatives, of the living and the fallen heroes of that day, it presents a source of attraction much easier to be imagined than described.

Here the military man will retrace the terrors and the glories of that field on which the fate of Europe was decided;—the widowed matron and the fatherless child, surveying the noble exploits of a husband or a father, will smile exulting through their tears;—the rising generation, fixing their eyes on the MEN OF WATERLOO, will catch the patriotic flame which glowed within their breasts;—the friend of genuine liberty will hail the confederated armies who forced the sceptre from a tyrant's hands; and EVERY BRITON, worthy of the name he bears, will dwell with fond delight on the *prominent characters*, in the passing scene, whom he recognizes as natives of his own land.

For these important reasons, the Proprietor has spared no expense—the Editor has shrunk from no laborious research, to render it worthy of universal patronage. Official papers and works of established reputation have been primarily consulted, as historical documents; much *original information* has been communicated by a gentleman who has actually visited the field of battle, and other parts of the Netherlands;—a rich fund of anecdote has been collected from various authors of unquestionable veracity;—and a *bona fide* abridgment of the popular letters from St. Helena has been introduced; to convey to the reader an accurate picture of the retirement, conversations, and pursuits of that adventurer, who, we trust, will never be permitted to quit his present abode till his inordinate ambition is extinguished with his life.

In order to render the following pages as interesting and complete as possible, the *affairs of France*, from the second usurpation of Buonaparte to his deportation from Europe, have been fully detailed; and biographical sketches of the principal Waterloo heroes, and other distinguished characters have been drawn from the most impartial and respectable sources. The Editor and Proprietor, therefore, venture to indulge a confident hope, that the work now respectfully submitted to the British public, will be found superior to any thing of a similar kind which has been hitherto attempted.

A

FULL AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

MEMORABLE

BATTLE OF WATERLOO,

&c. &c. &c.

From the Second Usurpation of Napoleon Buonaparte to his Second Abdication.

THE sovereigns and statesmen assembled at the congress of Vienna had closed their deliberations, and the former had announced their departure for their respective capitals, when they received the unwelcome intelligence that Buonaparte had quitted the isle of Elba, and had landed, with an armed force, at Frejus.

The astonishment with which this news was at first received was naturally succeeded by the most serious apprehensions. The force with which the invader had landed was certainly feeble and contemptible; but it was highly probable that the discontented soldiery of France would flock to his standard, and enable him again to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. It was therefore necessary, by some prompt and decisive manifesto, to avow their resolution of opposing him with their united forces. The following declaration was accordingly published at Vienna on the 13th of March:

DECLARATION.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled in congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which established him in the Island of Elba, Buonaparte has destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended: by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

"They declare, at the same time, that, firmly resolving to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to re-plunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

"And, although fully persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger,

they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

"The present declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public."

Soon after the publication of this document, an event occurred at Vienna which excited a considerable sensation. Several persons arrived in the villages near Schoenbrunn, the residence of the little Napoleon. Among them was Count Montesquieu, a nephew of the child's governess. He contrived to gain admittance into the palace, under the pretence of visiting his aunt; and, having corrupted some of the domestics, formed the plan of carrying off the son of Buonaparte. The time was fixed, carriages were appointed to be in waiting, and relays were ordered at every post to the frontiers of France.

Fortunately it happened that some suspicious language was overheard by a chamber-maid from one of the women who attended on the young prince. She immediately hastened to convey her suspicions to the emperor; while the police, having gained intelligence of the whole plot, suffered it to proceed to the last moment, that all the accomplices might be secured.

Every thing was now fully prepared. A maid-servant had the young Napoleon in her arms, and, attended by one of the principal conspirators, was just stepping into the carriage, when the officers made their appearance, and the whole party was arrested.

The declaration of the allied powers was, for a considerable time after its promulgation, kept back from the French papers; and, when it was published in them, it was accompanied by a commentary, the object of which was to prove that Talleyrand alone had infused into it that spirit of personal invective against Buonaparte, by which it was distinguished: and it was added, that the allies, having put forth this declaration before they knew how he was received in France, would recall, or at least not repeat it, when they learnt that he had entered the metropolis in triumph. Many persons in England were of the same opinion: but the following treaty of the allied powers, signed at Vienna on the 25th of March, as soon as they received the intelligence of the entry of Buonaparte into Paris, plainly demonstrated their resolution to drive him out of France.

"His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the, &c. &c., having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom, may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with his majesty the, &c. &c. to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

"They have consequently resolved to renew, by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve, against every attack, the order of things, so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as of giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

"Article 1. The high-contracting parties above mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, on the 30th of May, 1814; as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Buonaparte. For this purpose, they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th of March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who should already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace under the protection of which the rights, the liberty, and independence, of nations had been recently placed and secured.

"Art. 2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object ought not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high-contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which, in their respective situations, they are enabled to dispose of, they have nevertheless agreed to keep constantly in the field, each, a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men complete, including cavalry in the proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons; and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

"Art. 3. The high-contracting parties reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained; nor until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to re-

new his attempts for possessing himself of the supreme power in France.

"Art. 4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force, as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

"Art. 5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

"Art. 6. The high-contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

"Art. 7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high-contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

"Art. 8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Buonaparte and his adherents, his most Christian majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and, in the event of his majesty's requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty."

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

"As circumstances might prevent his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second article, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum for each cavalry-soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for each infantry-soldier, that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second article."

This treaty was sent over to Great Britain to be ratified; and at the same time that it was ratified, the following explanatory declaration was annexed to it on the part of the Prince Regent:

DECLARATION.

"The undersigned, on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his court, is hereby commanded to declare, that the eighth article of the said treaty, wherein his most Christian majesty is invited to accede under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding the contracting parties upon principles of mutual security, to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of the third article of the said treaty; but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.

"However solicitous the Prince Regent must be to see his most Christian majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his most Christian majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct."

The treaty thus ratified, and with this declaration annexed, was sent back to Vienna; and it appears from an official letter from the Earl of Clancarty, the British ambassador there, that the views and intentions of the other allied powers were the same as those of Great Britain; for he expressly states, that "the allies are at war for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the re-conquest of tha peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity, but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever.

"In this war they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people: they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench in any respect upon their independence as a great and free people; but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature, to contend against the re-establishment of an individual as the head of the French government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated that, in such a situation, he will not suffer other nations to be at peace; whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other states, must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation.

"However general the feelings of the sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the king, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of this, or any other dynasty or form of government, than may be essential to the safety

and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe: such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence, their object will be satisfied; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace which will then, and then only, be open to them; and lay down those arms, which they have only taken up for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them, on the part of their respective empires."

On the 2d of April, the Corsican published a manifesto in justification of his conduct. After adverting to the style of the manifesto of the allies, of which it asserts, that "it provokes the crime of assassination, and is almost unparalleled in the history of the world," it proceeds to state the instances in which the treaty of Fontaineblean was violated by the allies and the Bourbons, and by which Napoleon considered himself released from all obligations to observe it.

"The treaty of Fontainebleau has been violated by the allied powers, and by the house of Bourbon, in what respects the Emperor Napoleon and his family, and in what regards the interests and rights of the French nation.

"1. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports, and an escort, to repair to the emperor; but, in direct violation of this promise, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in family and domestic affections.

"2. The security of Napoleon, and of his imperial family and their suite, were guaranteed by all the powers; yet bands of assassins were organized in France under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders, for attacking the emperor, his brothers, and their wives, in default of the success anticipated from this first branch of the plot. An insurrection was prepared at Orgon, on the emperor's route, in order that an attempt might be made on his life by some brigands. The Sieur Brulart, an associate of Georges, had been sent as governor to Corsica, in order to make sure of the crime; and, in fact, several detached assassins have attempted, in the Isle of Elba, to gain, by the murder of the emperor, the base reward which was promised them.

"3. The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and their descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, or sovereignty, and without her consent. And the documents in the office of foreign affairs prove that it was on the solicitations and by the intrigues of the Prince of Benevento, that Maria Louisa and her son were thus despoiled.

"4. Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France; but he has received nothing.

"5. The emperor had stipulated for the army the preservation of their rewards given them on Monte Napoleon. He had reserved to himself, the power to recompense his faithful followers. But every thing has been taken away, and abused by the ministers of the Bourbons. M. Bresson, an agent from the army, was despatched from Vienna to assert their claims; but his representations were ineffectual.

"6. The preservation of the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the emperor's family, was provided for; but all was robbed,—in France by commissioned brigands,—in Italy by the violence of the military chiefs.

"7. Napoleon was to have received two millions, and his family two millions five hundred thousand francs per annum. The French government, however, constantly refused to discharge its engagements; and Napoleon would soon have been obliged to disband his faithful guards, for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.

"8. In short, it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, the unshaken sureties of his safety and of his existence. The Island of Elba was assigned to him in perpetuity; but the resolution of robbing him of it was, at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported, far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie or St. Helena, which had been named as his prison.

"And when the allied powers, yielding to the wishes and the instigations of the house of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon liberated the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their properties, in their affections, in all the rights stipulated in their favour as princes, in those even secured by the laws to private citizens,—what conduct was Napoleon to adopt?

"Was he, after enduring so many injuries, and supporting so many acts of injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into

with him, and, resigning himse f personally to the fate prepared for him, to abandon also his wife, his son, his family, and his faithful servants, to their frightful destiny?

"Such a resolution seems beyond the endurance of human nature; and yet Napoleon would have embraced it, if the peace and happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself for the French people, from whom, as he will declare in the face of Europe, it is his glory to hold every thing; whose good shall be the object of all his endeavours, and to whom alone he will be answerable for his actions, and devote his life."

The manifesto then proceeds to state the causes, arising from the internal state of France, and the errors of the Bourbons, which occasioned the return of Napoleon; the renunciation by the emperor of all his former plans of aggrandizement, and his resolution to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Paris. It also deprecates the interference of foreign powers in the choice of the French people, and concludes as follows:

"And now, replaced at the head of the nation which had thrice already made choice of him, and which has a fourth time designated him by the reception which it has given him in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival, what does Napoleon wish from this nation—by which, and for the interest of which, he wishes to reign?

"What the French people wish—the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, and the execution of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

"What is the change, then, which has taken place in the state of Europe, and in the hope of that repose which was promised to it? What voice is raised to demand assistance, which, according to the declaration, ought only to be given when called for?

"Nothing has been changed: if the allied powers return, as it is expected they will do, to just and moderate sentiments; if they acknowledge that the existence of France, in a respectable and independent state, as far from conquering as from being conquered, from dominating as from being subjugated, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms, and to the guarantee of inferior states.

"Nothing has been changed: if, respecting the rights of a great nation which desires to respect the rights of all others, which, high-minded and generous, has been lowered, but never degraded, they allow it to retake a sovereign, and give itself a constitution and laws suitable to its manners, its interests, and its wants.

"Nothing has been changed: if they do not attempt to constrain France to submit again to a dynasty which she dislikes, to the feudal chains which she has thrown off, and to the seignorial or ecclesiastical prostrations from which she has emancipated herself; if they do not wish to impose laws on her, to interfere with her internal concerns, to assign a form of government to her, and to give masters to her to satisfy the pleasure or the passions of her neighbours.

"Nothing has been changed: if, when France is occupied with preparing the new social compact which shall guarantee the liberty of her citizens, and the triumph of the generous ideas which prevail in Europe, they do not force her to withdraw herself from those pacific thoughts and means of internal prosperity, to which the people and their chief wish to consecrate themselves in a happy accordance, and again direct their energies to war.

"Nothing has been changed: if, when the French nation only demands to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not compel it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will and its rights, its independence, and the sovereign of its choice."

Two days afterwards, the following circular letter, written by Napoleon himself, was despatched to the courts of all the allies:—

"*Paris, April* 4, 1815.

"Sir, my Brother,

"You have no doubt learned in the course of the last month my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be made known to your majesty. They are the results of an irresistible power; the results of the unanimous wish of a great nation which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people was not fitted for it. The Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments or manners; France has therefore separated herself from them. Her voice called for a liberator. The hopes which induced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her have not been deceived. I came; and, from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.

"The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great successes.

"A more brilliant arena is now open to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalship in future, but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.

"France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations. If such, then, as I trust they are, are the personal sentiments of your majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, will, of herself, be sufficient to guard the frontiers.

"NAPOLEON."

In consequence of Buonaparte's publishing his circular letter, the congress at Vienna deemed it proper to appoint a committee to examine whether, after the events that had passed since the return of Napoleon Buonaparte to France, and in consequence of the documents published at Paris on the declaration which the powers issued against him on the 13th of March, it would be necessary to proceed to a new declaration. The positions laid down by Buonaparte, in reference to the declaration of the 13th of March, were the following:—

"1. That that declaration, directed against Buonaparte at the period of his landing on the coast of France, was without application now that he had laid hold of the reins of government without open resistance; and that this fact sufficiently proving the wishes of the nation, he had not only re-entered into possession of his old rights in regard to France, but that the question even of the legitimacy of his government had ceased to be within the jurisdiction of the powers.

"2. That by offering to ratify the treaty of Paris, he removed every ground of war against him."

The committee of congress were specially charged to take into consideration—

"1. Whether the position of Buonaparte, in regard to the powers of Europe, has changed by the fact of his arrival at Paris, and by the circumstances that accompanied the first success of his attempt on the throne of France?

"2. Whether the offer to sanction the treaty of Paris of the 31st of May, 1814, can determine the powers to adopt a system different from that which they announced in the declaration of the 13th of March?

"3. Whether it be necessary or proper to publish a new declaration to confirm or modify that of the 13th of March?"

With respect to the first question, the committee came to this general conclusion, that the will of the French people is by no means sufficient to re-establish, in a legal sense, a government proscribed by solemn engagements which that very people entered into with all the powers of Europe; and that they cannot, under any pretext, give validity, as against those powers, to the right of recalling to the throne him whose exclusion was a condition preliminary to every pacific arrangement with France: the wish of the French people, even if it were fully ascertained, would not be the less null in regard to Europe, towards re-establishing a power against which all Europe has been in a state of permanent protest from the 31st of March, 1814, to the 13th of March, 1815; and, in this view, the position of Buonaparte is precisely at this day what it was at those last-mentioned periods.

With respect to the second question, the committee observe, that the treaty of Paris was highly favourable to France, but it was favourable because France agreed to give up Buonaparte: never, in treating with him, would the allies have consented to the conditions which they granted to a government, which, while offering to Europe a pledge of security and stability, relieved them from requiring from France the guarantees which they had demanded under its former government. This clause, the expulsion of Buonaparte, and the consent of the French to the Bourbon dynasty, the committee observe, is inseparable from the treaty of Paris,—to abolish it, is to break the treaty: if, therefore, the return of Buonaparte is with the consent of the French nation, they, by this consent, in fact, declare war against Europe; for the state of peace did not exist between Europe and France, except by the treaty of Paris, and the treaty of Paris is incompatible with the power of Buonaparte.

The committee next proceed to observe, that as the French nation, by again receiving Buonaparte, have, in fact, broken one of the most essential articles of the treaty of Paris, the question is no longer the maintenance of that treaty, but the making it afresh; and with whom is it to be now entered into? The man who, in now offering to sanction the treaty of Paris, pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a sovereign whose loyalty was without stain, and benevolence without measure, is the same who, during fifteen years, ravaged and laid waste the earth, to find means of satisfying his ambition; who sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of an entire generation, to a system of conquests; whose truces, little worthy of the

name of peace, have only rendered him more oppressive and more odious; who, after having, by mad enterprises, tired fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, was forced to abandon his projects and abdicated power, to save some relics of existence; who, at the moment when the nations of Europe were giving themselves up to the hope of a durable tranquillity, meditated new catastrophes; and, by a double perfidy towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could not attack without the blackest treason, usurped a throne which he had renounced, and which he never occupied except for the misery of France and the world. This man has no other guarantee to propose to Europe than his word. After the cruel experience of fifteen years, who would have the courage to accept this guarantee? who could any longer respect the security which it could offer?

The answer to the second question concludes in the following terms:

"Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only be a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger. No power being able effectually to disarm it, the people would enjoy none of the advantages of a true peace; they would be overwhelmed with expenses of all kinds; confidence not being able to establish itself any where, industry and commerce would every where languish; nothing would be stable in political relations; a sullen discontent would spread over all countries; and, from day to day, Europe in alarm would expect a new explosion. The sovereigns have certainly not misunderstood the interest of their people, in judging that an open war, with all its inconveniences and all its sacrifices, is preferable to such a state of things, and the measures which they have adopted have met the general approbation.

"The opinion of Europe, on this great occasion, is pronounced in a manner very positive and very solemn; never could the real sentiments of nations have been more accurately known and more faithfully interpreted than at a moment when the representatives of all the powers were assembled to consolidate the peace of the world."

With respect to the third question, whether it is necessary to publish a new declaration, the committee remark, that the preceding observations furnish the answer to this. It considers,

"1. That the declaration of the 13th of March was dictated to the powers by reasons of such evident justice and such decisive weight, that none of the sophistries by which it is pretended to be attacked can at all affect it:

"2. That these reasons remain in all their force; and that the changes which have in fact occurred since the declaration of the 13th of March, have produced no alteration in the position of Buonaparte and of France with regard to the allies:

"3. That the offer to ratify the treaty of Paris cannot, on any account, alter the disposition of the allies.

"Therefore, the committee is of opinion that it would be useless to publish a fresh declaration."

The allies being thus determined on war, it was necessary that no time should be lost in bringing their troops into the field. Most of the Russians had already retired within the frontiers of Poland; the Prussians and Austrians also had returned to their respective countries. But, as the allies were deeply impressed with the indispensable necessity of the most prompt and vigorous measures, it was resolved, that all the troops which they were to furnish, and even more than their quotas, should, without the least delay, begin their march towards the frontiers of France. The plan of the campaign was similar to that which had been pursued with such success during the year 1814; that is, France was to be invaded in every direction.

But the continental allies could not stir in this momentous affair unless Britain subsidized them most liberally. For this purpose, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried with little opposition the renewal of the income-tax, and a loan to an almost unparalleled extent was also raised.

Great Britain also entered into twelve treaties of accessions, and twenty-five treaties of subsidy. By the treaty of accession with Baden, his Britannic majesty engaged in his own name, and in that of his allies, not to lay down his arms without particularly taking into consideration the interests of the Duke of Baden, and not to permit the political existence of the duchy to be violated. The other treaties of accession were with Bavaria, Denmark, Hanover, the grand Duke of Hesse, the King of the Netherlands, Portugal, Sardinia, Saxony, Switzerland, Wurtemberg, and the princes and free towns of Germany. The treaties of subsidy were with the same powers, and by these Baden was to furnish sixteen thousand men, Bavaria sixty thousand, Denmark fifteen thousand, Hanover twenty-six thousand four hundred, the grand Duke of Hesse eight thousand, Sardinia fifteen thousand, Saxony eight thousand, Wurtemberg twenty thousand, besides the troops to be furnished by the princes and free towns of Germany; so that Great Britain had at her command upwards of two hundred thousand troops. They were to be paid at the rate of 11*l.* 2*s.* per man, for the service of the year ending the 5th of April, 1816. It is to be observed,

that this force is independent of the one hundred and fifty thousand men which the four great allied powers, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, engaged respectively to furnish. There was afterwards entered into a convention of subsidies between Great Britain and Russia, by which the former engaged to pay the latter, under the head of additional subsidy, the sum of 416,666*l.*

Being now furnished with the sinews of war, the exertions of the continental powers were very great. Every road was thronged with soldiers proceeding by forced marches to the Sambre and the Rhine. One corps followed another in rapid succession, and it seemed as if the whole population of Europe had risen in arms to overwhelm the disturber of their repose. The congress was removed from Vienna to Frankfort, on account of the contiguity of that city to the probable theatre of war.

On the 5th of April, the Emperor Alexander reviewed a numerous body of Russian troops, whom he addressed in the following terms:—

"Brave warriors! the honour and the glory of the great empire, with which Providence has intrusted me! your emperor comes once more to place himself at your head: he calls you a second time to the defence of humanity and the rights of Europe, which Napoleon, the vile and criminal artificer of fraud, has dared again to menace. Abusing our clemency, and violating those treaties which ensured to him a secure asylum, he has succeeded in frustrating the hopes of those nations who had forgotten his atrocious cruelties and his insatiable ambition. Let us hasten to join the invincible phalanxes of our allies, and deliver France from this scourge of the human race, who once more governs it contrary to the wishes of every reasonable and peaceable inhabitant of that country.

"Soldiers! the sacred league which at present unites all the people of Europe, and which ought to guarantee them from all oppression, we know how to defend, and we will defend it, if necessary, to the last drop of our blood.

"Alexander is among you. You will always see him choose the path of true honour, that which leads to the happiness of mankind. This will entitle him to your confidence and affection."

This address was received with universal shouts of "Long live Alexander the Great," and "Death to the Tyrant!"

The following proclamation of the King of Prussia is also worthy of the reader's attention:—

"When, in the hour of peril, I summoned my people to arms, to combat for the freedom and independence of their country, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged around my standards to bear with joyful self-denial unusual hardships, and heroically resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shewn themselves worthy of the names of their ancestors, and heirs of their glory. Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our inveterate foe. Our banners waved in Paris. Napoleon abandoned his authority. Liberty was restored to Germany, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace. This hope has now vanished, and we must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who, for ten successive years, inflicted on the world indescribable misery. The people, confounded by his unexpected appearance, have been unable to oppose his armed adherents. Though he, while still at the head of a considerable armed force, declared his abdication to be a voluntary sacrifice to the happiness and repose of France, he now disregards this, like every other convention. He commands a horde of perjured soldiers who wish to render war eternal.

"Europe is again menaced. It cannot permit the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal empire to be the object of his continually renewed wars; who confounded all moral principles by his unceasing breach of faith, and who can therefore give the world no security for his peaceable intentions.

"Again, therefore, arise to the combat. France itself requires our aid, and all Europe is allied with us. United with your ancient companions in victory, and reinforced by the accession of new brethren in arms, you go, brave Prussians! to a just war, with me, with the princes of my family, and with the generals who have always led you to conquest.

"The justice of the cause which we defend will ensure our success. Arise, then, with God for your support, for the repose of the world, for morality, for your king and your country."

The King of France, in the mean time, proceeded to Abbeville, where he arrived, on the 20th of March, without any military escort. Here he designed to wait for the household troops which followed, commanded by Marshal Macdonald. The dignity and serenity of his countenance, disarmed the rancour of the Buonapartists, and the inhabitants received him with acclamations. Louis attempted to address them from the

window of his apartment, but his feelings were so completely overpowered, that he was unable to speak: he therefore pressed his hand on his heart in silence, bowed, and retired.

The military who lined the streets maintained a sullen silence. Respect for the virtues of the monarch restrained them from insulting him in his misfortunes; but they had no sooner returned to their barracks than they enthusiastically shouted, "*Vive L'Empereur!*" The king was much fatigued; but, before he could take any repose, Macdonald appeared and intreated him to resume his journey without delay; as, from what he had seen of the disposition of the garrison, the most unpleasant consequences might ensue, should the household troops arrive before he quitted the town. The king, therefore, immediately set out, though oppressed by much mental and bodily anguish.

About noon, on the 22d, he arrived at Lisle, where he had resolved to collect around him all who were attached to his cause, and await the result of the invader's attempt. But, though a considerable number of the inhabitants welcomed him with enthusiasm, the garrison, which consisted of several regiments, preserved an obstinate silence. The king wished to address them, and endeavour to recall them to the allegiance which they owed their legitimate prince, but he was intreated not to expose himself to unnecessary insult. He then proposed that they should be dismissed from Lisle, and permitted to march and join Napoleon, but Marshal Mortier assured him that this would be the signal for revolt, and might probably occasion some outrageous attempt against his person.

This officer seems to have been deceived in the character of the garrison, and had acted with great imprudence; as it was only a few days before that he had ordered these regiments to return to Lisle, whence they had been recently removed.

Had it not been for this unfortunate measure, Louis might have found a temporary asylum on the French territory; as the national guards, the household troops, and the patriotic inhabitants, would have afforded him effectual security.

In the course of the day, his majesty received the declaration of the congress at Vienna; which was immediately placarded on the walls, and distributed among the soldiers, that they might perceive the inevitable calamities which their defection would bring on their country. This, however, instead of alarming the troops, or disposing them to return to their duty, fired them with indignation, and induced them to form the desperate resolution of seizing on the person of the king, and carrying him prisoner to the camp of Buonaparte.

Intelligence now arrived that the Duke of Berri was approaching with the household troops and two Swiss regiments. The garrison, on hearing this, assembled tumultuously, and seemed ready to execute their daring purpose; when Mortier hastened to his majesty, and urged his immediate departure. Accordingly, Louis set out for Ostend; and Mortier, having accompanied him to the gates, returned with the Duke of Orleans to restrain the violence of the troops. He found them enraged at being disappointed of their prey. They fiercely attacked the Duke of Orleans, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Mortier rescued him from their sanguinary fury.

In their journey towards Lisle, the household troops passed through Abbeville, where the Duke of Berri exposed himself to the most imminent danger by his impetuosity. A regiment of chasseurs was in garrison in the city. As the duke rode along the ranks, and attempted to recall the soldiers to the loyalty which they owed their lawful sovereign, he was exasperated at the obstinacy with which they continued to shout "*Vive L'Empereur!*" and actually struck one of the officers who uttered this seditious acclamation. The officer immediately quitted the ranks and drew his sword upon him; but the other officers threw themselves between, and rescued the duke from his attack. The royal party then deemed it advisable to resume their march without delay.

On their arrival in the vicinity of Lisle, they received intelligence of the king's departure, and resolved not to enter the town, but to direct their course towards the frontiers. Many of them, however, being unable to support the fatigue of the march, were dismissed at Bethune; and those who reached the frontiers declared to the officers who were desirous to lead them further, that they were Frenchmen;—that they had sufficiently fulfilled their duty to their king;—that their dearest interests were now at stake, and that no consideration should induce them to pass the frontiers.

On the 24th, the king arrived at Ostend completely exhausted by anxiety, fatigue, and pain. The following day he publicly attended mass, but his countenance expressed bodily illness and mental depression. At the close of the service, the congregation waited till his majesty rose to quit the church, and, as he passed along the aisles, many rendered him the homage of their tears.

The Duke of Bourbon, in the mean time, hastened to La Vendée, to endeavour to rouse the affections of the friends of royalty in that district. The inhabitants were disposed to second his views, but he had to contend with the vigilant administration of Buonaparte. On his arrival at Beaupriere, he convened the inhabi-

tants, and, powerfully appealing to their feelings, induced them to sanction a proclamation requiring every man from eighteen to fifty years of age to arm in the royal cause. A considerable number immediately flocked to his standard, but unfortunately they were both unarmed and undisciplined, and, before they could be rendered effective, the troops of the Corsican advanced against them.

Napoleon's general, however, wishing to avoid as much as possible an appeal to arms, despatched a herald to the duke, to remonstrate with him on the inutility of opposing his undisciplined levies against the veteran troops which were marching against them, and to offer an amnesty to his followers, and passports for himself and all who chose to accompany him, if he chose to retire. After mature deliberation, the duke was convinced that any resistance which he could offer would be in vain; and, having received a safe conduct for himself and about forty of his officers, he proceeded to Nantes, where he embarked.

It has been already stated, in a preceding chapter, that the inhabitants of the *maritime* towns in France had suffered severely by the protracted wars of the revolution. Their population had been thinned; their commerce had been almost annihilated, and they were driven to a state bordering on despair. They therefore welcomed the return of the Bourbons with unfeigned joy, and, at Bourdeaux in particular, they had testified the most unequivocal attachment to their legitimate prince.

On the 2d of March, the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme arrived at Bourdeaux, where they were received with acclamations of joy, and with the benedictions of an immense multitude which had assembled from the adjacent towns and villages.

On the 5th, the merchants of the city gave a grand fête, at which the duke and duchess were present; but, in the midst of the festivities, a courier arrived with despatches announcing the landing of Buonaparte. Unwilling to damp the public joy, his royal highness concealed the purport of the letters; and, at midnight, set out for the south, where he imagined his presence might be necessary.

The next morning the duchess communicated the intelligence to the magistrates, and, in the course of the day, it was made public. On the following day, all the civil and military authorities assembled, to assure the duchess of their inviolable attachment to her family, and to renew their oaths of allegiance. The national guards were called out; houses were opened for the enrolment of volunteers, and the greater part of the inhabitants demanded arms, some to defend their native city in case of an attack, and others to march against the invaders. The officers of the troops of the line also asserted, that they could answer with their lives for the garrison of Bourdeaux and the adjacent forts.

When it was announced that the Corsican had advanced to Lyons without opposition, the zeal of the national guards and volunteers appeared to increase; but only a few hundreds could be regularly embodied, in consequence of an unfortunate deficiency of arms and ammunition. The loyalty of the troops of the line began to waver, as the progress of Napoleon was made known, and some of the barracks already resounded with cries of sedition. The officers, however, daily waited on the duchess, and renewed their assurances of fidelity; but she remarked that the commandant of the fort of Blaye, an out-post of considerable importance, had not called upon her during some days. Orders were sent to require his attendance; but two days elapsed without his appearing. A general was then despatched to examine the state of the fortress, and report the disposition of the troops by whom it was garrisoned. He returned, and stated, that the place was in an excellent state of defence. "But why," enquired the princess, "did he not obey the orders which were transmitted to him several days ago?" "He did not answer me on that point," replied the general, "but he will be here to-morrow."

The next day he appeared, and offered a slight apology for his apparent disobedience; and, on being required to renew his oath of allegiance, he muttered some indistinct sounds, with which the duchess thought it prudent to appear satisfied. She, however, proposed to the governor of Bourdeaux that the present commandant of Fort Blaye should be removed, and that he and his garrison should be replaced by others, on whom she could rely. The governor confessed that such a measure was desirable, but expressed a fear that it could not be carried into execution. The duchess, however, intreated him to make the attempt.

To have ordered a battalion of regular troops to dispossess their brethren, would have given them an opportunity of expressing at once that disaffection which, it was feared, they secretly cherished. The business was, therefore, committed to some national guards; a sufficient number of whom were sent to occupy the fort for a short time, but not enough to attempt its reduction, in case of resistance. This measure, which was adopted after mature deliberation, in all probability, prevented a considerable effusion of blood. The garrison not only refused admittance to the corps sent to replace them, but immediately avowed their sentiments, by hoisting the tri-coloured flag on the fortress; in consequence of which the national guards returned to Bourdeaux.

At this juncture, M. Lainé, the president of the chamber of deputies, arrived, and published the following interesting and patriotic proclamation:—

"In the name of the French nation, and as president of the chamber of deputies, I enter my protest against the decrees by which the usurper of France has pretended to pronounce the dissolution of the chambers. I declare, in consequence, that all the proprietors are released from the payment of contributions to the agents of Napoleon Buonaparte, and that every family is forbidden to assist him in raising any armed force, whether by means of conscription or enlistment.

"After so atrocious an attempt on the liberties of Frenchmen, it becomes the duty of all to maintain their individual rights. Long since released from their oaths to Napoleon, and bound by their vows to their country and king, they will render themselves opprobrious in the eyes of the nation and of posterity, if they do not use every means in their power to oppose and to defeat the invader. History, by eternizing the memory of those who in every country have refused to bend to tyranny, covers with shame and disgrace the citizens who, forgetful of the dignity of human nature, submit to be the miserable agents of despotism.

"In the full persuasion that the French are sufficiently impressed with the importance of their liberties and their rights, to impose on themselves the most sacred of all duties, I have published the present protestation, which, in the name of the honourable colleagues over whom I have presided, and of France whom they represent, will be deposited in the archives, to be produced when necessary, to the confusion of the tyrant.

"P. S. Having read in the hall of sitting the proclamation of the king on the 20th of March, at the moment when the soldiers of Napoleon Buonaparte entered Paris, I am arrived at the department which deputed me. I am at my post under the orders of the Duchess of Angouleme, occupied in preserving the honour and liberty of one part of France, and anxiously waiting until the rest shall be delivered from the most odious tyranny which ever threatened a great nation. I will never submit to Napoleon Buonaparte; and he, who has been honoured with the situation of president of the representatives of France, aspires to the honour of being the first victim of the enemy of his king, his country, and liberty."

Animated by the presence and assistance of this champion of liberty, the duchess redoubled her exertions to inspire the Bordelais with sentiments of loyalty, and to place the city in a posture of defence. A magazine of arms was at length discovered, and several volunteer corps were equipped, who were animated by the best spirit, and who loudly expressed their resolution of defending the town to the last extremity.

On the approach of General Clausel, who commanded the troops of Buonaparte, picquets were sent out to guard the bridges which were situated on the principal roads; but some of them fled after a short and ineffectual resistance, and the rest deserted to the enemy.

Anxious to save the city from the horrors of a bombardment or a siege, the duchess sent for the governor, and intimated her determination to march out at the head of the garrison, and attack the foe. To this proposal the governor strongly objected, on the ground that he could not answer for the fidelity of the troops. "Then," said she, "the national guards and volunteers will be sufficient. They are eager for the combat, and on their attachment and bravery I can surely rely." It was answered that, if these forces attempted to pass the river, the garrison would follow, and, placing them between two fires, cut off every man. "Is it, then, impossible," enquired the duchess, "to employ, or even to rely on the neutrality of that garrison, for the fidelity of which you so recently pledged yourself?" "Impossible," replied the governor. "I will satisfy myself," said the heroic princess. "Assemble your troops in their respective barracks." The governor in vain represented the danger by which this measure might be attended. "I did not ask you, sir," said the heroic princess, "if there would be danger. I only request you will obey my orders."

She now proceeded to the barrack of a regiment of infantry, and, placing herself in the centre of the square, addressed the troops in the most animated language. She described in glowing colours the character and designs of the invader, and the dangers with which France was menaced. She reminded them of the oath of allegiance which they had taken, and intreated them to share with the national guards in the honour of combatting the rebels.

Finding that the troops maintained a sullen silence, she again addressed them, "Will you not fight for the daughter of your king?" Cries of "No! no!" resounded from every rank. "Will you then remain neutral if the national guard and volunteers attack the rebels?" "No!" they again exclaimed. Deeply affected, the duchess burst into tears; and asked, "Will you, then, betray me, and give me up to my enemies?" "No!" said they, "but we do not wish for a civil war and we desire that you will quit France."

Notwithstanding this cruel repulse, the princess proceeded to the barracks of the other troops: her eloquence, however, proved ineffectual, and her tears

flowed in vain. One officer alone yielded to her affecting arguments. "This is too much!" said he; and, placing himself by the side of the duchess, exclaimed, "I will follow you wherever you go."

Convinced that resistance would be unavailing, the duchess was now anxious to preserve the town from pillage. She therefore returned to the quay on which the guards and volunteers were assembled. They received her with acclamations, and demanded to be led against the foe. Silence was at length procured, when she thus addressed them, "Swear to obey me!" "We swear," they unanimously replied. "Brave Frenchmen!" said she, "faithful Bordelais! I entreat you to think no longer of defending the city, the troops of the line will not support you, and your exertions will be useless."

General Clausel's troops were now drawn up on the other side of the river. The national guards and volunteers, as if actuated by one impulse, fired on them a volley. Fortunately, however, it did no execution, and was not returned. "You have sworn to obey me," exclaimed the princess. "Remain faithful to your oath. I will be answerable to the king and to France for your fidelity. The sacrifice which I demand of you is as terrible to me as to yourselves; but it is the only mean of saving the city from destruction."

The duchess had no sooner retired to the palace than a herald was despatched to General Clausel, requesting him to suspend his attack. He readily consented, and guaranteed the safety of the city. The princess prepared for her departure on the following night. But new alarms succeeded every moment, and many of the volunteers were irritated almost to madness. Crowds of people now ran through the streets, denouncing vengeance against the adherents of Buonaparte; and it was deemed necessary to confine the troops to their barracks.

The best friends of the Bourbons now hastened to the duchess, and intreated her to depart immediately. She saw the propriety of their request, and the same evening embarked on board a small vessel which the English consul had stationed in the river for her accommodation.

No sooner was her departure intimated, than many of the inhabitants followed her to the shore, earnestly intreating her to remain. They then begged her to bestow on them some token of her regard, which they might treasure up with fond remembrance; and they retired, satisfied and thankful, when her shawl, her ribands, and her feathers, were cut into pieces, and distributed among them.

The next morning the following proclamation was found placarded on the walls:—

"Brave Bordelais!

"Your fidelity is well known to me. Your unlimited devotion does not permit you to foresee any danger but my attachment for you and for every Frenchman directs me to foresee it. The prolongation of my stay in your city might aggravate circumstances, and bring down upon you the weight of vengeance. I have not the courage to behold Frenchmen unhappy, and to be the cause of their misfortunes.

"I leave you, brave Bordelais! deeply penetrated with the sentiments you have expressed, and assure you that they shall be faithfully transmitted to the king. Soon, with God's assistance, and under happier auspices, you shall witness my gratitude and that of the prince whom you love.

(Signed) "MARIA THERESA."

The troops under General Clausel now entered the city, and were received by the garrison with acclamations; the national guard submitted in silence; and, notwithstanding the universal feeling which seemed to exist, a few hours before, in favour of Louis XVIII., an immense crowd assembled round the gates to welcome the forces of the usurper.

The Duke of Angouleme, in the mean time, was occupied in the southern departments, where fortune seemed, for a while, to smile on his exertions. Some regiments of the line followed him with an appearance of unfeigned attachment, and his army soon increased to upwards of six thousand men. His first encounter with the Corsican's troops proved successful; but, the soldiers being seduced from their allegiance, and numerous corps of the enemy advancing against him on every side, he was under the necessity of surrendering to General Gilly. His force, however, was sufficiently respectable to ensure honourable terms. An universal amnesty was granted. The lives and property of his adherents were guaranteed, and the duke received a safe convoy to Cette, where he was to embark for England or Spain.

The duke had no sooner commenced his journey than General Grouchy arrived, and assumed the command of Buonaparte's troops. Conceiving that the former commander had exceeded his powers, he would not suffer the duke to proceed to the place of his destination, till he had despatched a courier to Paris for instructions. Napoleon could not refuse to accede to the terms which had been granted by General Gilly, without exposing himself to general opprobrium; but, with his usual subtilty, he seized the opportunity of giving a colour of generosity to what was merely an act of justice. He wrote the following letter to Grouchy, and, without alluding to the convention already concluded,

acceded to its substance; but made the absurd and illegal demand, that his Royal Highness should engage to insist on the restitution of the crown-jewels, which the king had taken from Paris:

"Count Grouchy,—The ordinance of the king, dated March 6, and the declaration, signed by his ministers on the 13th, at Vienna, might authorise me to treat the Duke of Angouleme as that ordinance and that declaration proposed to treat me and my family; but, adhering to the views which induced me to order that the members of the Bourbon family should be permitted to leave France without molestation, my intention is, that you should give orders for conducting the Duke of Angouleme to Cette, where he shall be embarked, and that you watch over his safety and protect him from all bad treatment. You will merely take care to recover the money which has been removed from the public chests, and to require the Duke of Angouleme to engage himself to procure the restitution of the crown-diamonds, which are the property of the nation. You will also make known to him the enactments of the laws of the national assemblies, which are renewed, and which apply to the members of the family of Bourbon who may enter the French territory. You will, in my name, thank the national guards for the patriotism and zeal which they have manifested, and the attachment which they have shewn to me in these important circumstances.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

But we must now return to the transactions at Paris. The day after his return to the Thuilleries, Buonaparte ordered all the soldiers to assemble in the Place du Carousel. He was received by them with the most enthusiastic acclamations; and, having passed through the ranks, and noticed every individual whose person he recognised, he formed them into a square, and addressed them as follows:

"Soldiers! I landed in France with only six hundred men, because I calculated upon the affection of my people, and on the remembrance of my veteran troops. I was not deceived in my expectation. Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the nation, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and esteemed you!

"Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was raised by the hands of strangers; because it was proscribed by the voice of the people declared in all our national assemblies; because, in a word, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few individuals, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne only can secure the rights of the people, and, above all, the first of our interests—our glory. Soldiers! we are now to march to drive from our territories these princes, auxiliaries to strangers: the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the concerns of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!"

It is particularly worthy of notice, that, in this address, the Corsican artfully attributes his success to the love of the people, and represents his soldiers merely as auxiliaries. A few days afterwards, this was thus noticed in the Moniteur.—"When Napoleon set foot on the territory of France, by whom was he followed?—By a handful of faithful soldiers. His name alone was an army. To whom did he first present himself? To the old companions of his glory, to the regiments of the line, to armed bands?—No! but to the cultivators of the land,—to the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts to throw themselves on his march,—to the municipalities,—to the public functionaries,—to the united population of every age and sex, which pressed around him. This population was permitted to count his feeble band to approach his person, to listen to his discourse, to ascertain the object of his enterprise, and the means which he possessed; and it was from these people that the first cries of '*Vive L'Empereur!*' proceeded. He was acknowledged by the people before he met a single soldier. The historian will record this truth. He will mark it as the distinctive character of the present revolution, and the true cause and explanation of a success without opposition."

It was certainly true that the deluded peasants were too well disposed to welcome the return of the tyrant; but it is equally true, that, from the shore of Cannes, where the first crowd of spectators assembled, to Grenoble, where the disaffection of the troops ensured the success of the invader's enterprise, the population which crowded upon him, contained *no public functionary, no minister of religion*, and but a very small number of proprietors. The crowd consisted of the lowest classes of society, who are generally pleased with every change, and to whose opinion little consequence can be attached.

As Buonaparte was concluding his address, Genera. Cambronne, and the officers of the battalion from the Isle of Elba, appeared, with the ancient eagles of the guard. Napoleon observed them, and said to the soldiers—

"These are the officers of the battalion that have

accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every individual among them is my friend. They are dear to my heart! —Every time I beheld them in my retirement, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army; for among these six hundred brave fellows, are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory days of which even the memory is dear; for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles. In loving them, it was you, soldiers, the whole French army, that I loved. They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the guards, I present them to the whole army.

"Treason, and a series of unfortunate events, had covered them with a melancholy veil, but, thanks to the French people, and to you, they now re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, shall never endure their sight."

"We swear it!" exclaimed all the troops with one enthusiastic acclamation.

The ceremony being concluded, Buonaparte informed M. D'Affry, colonel of the Swiss guards, that he should review his troops on the following day. The colonel coldly replied, that he should do his duty, and withdrew. He immediately assembled his officers, informed them of the intimation which he had received, and requested their advice; when they all replied without hesitation, "Do what duty prescribes."

The next day some regiments were drawn up in the square of the Carousel, and Buonaparte, at the head of his staff, approached to review them. As he passed along the ranks, he missed the Swiss, and despatched an aide-de-camp to their colonel, requiring his immediate attendance with his troops. "I acknowledge only the orders of the king," said the colonel, and the aide-de-camp returned with the message. Napoleon bit his lips with vexation, but made no remark, and the review was concluded.

The colonel was now ordered to appear at the Thuilleries. He accordingly went, and, as he entered the hall of the marshals, two officers demanded his sword. He immediately retreated a few steps, and, drawing it from the scabbard, exclaimed, "Let the bravest of you take it!"

Disconcerted by this unexpected resistance, the officers permitted him to pass, and he was introduced to the presence of Napoleon.

"Why," fiercely demanded the Corsican, "have you disobeyed my orders?"

"Because I acknowledge only the authority of the king and of the cantons.

"Do you know to whom you speak?"

"Yes, I am addressing General Buonaparte."

"You are addressing the Emperor of the French, and in that character I command you to repair to the square of the Carousel, with your troops, that I may review them."

"General! I have already informed you that I will receive the orders of the king alone, to whom I have sworn allegiance."

"You took the same oath to me five years ago?"

"Yes; but your abdication released me from that oath."

"I would have you recollect yourself."

"You will please to recollect that I belong to the cantons."

"I will reduce them to submission."

"It will not be easy to reduce three hundred thousand men, who are resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty."

"Yet you were reduced by the Austrians."

"And we were relieved by William Tell."

"Enough," said Buonaparte; and addressed himself to one of his ministers.

It was with the greatest astonishment that the officers who thronged the apartment had listened to this conversation, and they all anticipated that it would end in the arrest of M. D'Affry. From motives of policy, however, the colonel was permitted to depart; and, after several fruitless attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, the Swiss were allowed to return to their native country.

The address of the council of state was principally entitled to notice, on account of the caution which it gave the usurper for the regulation of his future conduct, and the conditions on which alone it engaged to support him.

"The council of state, in resuming their functions, consider it their duty to avow the principles which form the rule of their opinions, and of their conduct.

"The sovereignty rests in the people. The people are the only source of legitimate power.

"The emperor is called to guarantee anew, by fresh institutions, for which he has pledged himself in his proclamations to the army, and to the nation, all the liberal principles, individual liberty, and the equality of rights, the liberty of the press, the abolition of the censorship, the freedom of worship, the voting of taxes and laws by the representatives of the nation freely elected, the inviolability of national property of every origin, the independence and irremovability of the tribunals, the responsibility of the ministers, and of all the agents of power.

"For the more effectual preservation of the rights and obligations of the people and of the monarch, the national institutions shall be viewed in a grand assembly of the representatives, already announced by the emperor."

To this address Buonaparte replied, "Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations whom they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle, I know no legitimacy.

"I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which during fifteen years I had but founded the basis. Henceforth the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire shall occupy all my thoughts."

Is this the language of him, who but a twelvemonth before had said to the legislative assembly, "I am the throne; the nation is mine, and the representation of the people is vested in me." Had he learned such useful lessons in the school of adversity, that he was really transformed into a patriotic prince, recognising the rights of the nation, and only desiring to reign by their will, and for their felicity? No, no; unchanged in principle and disposition, he only assumed this appearance for the moment; anxious by flattery and promises to re-seat himself firmly on the throne of France, that, at a convenient opportunity, he might again trample on the liberties of an infatuated people, and lead his ruffian armies to new scenes of slaughter and desolation.

Intelligence was now received from Vienna, that Maria Louisa had formally renounced the title of Empress; and, to give an unequivocal proof that she was finally disunited from her husband, had laid aside the green livery of Buonaparte's family, and had appeared in public in the livery of Parma. This was a fatal contradiction to the falsehoods which had been disseminated respecting her return, and afforded the most incontrovertible proof, that the Emperor of Austria was decidedly hostile to the cause of his abandoned son-in-law.

A few days after his public entry into Paris, Buonaparte removed all the restrictions which the ministers of Louis had laid on the liberty of the press, and dismissed the censors, to whom every pamphlet, and every article in all the journals, was submitted previous to its publication. But, whilst the people of France considered this measure as the most decisive proof, that Napoleon had abandoned all ideas of despotic power, the editors of a publication called "Le Censeur," were brought before the tribunals for having published the following libel on the French army. "If a fraction of the people could dispose of the crown, that would soon happen to us, which happened to the Roman people, after the reign of the first emperor; we should have for chiefs none but soldiers; and the reigning family would be murdered, as soon as it ceased to be agreeable to the satellites by whom it was surrounded."

This paragraph gave great offence to the army. To be stigmatized with the title of *satellites* was more than they could bear. "It is an inexcusable term of contempt," said some of the officers to Napoleon, at the public levee. "They are the defenders of the nation." Buonaparte, thus appealed to, commanded that the publication should be seized, and the editors summoned before the tribunal. He soon perceived, however, that he had adopted this measure at an improper time; and the following remarkable paragraph appeared in the Moniteur of the next morning.

"The fifth volume of the Censor was yesterday permitted to be sold, without making any alteration in the text. By this judicious measure of government, the author has lost the interest of being thought a victim, a certain speculator the profit of a surreptitious edition, and the work all the charms of a prohibited book."

To this assertion the editor boldly replied, through the medium of the public prints, in the following terms:—

"The journals have announced that the fifth volume of the Censor had been seized; but that, on mature deliberation, the authorities had allowed it to be exposed to sale. It is true, that this volume has been seized by the police, but it is false that it has been restored. They will neither give it up, nor prosecute it before the tribunals, although the editors have intreated to be replaced in the possession of their property, or to be brought to trial.

"You will be pleased to give no credit to what the journals may assert, either of the work or of its authors, because the liberty of the press exists no longer.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CH. COMPTE.

"P.S. We beg you to give this letter the greatest possible publicity."

A detailed account of the affair was subsequently given in a pamphlet by the authors of the Censor, some extracts from which may be agreeable to the reader:—

After describing the efforts which they had made to awaken the Bourbons to a discovery of the false policy by which they were gradually alienating the affections of the people, and the zeal with which they had afterwards espoused the cause of the falling government, in

opposition to the dreaded return of Buonaparte, the editors observe, "As long as the government had no enemy to combat, we defended the laws which it had given us, and pointed out the rocks on which it might strike; but, as soon as it was attacked, we supported it as much as was in our power. A few days after the entrance of Buonaparte into Paris, we were summoned before the minister of police, from whom, instead of the reproaches or punishment which we expected, we received a very gracious reception, and were cordially thanked for the benefits which we had rendered to the country by our bold and independent writings. Fouché concluded by offering us the editorship of the Moniteur, a journal that had always been distinguished, and must have continued to be characterized, by its flattery of the court. The minister, however, had mistaken his men, and the offer was received with the indignation that it merited, when Fouché, eager to prevent all unpleasant explanation, hastily dismissed us, advising us to reflect on his proposal at leisure. Eight days had scarcely elapsed, when we received another invitation from the minister of police. We were introduced into his closet, and found the minister alone. He requested us to take a walk in the garden, and the following is the substance of the conversation that passed between us:—

"*Fouché.*—Gentlemen! you have rendered considerable services to France, and you have it in your power to render still greater, at a moment when it is attempted to secure the triumph of the *tiers etat* against the privileged. But the emperor will not act as the late government did. The latter took pleasure in debasing those men who defended liberal ideas; the emperor, on the contrary, wishes only to reward them. He has desired me to ask what will be most agreeable to you.

"*Compte.*—Sir! we are sensible of the marks of attention which you wish to shew us. If the emperor be desirous to do any thing for us, let him leave to us that object which we are anxious to retain; let him give us a good government, and render France free and happy. That is the only thing that can flatter us, and the only thing that we can venture to accept.

"*Fouché.*—Doubtless he will render France free; but that need not prevent him from rewarding deserving individuals. Reflect, gentlemen, what will be agreeable to you?

"*Dunoyer (the colleague of M. Compte).*—Sir! if the emperor wish to do something that is agreeable to us, he will suffer us peaceably to continue our labours.

"*Fouché.*—There is not the least intention of preventing it. But the press being entirely free, and each being at liberty to follow his inclination, without danger, and to pursue the same course as yourselves, you will no longer have the merit of boldness, and your work will lose a great part of its interest. *Besides, you will not always have me; and, however free the press may be, an able minister will always find means to prevent that from being written which he does not approve.*

"*Compte.*—When this able minister shall appear, we shall see——

"*Fouché.*—You are advocates, are you not?

"*Dunoyer and Compte.*—Yes, sir!

"*Fouché.*—You are advocates! Consider, gentlemen, what will be agreeable to you.

"*Dunoyer.*—Sir! we have avowed our intentions, and I do not think we shall alter them.

"*Fouché.*—The magistracy does not, in general, accord with young people. We have just appointed a great number of prefects. The nominations have been hastily made; and, among the number, some have been admitted who served under the old imperial government—weak men;—these appointments have produced a bad effect.

"*Compte.*—That is true, sir!

"*Fouché.*—We could have wished for persons who had taken no part in the former measures ——. Consider, gentlemen, what will be agreeable to you.

"*Compte.*—Sir, we are really overpowered with your obliging offers, but we cannot avail ourselves of them.

"*Fouché.*—I think literary persons generally prefer such places as leave them time to prosecute their studies. I beg, therefore, gentlemen, you will reflect upon what will be agreeable to you.

"The offers which had been made to us did not prevent the printing of the fifth volume of the *Censeur*. It was to appear on the 6th of April. While it was preparing for publication, M. Mehée called upon me. 'Do you know,' said he, with apparent emotion, 'what has been done?' 'No; what is the matter?' 'Your fifth volume has been seized, and I come to request you, in the name of the prefect of the police, that you will go to him, and endeavour to arrange this affair.' 'Is that all? I thought it was something concerning the welfare of the nation. I see what is the matter; we have *an able minister who knows how to prevent any thing from being written which he does not approve*, notwithstanding the entire liberty of the press. His excellency's offers are now perfectly intelligible.'

"M. Mehée had scarcely entered before a second messenger arrived, who urged me, in the most pressing manner, to go immediately to the prefecture of the police. I promised I would, and accordingly went.

"The prefect, who appeared to be perfectly calm when I entered his closet, suddenly assumed an appear-

ance of despair. Holding his head between his hands, and traversing the room with rapid strides, he uttered nothing but monosyllables or disjointed phrases.

"O! gentlemen!—what have you done? No—never could I have thought it of you. Robespierre—Marat would not have done such a thing,—Good God! at a moment when France is besieged by eight hundred thousand enemies!

"*Compte.*—Mr. Prefect, will you have the goodness to hear me? The volume which you have caused to be seized contains either *errors* or *crimes*. If it contains only errors, you have eight or ten journals at your command, who may easily refute them; if it contains crimes, you ought not to speak to us with asperity, you ought to bring us to trial.

"*The Prefect.*—No, never could I have expected it from you—I, who would have answered for you as for my own son—O, sir! what you have done is abominable!!

"*Compte.*—I repeat what I have said, Mr. Prefect. If we have reasoned badly, we may be refuted—if we are guilty, we ought to be punished. Do not, however, imagine that I am the dupe of what has taken place. The minister of police thought to seduce us by his praises, and the offers which he made; he was deceived. If he supposes that his menaces will have any greater effect, he will still find himself deceived. He may make the experiment, if he pleases. But, before trying it, I must inform you, that, under the last reign, we were menaced with assassination by fanatics, and we derided their threats and their daggers; I now tell you that we equally deride the bayonets and the scaffolds of Buonaparte.

"*The Prefect.*—Ah! I see it plainly. You wish for martyrdom, but you will not obtain it.

"*Compte.*—So much the worse, Mr. Prefect.

"*The Prefect.*—You hear, M. Mehée; you hear him ask for martyrdom!

"*Compte.*—No, I do not seek it; neither would I fear it.

"*The Prefect.*—Ah! what have you done? And what will they say at Ghent? To attack the proceedings of government at the very juncture when it is necessary every one should rally round it.

"*Compte.*—There is no other means now of rallying Frenchmen round the government, except by sincerely designing to do good, and by acting with frankness. Since the arrival of Napoleon, however, not an act has been determined upon but what is contrary to good sense, and tending evidently to its destruction. It has been justly asserted that the government advises only with its enemies.

"*The Prefect.*—Perhaps we may yet understand each other. Come with me to the minister, and we will endeavour to arrange this business.

"*Compte.*—I cannot go there, sir!

"*The Prefect.*—Yet, the minister is attached to liberty.

"*Compte.*—Yes, but it is liberty after the manner of M. Fouché, and I really do not admire it.

"*The Prefect.*—Very well; I shall go there alone then. Do you be here this evening, at five o'clock.

"At the appointed time, I repaired to the prefecture of the police, when the discourse turned chiefly upon some suppressions that were to be made in the new volume. I consented to sacrifice a few passages, upon the express condition that the public should be made acquainted with the seizure and the suppressions. This condition seemed to displease; but I persisted in demanding it, because we would not co-operate in deluding the public by falsely persuading them that they enjoyed the liberty of the press. As the prefect had directed the seizure of the volume by the order of the minister, and, as he had not himself read it, it was settled that I should go next morning to M. P——, with M. L——, to determine upon what passages should be suppressed. But, not being acquainted with M. P——, I thought, after a little reflection, that it would be better to forego this interview. All hope of conciliation being thus at an end, they hastened to announce in the journals that the volume which had been seized was restored to us. This declaration was contradicted, first of all by a hand-bill, and afterwards by a circular, *which the police did not seize.* At length they gave us our volume, when they saw that it was no longer possible to impose upon the public. I ought to add, that, during our discussions, the prefect repeatedly offered us an indemnity for the loss we had sustained."

Anxious to acquire popularity in the critical situation of his affairs, Buonaparte thought proper to put a termination to the slave-trade, which, by the treaty with Louis, was to have continued five years; and the following decree was accordingly passed for its abolition:—

"IMPERIAL DECREE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"NAPOLEON, *Emperor of the French.* We have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

"Article I. From the date of the publication of the present decree, the trade in negroes is abolished. No expedition shall be allowed for this commerce, either in the ports of France, or in those of our colonies.

"2. There shall not be introduced to be sold in our colonies any negro the produce of this trade, whether French or foreign.

"3. Any infraction of this decree shall be punished with the confiscation of the ship and cargo, which shall be pronounced by our courts and tribunals.

"4. However, the ship-owners who, before the publication of the present decree, shall have fitted out expeditions for the trade, may sell the product in our colonies.

"5. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

"NAPOLEON.

"By the emperor, the minister secretary of state,

"The Duke of BASSANO."

Another decree contained several regulations calculated to relieve the oppressions occasioned by the *droits reunis*. These, next to the conscription, were the greatest grievances imposed upon the people by Buonaparte's late government, and the promise of the abolition of both was the grand boon by which the Bourbons obtained popularity on their re-entrance into France. It has already been stated, however, that the pledge for the abolition of the *droits reunis* was imprudently given, and could not be redeemed; and, notwithstanding the resistance of the people, this odious tax continued to be levied. Napoleon was therefore furnished with an opportunity of gaining much credit, by the early attention which he seemed to pay to the interests of the people.

A short time afterwards, Carnot addressed a memorial to Buonaparte, descanting on the advantages of elementary instruction, when bestowed on the lower classes of society, and stating that there were in France two millions of children destitute of primary education. "I do not speak," says he, "of that education which forms half-philosophers, or men of the world, but such only as will form good artisans and moral men, by communicating the elements of indispensable knowledge, good habits, and respect for the laws." He concludes his memorial with a just eulogium on Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, whose system he wishes to be adopted in France.

Napoleon immediately issued the following decree:

"NAPOLEON, *Emperor of the French, &c.*

"Considering the importance of education for improving the state of society,—considering that the methods hitherto adopted in France have not attained that degree of perfection which it is possible to reach, and desiring to place this branch of our institutions on a level with the intelligence of the age, we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

"Article 1. Our minister of the interior shall invite around him the persons who deserve to be consulted, as to the best methods of primary education;—he shall examine and decide on those methods, and direct the experiment of such as shall appear preferable.

"2. There shall be opened at Paris an experimental school of primary education, so organized as to serve for a model, and to become a normal school to form primary teachers.

"3. After satisfactory results shall have been obtained from this school, our minister of the interior shall propose to us the measures calculated to enable all the departments to enjoy the advantages of the new methods which shall have been adopted."

But, whilst Napoleon was thus endeavouring to acquire the esteem of the nation by these popular acts, it was sufficiently obvious to those who had an opportunity of observing him, that he was in himself completely miserable. Notwithstanding the acclamations of the populace, the homage of the constituted authorities, the servility of his favourites, and the insane attachment of the army, he was abstracted and restless. His conduct in the council was evidently restrained; his natural loquacity had forsaken him; and he only appeared confident when surrounded by his troops. He was often detected shedding in secret tears of rage and vexation, and the sighs which escaped him proved the grief of his mind. His pride was tortured by the thought that the confederated sovereigns disdained even to notice his overtures of peace; and it was with unspeakable anguish that he contrasted the contempt with which they now treated him, with the affection which some of them had once expressed, and the humility with which others had acknowledged themselves indebted to him for the possession of their crowns.

Notwithstanding his personal feelings, however, he continued the most vigorous preparations for the approaching contest. Every effort was made to increase the number of his regular troops, and the following energetic proclamation was addressed to the army:—

"Soldiers! you earnestly wished for your emperor. He is arrived. You have supported him with all your efforts. Rally with all possible despatch around your standards, that you may be ready to defend your country against enemies who are desirous of regulating our national colours, imposing sovereigns upon us, and dictating our constitutions. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every Frenchman, already accustomed to war, to join the imperial standard. Let us present a frontier of brass to our enemies, and prove to them that we are always the same.

"Soldiers!—Whether you have obtained unlimited or limited furloughs, or whether you have received

your discharge, if your wounds are healed, and you are in a state fit to serve, come and join the army! To this you are invited by honour, your country, and your emperor!

"With what reproaches would you not have cause to overwhelm me, were our fine country again to be ravaged by those soldiers whom you so often vanquished, and were the foreigner to invade and obliterate France from the map of Europe.

(Signed) "The Prince of ECKMUHL."

The national guards were now ordered to be embodied, and distributed among the different fortresses of France. Three thousand one hundred and thirty battalions, each consisting of seven hundred and twenty men, were commanded to be equipped for immediate service, making a total of two millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand and forty soldiers. Had Buonaparte been able to have called this immense body into action, and to have instilled a sufficient portion of enthusiasm into their ranks, he might have bid defiance to all his enemies. Fortunately, however, for the welfare of Europe, many of these were attached to their legitimate prince, and, consequently, rendered little or no service to the cause of the usurper. In some of the departments the guards peremptorily refused to be embodied; in others, they would not march beyond their native province; and in many places when they were forced to march, they found means to desert at every turning, and, before the battalion had proceeded many leagues from their own department, every soldier had disappeared. In fact, scarcely a tenth part of the number ordered to be embodied were ever enrolled.

The old troops of the line, however, crowded to the standard of Buonaparte, and a numerous army was soon placed at his disposal, with which he hoped, by some brilliant action at the commencement of the contest, either to disconcert or disunite the allies.

Great numbers of workmen were now employed in fortifying the heights of Montmartre, Chaumont, and Mesnil-Montant, in the vicinity of Paris; though this measure was strongly opposed by Carnot, as calculated to alarm and disgust the citizens. Orders were also issued for inspecting and completing the fortifications of all the garrison-towns. Laon, Soissons, Saint-Quentin, Lafère, Guise, Vitry, Langres, and Chateau Thierry, were placed in a respectable state of defence. Chalons, Dijons, Rheims, the Vosges, Jura, and Argonne, already strong by nature, were rendered almost impregnable. Many hundred workmen were daily employed in the fortifications of Lyons, and no effort was spared to oppose every obstacle to the progress of the allies. Every defile was strictly guarded;—fortifications were raised at the heads of the bridges;—every mountain was surmounted by a battery, and the din of warlike preparation resounded from the northern boundaries to the Mediterranean.

On his first landing in France, Buonaparte had promised to give the French a constitution consonant with their wishes, and favourable to their liberties. He accordingly appointed a commission to draw up the form of a constitution to be submitted to the choice of the nation. But, after the members of that commission had occupied themselves some time on this important subject, it occurred to them, that Napoleon's promise would be best fulfilled if the plan of the constitution did not emanate from any commission formed by himself, but that the electoral colleges should nominate one person from each department to prepare the outline of the constitutional charter. To this proposal Buonaparte assented, and measures were ordered to be taken accordingly. But, in the mean time, his situation became more critical every day. The allies were already advancing on all sides, and, long before these commissioners could have been appointed, and the necessary documents transmitted to the departments, hostilities would certainly have begun; and had these commenced before France had any settled government, the greatest confusion would have ensued, and the resources for carrying on the war could not have been provided but with the utmost difficulty. The Corsican therefore determined, in opposition to the advice of many of his friends, to offer to the acceptance of the nation, a constitution neither digested by the first commissioners, nor by those who were to have been appointed by the departments, but principally drawn up by himself.

The adoption of this resolution excited great discontent, as exactly resembling the arbitrary measures which had distinguished the usurper's former administration. It was a violation of the most solemn promise. It was *not* a constitution framed by the people: on the contrary, they were not permitted either to alter or modify a single article, but were confined to the approval or rejection of the whole.

The enemies of Louis had imputed to him as a crime, that he had *given* a constitution to the French, and not *accepted* it from them; yet the object of their idolatry, after having acknowledged that to the people alone belonged the right of choosing their own charter, adopted the conduct of the former government, and *gave* his subjects a constitution in his turn "The French," says an interesting writer, "had imagined that the Champ de Mai would have been convoked for some other purpose, than to examine a list of votes, and that the representatives of a great nation would there have exercised the privilege of discussing with the sovereign

the rights, and privileges, and welfare of their constituents."

The important document now brought forward was unaccountably termed "*An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire.*" Although, by the various articles of this act, the objectionable part of Buonaparte's former despotic government was either removed or rendered ineffectual, yet he appeared to assume, as the basis of his present charter, those very constitutions of which the French had so loudly and so justly complained. This gave considerable offence, and the very name of the "*Additional Act,*" when he had pledged himself to give a new constitution to the nation, alienated the affections of thousands who had hitherto been attached to his cause. That the reader may form a clear idea of this famous act, we shall insert it at length:—

ACT ADDITIONAL TO THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

"NAPOLEON, *by the grace of God and the Constitutions, Emperor of the French, to all present and to come, greeting.*

"Since we were called, fifteen years ago, to the government of the state by the wishes of France, we endeavoured, at various times, to improve the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire were thus formed of a series of acts which were sanctioned by the acceptance of the people. It was then our object to organize a grand federative European system, which we had adopted as conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to complete this, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we postponed the establishment of many internal institutions more particularly destined to protect the liberty of the citizens. Henceforward our only object is to increase the prosperity of France, by the confirmation of public liberty. From this results the necessity of various important modifications of the constitutions, the *senatus consulta,* and other acts which govern the empire. For these causes, wishing, on the one hand, to retain of the past what was good and salutary, and on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to propose to the people a series of arrangements tending to modify and improve its constitutional acts, to strengthen the rights of citizens by every guarantee, to give the representative system its whole extension, to invest the intermediate bodies with the desirable respectability and power,—in a word, to combine the highest degree of political liberty and individual security, with the force and centralization necessary for causing the independence of the French people to be respected by foreigners, and necessary to the dignity of our crown. In consequence, the following articles, forming an act supplementary to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all citizens throughout the whole extent of France."

TITLE I.

"Art. 1. The constitutions of the empire, particularly the constitutional act of the 22d Frimaire, year 8; the *senatus consulta* of the 14 and 16 Thermidor, year 10; and of the 28 Floreal, year 12, shall be modified by the arrangements which follow. All other arrangements are confirmed and maintained.

"2. The legislative power is exercised by the emperor and two chambers.

"3. The first chamber, called the chamber of peers, is hereditary.

"4. The emperor appoints its members, who are irrevocable, they and their male descendants, from one eldest son to another. The number of peers is unlimited. Adoption does not transmit, to him who is its object, the dignity of the peerage. Peers take their seats at twenty-one years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-five.

"5. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president of the chamber of peers, or, in certain cases, a member of the chamber specially designated by the emperor.

"6. The members of the Imperial family, in hereditary order, are peers of right. They take their seats at eighteen years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-one.

"7. The second chamber, called that of representatives, is elected by the people.

"8. Its members are six hundred and twenty-nine in number. They must be twenty-five years old at least.

"9. Their president is appointed by the chamber, at the opening of the first session. He retains his function till the renewal of the chamber. His nomination is submitted to the approbation of the emperor.

"10. This chamber verifies the powers of its members, and pronounces on the validity of contested elections.

"11. Its members receive for travelling expenses, and during the session, the pay appointed by the constituent assembly.

"12. They are indefinitely re-eligible.

"13. The chamber of representatives is entirely renewed every five years.

"14. No member of either chamber can be arrested, except for some capital crime; nor prosecuted in any criminal or correctional matter during a session, but in virtue of a resolution of the chamber of which he forms a part.

"15. None can be arrested or detained for debt, from the date or convocation of the session, or for forty days afterwards.

"16. In criminal or correctional matters, peers are judged by their own chamber, according to prescribed forms.

"17. The office of peer and representative is compatible with all other public functions, except those of matters of account; prefect and sub-prefects are, however, ineligible.

"18. The emperor sends to the chambers ministers and counsellors of state, who sit there to take part in the debates, but have no deliberative voice unless they are peers or elected by the people.

"19. Thus ministers, the members of either chamber, or sitting there by mission from government, give to the chambers such information as is deemed necessary, when its publicity does not compromise the interest of the state.

"20. The sittings of the two chambers are public. They may, however, go into secret committees, the peers on the demand of ten, and the representatives on the demand of twenty-five members. Government may also require secret committees, when it has communications to make. In all other cases, deliberation and vote can only be in public sitting.

"21. The emperor may prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve the chamber of representatives. The proclamation which pronounces the dissolution convokes the electoral colleges for a new election; and fixes the meeting of representatives within six months at the furthest.

"22. During the recess of sessions of the chamber of representatives, or in case of its dissolution, the chamber of peers cannot meet.

"23. The proposal of laws originates with the government; the chambers can propose amendments; if these amendments are not adopted by government, the chambers are bound to vote on the law, such as it was proposed.

"24. The chambers have the power of inviting government to propose a law on a determinate object, and to draw up what it appears to them proper to insert in the law. This claim may be made by either chamber.

"25. When a bill is adopted in either chamber, it is carried to the other; and, if there approved, it is carried to the emperor.

"26. No written discourse, excepting reports of committees, or of ministers on laws, and accounts, can be read in either chamber."

TITLE II.—OF ELECTORAL COLLEGES, AND THE MODE OF ELECTION.

"27. The electoral colleges of departments and arrondissements are maintained, with the following modifications.

"28. The cantonal assemblies will annually fill up all the vacancies in electoral colleges by elections.

"29. Dating from 1814, a member of the chamber of peers appointed by the emperor shall be president for life, and irremoveable, of every electoral college of department.

"30. Dating from the same period, the electoral college of each department shall appoint, among the members of every college of arrondissement, the president and two vice-presidents. For that purpose, the meeting of the departmental college shall precede that of the college of arrondissement by a fortnight.

"31. The colleges of department and arrondissement shall appoint the number of representatives fixed for each in the table adjoined.

"32. The representatives may be chosen indiscriminately from the whole extent of France. Every college of department or arrondissement which shall choose a member out of its bounds, shall appoint a supplementary member, who must be taken from the department or arrondissement.

"33. Manufacturing and commercial industry and property shall have special representatives. The election of commercial and manufacturing representatives shall be made by the electoral college of department, from a list of eligible persons, drawn up by the chambers of commerce and the consultative chambers united."

TITLE III.—OF TAXATION.

"34. General direct taxes, whether on land or moveables, are voted only for one year: indirect taxes may be voted for several years. In case of the dissolution of the chamber of representatives, the taxes voted in the preceding session are continued till the next meeting of the chamber.

"35. No tax, direct or indirect, in money or kind, can be levied, no loan contracted, no inscription in the great book of the public debt can be made, no domain alienated or sold, no levy of men for the army ordered, no portion of territory exchanged, but in virtue of a law.

"36. No proposition of tax, loan, or levy of men, can be made but to the chamber of representatives.

"37. Before the same chamber must be laid, in the first instance, the general budget of the state, containing a view of the receipts, and the proposal of the funds assigned for the year, to each department of service; also the account of the receipts and expenses of the year, or of preceding years."

TITLE IV.—OF MINISTERS, AND OF RESPONSIBILITY.

"38. All the acts of government must be countersigned by a minister in office.

"39. The ministers are responsible for acts of government signed by them, as well as for the execution of the laws.

"40. They may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and tried by that of peers.

"41. Every minister, and every commandant of armed force by land or sea, may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and tried by that of peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

"42. The chamber of peers, in that case, exercises a discretional power, either in classing the offence or mitigating the punishment.

"43. Before placing a minister in accusation, the chamber of representatives must declare that there is ground for examining the charge.

"44. This declaration can only be made on the report of a committee of sixty, drawn by lot. This committee must make its report in ten days, or sooner, after its nomination.

"45. When the chamber declares there is ground for inquiry, it may call the minister before them to demand explanations, at least within ten days after the report of the committee.

"46. In no other case can ministers in office be summoned or ordered by the chambers.

"47. When the chamber of representatives has pronounced that there is ground for enquiry against a minister, a new committee of sixty drawn by lot is formed, who are to make a new report on the placing in accusation. This committee makes its report ten days after its appointment.

"48. The placing in accusation is not to be decided till ten days after the report is read and distributed.

"49. The accusation being pronounced, the chamber appoints five of its members to prosecute the charge before the peers.

"50. The seventy-fifth article of the constitutional act of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, importing that the agents of government can only be prosecuted in virtue of a decision of the council of state, shall be modified by a law."

TITLE V.—OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

"51. The emperor appoints all judges. They are irremoveable, and for life, from the moment of their appointment; but the nomination of justices of peace and judges of commerce shall take place as formerly. The existing judges, appointed by the emperor, in terms of the *senatus consultum* of the 12th October, 1807, and whom he shall think proper to retain, shall receive provisions for life before the 1st January next.

"52. The institution of juries is maintained.

"53. The discussions on criminal trials shall be public.

"54. Military offences alone shall be tried by military tribunals.

"55. All other offences, even those committed by military men, are within the jurisdiction of civil tribunals.

"56. All the crimes and offences which were appropriated for trial to the high Imperial court, and of which this act does not reserve the trial to the chamber of peers, shall be brought before the ordinary tribunals.

"57. The emperor has the right of pardon, even in correctional cases, and of granting amnesties.

"58. Interpretations of laws demanded by the court of cassation shall be given in the form of a law."

TITLE V.—OF THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

"59. All Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether for contribution to taxes and public burdens, or for admission to civil or military employments.

"60. No one, under any pretext, can be withdrawn from the judges assigned to him by law.

"61. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided for by law, and according to the prescribed forms.

"62. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all.

"63. All property possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable.

"64. Every citizen has a right to print and publish his thoughts, on signing them, without any previous censorship, liable, however, after publication, to legal responsibility, by trial by jury, even where there is ground only for the application of a correctional penalty.

"65. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens. Every petition is individual. Petitions may be addressed either to the government or to the two chambers; nevertheless, even the latter must also be entitled 'To the emperor.' They shall be presented to the chambers under the guarantee of a member who recommends the petition. They are publicly read, and, if the chambers take them into consideration, they are laid before the emperor by the president.

"66. No fortress, nor portion of territory, can be declared in a state of siege, but in case of invasion by a foreign force, or of civil broils. In the former case, the declaration is made by an act of the government. In the latter, it can only be done by the law. However, should the two chambers not then be sitting, the act of the government declaring the state of siege must be converted into a plan of law within a fortnight after the meeting of the chambers.

"67. The French nation moreover declares, that, in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers, it has not meant, and does not mean, to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty; nor the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal or seignorial rights or titles, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains; it formally interdicts to the government, the chambers, and the citizens, all propositions on that subject.—Given at Paris, April 22, 1815.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"By the emperor,

"The minister secretary of state,

(Signed) "The Duke of BASSANO."

This additional act was offered to the acceptance or rejection of the French people. Every Frenchman, who had attained to years of maturity, was invited to inscribe his vote for or against it, in registers which were opened in every town and district. These votes were to be collected, and the grand result published at the Champ de Mai, which was convened on the 26th of May. The *army* and *navy* were also invited to deliberate on the act, and to transmit their votes of approval or dissent.

Louis XVIII., with his little circle of faithful adherents, was now at Ghent, whence he issued several proclamations, which were the theme of ridicule among the myrmidons of Buonaparte, or were only deemed important as they were connected with the operations of the allies.

The proclamation of the 12th of April is, however, particularly entitled to notice, on account of the moderation which it breathes, and the avowal which it contains respecting the resolution of the allies to re-establish the legitimate sovereign on the throne of France:

"*Ghent, April* 12, 1815.

"At the moment when we are about to place ourselves amid our people, we consider that we owe them, in the face of Europe, a formal declaration of our intentions.

"When Heaven and the nation recalled us to the throne, we solemnly pledged ourselves before God, to forget past injuries, and to labour without intermission for the happiness of our subjects. The descendants of St. Louis have never betrayed either Heaven or their country.

"Already had our people recovered, through our care, plenty at home, peace abroad, and the esteem of all nations;—already had the throne, weakened by so many shocks, begun to be firmly established, when treason compelled us to quit our capital, and to seek refuge on the confines of our states. Europe, however, has taken up arms.—Europe, faithful to its treaties, will recognise no other king of France except ourselves.—Twelve hundred thousand men are about to march, to secure the repose of the world, and, a second time, to deliver our fine country.

"In this posture of affairs, a man, whose entire strength is at present made up of artifice and delusion, endeavours to lead astray the spirit of the nation by his fallacious promises, to raise it against its sovereign, and to drag it along with him into the abyss, as if to accomplish his frightful prophecy of 1814:—'If I fall, it shall be known how much the overthrow of a great man costs.'

"Amid the alarms which the present perils of France have revived in our hearts, the crown, which we have never looked upon but as the power of doing good, would to our eyes have lost all its charms, and we should have returned with pride to the exile in which twenty years of our life were spent in dreaming of the happiness of the French people, if our country were not menaced for the future with all the calamities which had been terminated by our restoration,—and, if we were not the guarantees for France, to the other sovereigns. The sovereigns who now afford so strong a mark of their affection cannot be abused by the cabinet of Buonaparte, with the Machiavelism of which they are perfectly aware. United by the friendship and interests of their people, they march without hesitation to the glorious end where Heaven has placed the general peace and happiness of nations.

"Thoroughly convinced, in spite of all the tricks of a policy now at its last extremity, that the French nation has not made itself an accomplice in the attempts of the army, and that the small number of Frenchmen who have been led astray must soon be sensible of their error, they regard France as their ally. Wherever they shall find the French people faithful, the fields will be respected, the labourer protected, and the poor succoured. They will reserve the weight of the war

to let it fall on those provinces, who, at their approach, refuse to return to their allegiance.

"This restriction, directed by prudence, would sensibly afflict us, if our people were less known to us; but, whatever the fears may be with which it is endeavoured to inspire them with respect to our designs, since our allies make war only against *rebels*, our people have nothing to dread; and we rejoice to think that their affection for us shall not have been altered by a short absence, nor by the calumnies of libellers, nor by the promises of the chief of a faction, too well convinced of his weakness not to caress those who ardently wish his destruction.

"On our return to our capital, a return which we consider to be near at hand, our first care shall be to recompense virtuous citizens, who have devoted themselves to the good cause, and to labour to banish even the very appearance of those disasters which may have withdrawn from us some of the French people.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

About this time a circumstance occurred, which, though productive of no political consequences, must have been peculiarly grateful to the feelings of Louis. In commemoration of his public entry into his capital, on May 3, 1814, and the loyal attachment which the national guard had expressed towards him, the king had declared that on the anniversary of that day, he would commit himself to their protection, and they alone should perform the duty of the Thuilleries. When the 3d of May approached, thirty young men of respectable families, and belonging to the national guard, secretly left Paris, and effected their escape to Ghent; where they concealed themselves till the morning of the 3d, when they unexpectedly appeared before their colonel, the Count D'Artois, and demanded the fulfilment of the king's promise. The prince immediately conducted them to his august brother, who was moved even to tears, at this proof of their affection. He most cheerfully acceded to their request, and, having dismissed his household troops for the day, the venerable monarch, though in exile, had the pleasure to see himself surrounded and protected by the guards of his capital.

The warlike preparations of the allies were continued without intermission. When Louis first took up his abode at Ghent, the British troops in Belgium did not consist of more than fifteen thousand men, the Belgian force did not equal that number, and the Prussians in Luxemburgh, and the vicinity of Cleves and Juliers, scarcely exceeded forty thousand. Before the middle of June, however, the British force was augmented to sixty thousand men, and the king of the Netherlands had more than half that number. Three hundred thousand Austrians were ready to penetrate into France; two hundred and twenty-five thousand Russians had almost advanced to the frontiers, and six corps of Prussians, comprising in the whole two hundred and thirty-six thousand men, were ready to enter France in various directions. If to these we add the contingents from the different states of Germany, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men, it will appear that a million of soldiers were under arms, for the express purpose of terminating the usurpation of Buonaparte.

Nor were these armies merely formidable on account of their immense numbers: they were also commanded by the most renowned generals of the age; some of whom had already fought successfully against the Corsican, and others had acquired equal reputation by vanquishing every marshal who had been opposed to them. Prince Schwartzenberg was appointed to the chief command of the Austrians, having under his orders Field-marshal Bellegarde, and Generals Frimont, Vincent, and Bianchi. The Russians were headed by the grand Duke Constantine, seconded by Generals Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, and Sacken. The heroic Blucher headed the Prussians with Generals Kleist, Yorck, and Bulow; and the British and Belgians were commanded by the Duke of Wellington, assisted by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, Generals Picton, Beresford, Clinton, and many other officers of established celebrity. The continental sovereigns also resolved once more to take the field in person, that their presence might excite the enthusiasm of their respective troops.

Buonaparte had but three hundred thousand men on the frontiers to oppose against this overwhelming force. The national guards, indeed, were in reserve, amounting to two millions of men, but he was well aware that there was little probability of inspiring them with zeal in his cause. The additional act had weakened his popularity, and destroyed his influence. It was too late, however, to retract. The contest must be attempted, and his only hope rested on the possibility of some brilliant enterprise which might cut off the advanced columns of the allies, and by carrying the war into the enemy's country, encourage the disaffected to declare on his side.

His emissaries were now actively employed in all parts of Europe, transmitting intelligence of the state of public opinion, and the preparations of the allied sovereigns, or executing his secret orders. At Brussels, two of his agents were detected under circumstances truly ludicrous.

At the hotel Bellevue, a French family was arrested, in consequence of the discovery that a letter was en-

closed in the collar of their *dog*, containing some interesting facts relative to the state. This animal was to have been despatched with a servant on the following day as *courier extraordinaire*.

A short time afterwards, a young lady of condition arrived at the same hotel with a suite of domestics. As one of her household passed along the saloon of the hotel, he was recognised by an officer as an emissary of Buonaparte. Information was immediately given to the police, and proper persons were despatched to investigate the affair. As the officers entered the lady's apartment, they observed a man in a peasant's dress, coming out of her chamber with a brown loaf under his arm. On perceiving the unwelcome visitors, he hastily descended the staircase, singing "*Vive Henry Quatre!*" and, keeping his right eye in an enquiring direction over his shoulder. On the officers entering the lady's room, she instantly tore in pieces a letter, which proved, on uniting the fragments, to be a despatch from an agent of the French government. It is hardly necessary to add that the lady and her attendants were properly disposed of.

The seeming peasant, on being secured, attempted to give his loaf to a woman who was begging in the street; but the officers, suspecting from his solicitude to get rid of his bread, that there was something more than usual in the affair, seized the loaf, and, on breaking it, discovered several letters for Paris, one of which was directed to Buonaparte himself.

France, in the mean time, was agitated by increasing discontents, and many of the departments broke out into open insurrection. In Languedoc, Bretagne, and Anjou, numerous armed bands appeared, and contended with various success against the forces of the usurper.

Alarmed by these occurrences, and discovering that, even in Paris, an extensive correspondence was carried on with the Bourbons, Napoleon one day proposed at the council, a domiciliary visit through the capital, to search for papers and suspected persons. This despotic measure, which would have reminded the people of the worst periods of the revolution, was strongly opposed by the Duke of Otranto. Buonaparte, incensed at his opposition, demanded his portfolio. "There it is," replied the duke, "but I will not answer for your life to-morrow." This menace startled the Corsican, who, after a moment's consideration, returned the portfolio with an apology for his hastiness.

He then proposed that the punishment of death should be denounced against every emigrant. Here, however, Cambaceres interfered, and asserted that a decree so unnecessarily cruel and unjust, would excite the indignation of France and of Europe. Buonaparte again yielded to one of his paroxysms of passion, and accused the minister of holding a traitorous communication with Louis XVIII. Cambaceres took no notice of this accusation, but persisted in his opposition to the decree; and the usurper, after his rage had subsided, consented to a proposition of the minister, which commanded all emigrants to return within one month, and present themselves before some civil authority, in which case a free pardon was granted; but all who neglected or refused to avail themselves of the amnesty were punishable with death.

In several parts of Bretagne, confederacies had been formed, the members of which professed "to consecrate all their means to the propagation of liberal principles;—to support the public spirit during the present crisis, and to oppose all disorders;—to maintain public security in the interior, and to march to all places in the province which might be threatened by foreign or domestic foes. To employ all their influence and credit to keep each other in the line of his duty to his prince and his country;—to bear succour effectually and promptly at the first requisition of the public authority;—to defeat all plots against the constitution and the emperor;—and to lend each other mutual assistance and protection." Buonaparte thought that something of this kind might be brought forward in Paris; and accordingly despatched secret emissaries into the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, the inhabitants of which had acted so prominent a part in all the most sanguinary and disgraceful scenes of the revolution, to induce them to enter into similiar confederations.

This scheme proved successful. Fifteen thousand men enrolled themselves, and demanded arms; and, to render the affair as public as possible, a day was appointed in which they were to be reviewed in the court of the Thuilleries.

Accordingly, on the 14th of May, these dregs of the people, in a thousand different and disgusting habits, marched into the courts of the palace; and, on Napoleon appearing in front of the line, an orator deputed from their body addressed him to the following effect:

"Sire!

"We received the Bourbons with indifference and apathy, because we love not kings imposed upon us by the enemy. We received you with enthusiasm, because you are the object of the national choice, the defender of the country, and because we expect from you a glorious independence and judicious freedom. We have come, on the present occasion, to make a tender of our arms, our courage, and our blood, for the safety of the capital.

"The greater part of us have combatted under your orders. We are almost all old defenders of our country. Our country may, therefore, confidently place arms in the hands of those who have shed their blood in her cause. Give to us, sire! arms in her name. We swear, in your presence, to fight only in our country's cause and in yours. We are not the tools of any party, nor the agents of any faction. We only wish to preserve the national honour, and to render the entrance of the enemy into this capital impracticable, in the event of its being menaced with a new insult. Conquerors, by our own courage and your genius, we shall resume our toils with pleasure and alacrity; and we shall be better able to appreciate the blessings of peace, when we shall obtain, as the price of twenty-five years of sacrifices, a liberal constitution and the monarch of our choice.

"Sire! you will triumph. We rejoice by anticipation at a victory so legitimate, and at the glorious and permanent tranquillity which will result from it. Yes, sire, we have an assurance that when our enemies shall renounce the chimerical hope of prescribing laws to us, you will love peace as you love glory. We shall be indebted to you for liberty and happiness; and all France, now ready to fight, if necessary, will love you as a good king, after admiring you as the greatest of warriors."

To this harangue the Corsican replied—

"Soldiers and federates! I returned to France alone, because I reckoned on the affection of the peasants through the whole of France, and the artisans of the principal cities. My expectations have not been deceived.

"Confederated soldiers! I see you around me with pleasure. You have robust arms and brave hearts. I accept your offers, and will give you arms. You shall form the light troops of the Parisian national guard, to which, in conjunction with you, I commit the defence of my capital.

"Tranquil as to the result of the contest, I shall proceed to the frontiers to manœuvre the army, and to defend our territory, if the allied sovereigns shall dare to attack it. The honour of the French, the rights of the people, and my throne, are under your protection, and under that of the people of the country and the villages. We will cause the national sovereignty and independence to be respected."

This reply was received with loud and repeated acclamations, and the federates dispersed, proud of the honour which had been conferred upon them. The rational friends of liberty, however, augured ill, when her cause was committed to such defenders. And even the soldiers did not hesitate to express their astonishment and indignation. "Behold," said some of them, "the masters of our master! Where is the great Napoleon? We no longer recognise the conqueror of Europe—the emperor whose court was composed of the kings of Spain and Naples, of Saxony and Bavaria, of Wurtemberg and Westphalia. We see only the emperor of a *mob!*"

The deputations from the electoral colleges, in the mean time, arrived but slowly, and the lists of votes from several of the departments had not yet been received: but as the impatience of the public began to be loudly expressed, and as Buonaparte himself was anxious to join the army on the frontiers, the assembly of the Champ de Mai was appointed to be held on the ninth of June.

The Champ de Mai, or Champ de Mars, is a large plot of ground in front of the military school, bordered on each side with avenues of trees, which extend from the school almost to the banks of the Seine. In the early periods of the French monarchy, the general assemblies of the nation were held in this place. The objects of those meetings were to frame new laws, to lay the complaints of the people before the king, to adjust differences among the barons, and to review the national forces. It was called the Champ de Mars, because the assembly took place in the month of March. In the middle of the eighth century, Pepin transferred it to the month of May, as a milder and more convenient season. After this, it was called either the Champ de Mars or the Champ de Mai.

"Never did a festival more national," says one of the Paris journals, "or a spectacle at once so solemn and touching, attract the attention of the French people—every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of a great people with their sovereign—France, represented by the select of her citizens, agriculturists, merchants, magistrates, and warriors, collected around the throne—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection." Yet this was the *tenth* constitution which had been presented and accepted in a similar manner.—The throne appears to have been erected in the centre of a semicircular inclosure, two-thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which fifteen thousand persons were seated. Buonaparte having taken his seat, mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, Cardinal Bayanne, and four other bishops. A deputation of five hundred members of the electoral colleges then advanced to the foot of the throne, and were presented by the arch-chancellor. M. Duboys D'Angers (one of

the members, and representative of the department of the Maine and Loire) then pronounced the following address in the name of the French people:

"Sire! the French people had decreed the crown to you; you deposed it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it. A new contract is formed between the nation and your majesty. Collected from all points of the empire around the tables of the law on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people—in this wish, which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate organs,—not to say, in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, and what he is to expect from it.

"What is the object of the league of the allied kings, with that warlike preparation by which they alarm Europe, and afflict humanity? By what act, what violation, have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we, since peace was concluded, endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners. We will not have the chief whom our enemies would give us; and we will have him whom they wish us not to have. They dare to proscribe you personally; you, sire, who, so often master of their capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the ægis of French law and French power. They menace us with invasion! And yet contracted within frontiers which nature has not imposed upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory and even peace had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass that narrow boundary.

"Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all, in our institutions, and in the will of the French people henceforth united to yours. Do they not dread to remind us of a state of things lately so different, but which may still be re-produced? It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us. Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered; and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us? It is vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in order to give us masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their name. They could not believe our oaths, neither could we rely on their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us, were too evidently the fond objects of their thoughts, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants, 'that he would answer to them for the future.' Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We declare it to nations: may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration for grounds of consolation for the sacrifices made to obtain peace; but, if we are left no choice between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war. The nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have perhaps made in order to save Europe from a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: victory will follow your eagles; and our enemies, who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us."

At the conclusion of this address, the whole Champ de Mars resounded with cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive L'Empereur!*" At this moment the arch-chancellor proclaimed, that the additional act to the constitution of the empire had been accepted almost unanimously, the number of negative votes being only four thousand two hundred and six. The herald then declared, in the name of the emperor, that the act was accepted by the French people. Buonaparte, then seating himself on another throne, which was in the centre, and overlooked the assembly, spoke in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen, electors of the colleges of the departments and districts;—gentlemen, deputies of the army and navy, to the Champ de Mai:

"Emperor, consul, or soldier, I derive all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of realizing the promise given to preserve to France her natural integrity, her honours, and her rights. Indignation at seeing those sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victory, disavowed and lost for ever; the cry of French honour tarnished, and the wishes of the nation, have replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people.

"Frenchmen, in traversing, amidst the public joy, the different provinces of the empire to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties concluded by their governments,

whatever they may be. My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of establishing our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people. I convoked the Champ de Mai. I soon learned that the princes who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of so many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing of the kingdom of the Netherlands, by giving it as barriers all our northern frontier-places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exist amongst them, by dividing Lorraine and Alsace.

"It was now necessary to provide for war. But, before personally encountering the hazard of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the act which I have presented to them. Frenchmen, when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of twenty-eight millions of people, a solemn law, drawn up in the forms required by the constitutional act, shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed.

"Frenchmen, you are about to return to your departments; inform the citizens that circumstances are grand! that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from this contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when she has lost her independence. Tell them, that foreign kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns, who all, during my prosperity, sought my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence, against which they show themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be powerless.

"Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

This harangue produced all the effect which was intended and desired. Shouts of enthusiasm rent the air, and it was long before order could be restored.

At length the Grand Almoner approached the throne, and, kneeling, presented the New Testament to Buonaparte, who took the oath in the following terms: "I swear to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed."

The arch-chancellor then advanced to the throne, and pronounced the oath of obedience to the constitutions, and fidelity to the emperor. The whole assembly repeated with one voice, "We swear it!"

Te Deum having been sung, Napoleon laid aside the imperial mantle, and, rising from the throne, addressed the military as follows:—

"Soldiers of the national guard of the empire! Soldiers of the land and sea forces! To your hands I confide the imperial eagle with the national colours. Swear to defend it at the expense of your blood against the enemies of France, and of this throne. Swear that it shall always be your rallying signal."

Loud and universal cries of "We swear it," immediately resounded through the enclosure. In the midst of these acclamations, Buonaparte proceeded to the other throne in the middle of the Champ de Mars. The troops marched in battalions and squadrons, and surrounded the throne. He then, as colonel of the national and imperial guard, presented to each its eagle, and said,—

"Soldiers of the national guards of Paris! Soldiers of the imperial guards! I confide to you the national eagles, and the national colours. You swear to perish, if necessary, in defending them against the enemies of the country and the throne." The whole army, drawn up in close order around him, replied, with repeated exclamations of, "We swear it."

The drum rolled, and silence was restored.

"You swear," continued Napoleon, "never to acknowledge any other rallying sign." Again the cries of "We swear it," resounded on every side. "You soldiers of the national guard of Paris swear never to suffer foreigners again to pollute by their presence the capital of the great nation!" The most enthusiastic shouts of "We swear it," burst from every rank, and were prolonged by the immense multitude who surrounded the enclosure.

The drum once more beat, and a considerable time elapsed before order could be restored. "And you soldiers of the imperial guards," said the Corsican, "swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign about to open, and to die rather than suffer foreigners to dictate laws to the country." The acclamations of "We swear it," were now repeated a thousand times by every voice. In vain the drum again rolled. Its sound was drowned by the shouts of the deluded multitude.

The troops were now ordered to defile before Napoleon, and, during two hours, which were occupied in the procession of the numerous battalions, the acclamations were continued with little or no intermission.

Previous to the meeting of the Champ de Mai, some friends of liberty and their country had waited on Buonaparte, and represented to him that it was in his power to make the ceremonies of that day a permanent blessing to France, and the foundation of his own immortal honour. The allies had declared that they made war on him alone. Their overwhelming armies were pressing toward the frontiers, and the most sanguine mind could not anticipate a favourable result. If, therefore, before the assembled nation, he were voluntarily to abdicate the power which he had so recently resumed, and offer himself a willing sacrifice for the salvation of his country, he would retire into private life, followed by the blessings of the people; his memory would ever live in their grateful recollections, and his name would be enrolled in the brightest pages of history.

To this proposal the usurper replied, that he was willing to make every sacrifice for the welfare of France, but that this was utterly impossible. He stated that the army would be indignant at the mention of such apparent humiliation, and that his abdication would be the signal for tumult and civil war. The allies, he said, had deeper and more dangerous projects in view. They were less anxious for his deposition, than for the disgrace and dismemberment of France. His resignation would not arrest their progress, but would merely deprive the army of their chosen leader, weaken the means of defence, and expose the country to accumulated evils.

On the following day the chamber of representatives commenced its sittings. The first business was to elect a president; and the choice fell on Lanjuinais, who was well known for his attachment to constitutional liberty, and for his uniform opposition to every despotic act of Buonaparte.

This person, before the revolution, was an advocate and professor of canon-law. He was a deputy of the *tiers-etát* to the states-general, and one of the founders of the jacobin-club, though never disgraced by the atrocities of that vile society. In August, 1789, he shewed that, though he was a friend to the cause of liberty, he was not inclined to unite with the disciples of anarchy, for he warmly opposed the sequestration of the property of the clergy, yet he was the person who proposed the abolition of all titles. When the reign of terror commenced, he allied himself with the moderate party. On the 15th of December, 1792, he spoke in favour of Louis XVI., and demanded that counsel and the means of defence should be granted to him. On the 26th of the same month he again appeared as the advocate of that unfortunate prince. He exposed the injustice and atrocity of a trial in which the enemies of Louis were at once accusers, witnesses, jurymen, and judges; nor would he quit the tribune, although he was assailed with the most vehement outcries, and his voice was repeatedly drowned by the most diabolical threats of revenge. Having been deluded into the idea that Louis was guilty, he voted on the nominal appeal, that he should be imprisoned until the conclusion of peace, and then banished.

He now distinguished himself by his bold opposition to all the sanguinary deeds which marked this period of the revolution. On one occasion, he kept possession of the tribune, though several of the members of the Mountain party attempted to drag him thence with violence. They exclaimed that he was suspected, and demanded that he should resign. "I have, I believe," said he, "hitherto shewn some courage and energy; expect then from me neither resignation nor suspension. Know that a victim which, adorned with flowers, is dragged to the altar, is not insulted by the sacrificing priest. You talk of sacrificing my power? What an abuse of words! Sacrifices ought to be free, and you are not so." At this meeting, he was condemned to imprisonment; but, eluding the vigilance of the *gend'-arme* who guarded him, he escaped the fate in which all his colleagues were soon involved. He was now out-lawed, and remained a fugitive and proscribed until 1795, when he was recalled, and appointed president of the legislative assembly. In this situation he opposed every law against the relations of emigrants, and every decree which seemed unnecessarily severe. In 1800, he became one of the conservative senate, and strenuously opposed the despotic measures of Buonaparte. In 1802, before the Corsican was made first consul for life, a project was entertained by his partisans to raise him to the imperial dignity at once; and Rœderer made a speech to sound the conservative senate on this point. Lanjuinais replied to him, and exclaimed, that "Whoever he was that would take upon himself the title of Emperor, he would consider him as an enemy to his country and a usurper." Marshal Kellerman immediately drew his sword, and enquired, "whom he meant to stigmatise as an usurper?" adding, "that if he meant the First Consul, he would run him through the body!" The senate interposed, but Lanjuinais persisted in his declaration without naming any person. His firmness and eloquence produced so much effect on the senate, that it was thought advisable to drop the plan for the present. When Buonaparte was to be made emperor, Lanjuinais violently opposed it, and exclaimed, "What! are you so degraded as to

give your country a master taken from a race of men so *ignominious*, that the Romans disdained to use them even as *slaves?*" He was also the author of the celebrated *proces verbal*, which pronounced the dethronement of Buonaparte, when the allies entered Paris in 1814.

As, on these accounts, Lanjuinais had incurred the hatred of Buonaparte, it was expected that he would not be disposed to ratify the choice of the representatives. Convinced, however, that it was not yet his policy to break with the chambers, he stifled his resentment, and the note informing him of the nomination was returned, after some delay, with the laconic addition, "I approve."

It was supposed that, on the next day, the sessions would have been opened by a speech from the throne, and an occurrence then took place, which seems to have been enveloped in mystery. A Saxon gentleman of distinction, named Sahla, gained admittance to the hall of representatives, in expectation of meeting with Buonaparte; but, on learning that the session would not be opened until the next day, he quitted the place, and, as he turned into a neighbouring street, accidentally slipped and fell; when a quantity of fulminating silver exploded in his pocket, and lacerated him in a dreadful manner.

He was immediately taken before the police, and it was recollected that five years before he had been apprehended for an attempt on the life of Buonaparte. For this he had been confined in the castle of Vincennes, until the entry of the allies into Paris. The account which he gave of himself was contradictory; but he remained so resolute in the determination which he had taken, that, a considerable time after his arrest, when he was interrogated in order to discover whether he could be liberated without any danger to Napoleon, he ingenuously avowed that he had by no means renounced his design.

In a succeeding examination he said, "that he had long been an enthusiast from a love of his country. That while the French government appeared to be the cause of the oppression of Germany, he shewed himself its unrelenting enemy, and attempted the life of Buonaparte. But that since Saxony had passed under the yoke of the congress of Vienna, his rage had turned against the authors of this new degradation. That he fled from his country with the avowed design of seeking assistance from abroad. That he arrived in Paris provided with recipes and inventions of destruction, which he wished to get adopted in France as even more murderous than the usual implements of warfare. By means of fulminating silver, he supposed that he had discovered the secret of making rockets even more formidable than those of Congreve. He offered this secret to the war-minister, and left in the office one of his boxes of fulminating silver, which he wished should be subjected to experiment, and he always carried in his pocket a considerable quantity of this dangerous substance."

This account was deemed unsatisfactory. The project which he had formerly conceived and almost executed against Buonaparte, and his quitting the hall as soon as he was informed that he would not be present until the next day, threw considerable suspicion on his intentions, and he was detained in prison till the second abdication of Napoleon.

The termination of the business rendered the whole yet more mysterious. A few days before the entrance of the allied troops into Paris he was set at liberty, and, on the following morning, he threw himself from the parapet of the bridge of Louis XVI. into the Seine. Immediate assistance was procured, but all attempts to restore animation were ineffectual.

The day after this person was taken into custody, Buonaparte went in state to the palace of representatives, to open the session of the chambers. The oath of fidelity to the emperor and the constitution having been taken, Napoleon uncovered himself a moment—afterwards covered himself, and said—

"Gentlemen of the chamber of peers, and gentlemen of the chamber of representatives!

"Within the last three months, existing circumstances, and the confidence of the nation, have again invested me with unlimited authority. The present day will behold the fulfilment of the wish dearest to my heart. I am now going to commence a constitutional monarchy.

"Mortals are too weak to insure future events; it is solely the legal institutions which determine the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people.

"Our constitution and laws have been scattered; one of our most important occupations will be, to collect them into a solid body, and to bring the whole within the reach of every mind. This work will recommend the present age to the gratitude of future generations. It is my wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say *possible*, because anarchy always resolves itself into an absolute government. A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers.—The frigate La Melpomene has been attacked and captured in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English ship of seventy-four guns. Blood has been shed

in time of peace!—Our enemies reckon on our internal divisions. They excite and foment a civil war. Assemblages have been formed, and communications are carried on with Ghent, in the same manner as with Coblentz in 1792. Legislative measures are, therefore, become indispensably necessary; and I place my confidence, without reserve, in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

"The liberty of the press is inherent in our present constitution; nor can any change be made in it, without altering our whole political system; but it must be subject to legal restrictions, more especially in the present state of the nation. I therefore recommend this important matter to your serious consideration.

"My ministers will inform you of the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state, except from the increase of expense which the present circumstances render necessary; yet we might face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget could all be realized within the year. It is to the means of arriving at this result that my minister of finances will direct your attention.

"It is possible that the first duty of princes may soon call me to fight for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. Do you, peers and representatives, give to the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the Roman senate, swear to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall yet triumph!"

Soon after the opening of the chamber of representatives, it was abundantly evident that they were actuated by a very different spirit from what had ever before appeared among them during the former reign of Buonaparte; and that, in fact, they regarded him only in the light of the chief magistrate of the state, whom they were not bound to obey, or even respect, except as he conscientiously discharged the duties of his office.

Nor were the representatives more disposed to flatter the army. On the motion of Carnot, that, to add to the glory and enthusiasm of the armies, the chamber should decree that they had deserved well of their country, a strong opposition to it was manifest; and a motion for adjournment was carried, on the ground that hitherto they had not done any thing to deserve thanks. But the feelings of the chamber of representatives towards Buonaparte were marked in a still more decided manner, when Felix Lepelletier rose and stated, that he was about to propose an act of national equity and justice.

M. Felix Lepelletier.—"I am about to propose an act of national equity and justice. There is not one of us but considers the 1st of March as the day of the salvation of the country. In vain the monarchs of Europe pretend to change our sentiments, as if a nation were not its own master. But, gentlemen, before the departure of the emperor, you will assure him, that you will unite all your efforts, all those of the French people, to his generous exertions for the salvation of the country; and, since adulation and flattery have decreed to a prince, who was neither invited nor expected by the French nation, the fair title of THE DESIRED, do not you think—[*murmurs*]—do not you think it but just to decree also a title to the man, who, almost without means, confiding in the sentiments of the nation, landed alone on the 1st of March, to rescue us from slavery and the feudal system? I demand, therefore, that you declare him THE SAVIOUR OF THE COUNTRY.—[*Cries from all quarters for the order of the day.*]—I demand that at the same time you publish an address to the French people." [*Here the uproar became so violent, that the president was obliged to ring his bell several times.*]

M. Dupin.—"Yes, you are here to preserve, to assist our legitimate emperor, by all the means in your power; but would you suffer the poisoned breath of flattery to find its way already within these walls?"—[*Continued uproar.*]

The President.—"Though the assembly manifests a desire to avoid the discussion of the proposal that has been just made, I am obliged to put it to the vote."

On this the whole assembly rose to pass to the order of the day.

From these proceedings of the chamber of representatives, it is evident that they were strongly opposed to Buonaparte's resumption of his former power. Some of the members went much further, and indicated in pretty plain language, that, in their opinion, all titles ought to be abolished, and the government brought as near as possible to the simplicity of a republic: these sentiments, however, were by no means prevalent.

In the sitting of the 13th of June, the exposition of the minister of the interior was laid before the chamber of representatives. At all times these annual *exposés* were to be regarded with scruple and distrust; and it is not to be supposed that, at this period, they would be strictly conformable to the truth. This, however, is a curious and interesting document, as pointing out the hopes of Buonaparte, and the measures which he had adopted, as proofs of his altered principles and conduct, and as conducive to render him popular. In this view of it, we shall notice the most prominent and important parts.

After dwelling on the anxiety of the emperor for peace, and the injustice of the allies in their meditated

attack against France, the report proceeds to notice the royalist and republican parties. The former are represented as by no means numerous or formidable. As to the republicans, "converted from old errors of which experience made them feel too severely the cruel effects, they see in the emperor only the protector of the liberal ideas which they have at all times themselves professed, and which excesses alone have prevented them from hitherto seeing realized."

The first head of the exposition related to the communes. It represented, that, under the Bourbons, the communal administrations had been almost totally abandoned, and the communal funds dilapidated by the journeys of the princes; the restoration of the woods to the emigrants, &c. &c.

The second head related to the hospitals, which had also suffered much in consequence of losing one of their principal resources by the restoration of property to emigrants, with which they had been endowed by solemn laws.

Under the head of Works, the *exposé* stated that they should be resumed, but, in future, they should be exclusively reserved for France.

With respect to Manufactures, they were said to be flourishing. The manufacture of sugar from the beet-root, in spite of all the efforts made to destroy it, promised shortly to render Europe independent of the New World for that article; and the indigo procured from woad already rivalled that of India.

Under the title of Instructions, it was stated that, though the number both of scholars and colleges had been diminished, yet the university of Paris had still under its direction three hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-four pupils; and the Lyceum displayed the best spirit.

Public Worship.—In speaking of the clergy, the minister did not attempt to disguise the errors they committed under the last government, in giving way, from the lure of a restitution of church property, to the influence of emigrants, in stigmatizing as plunderers the owners of national property, whose titles had been recognised as legitimate by the Pope himself; and in attempting, in the name of the Almighty, whose servants they are, to light up the flames of civil war among men. The emperor, however, was always disposed to protect and even favour the ministers of the church, so long as they confined themselves within the bounds of their duty, and had already conferred on the curates an augmentation of one hundred and fifty francs, which had been vainly promised to them by the last government. The emperor was, besides, the only sovereign who, having no further interests to arrange with the Pope, had it in his power to put an end to those interminable negotiations commenced by the last government with the court of Rome, and to re-establish, upon the basis of the *concordat*, the liberties of the Gallican church.

Jurisprudence.—This article of the report was extremely short. The minister merely stated, that those civil judges who felt themselves unworthy of their functions, had done justice by abdicating their offices; and that, as far as respected the administration of the criminal law, the establishment of the trial by jury every day merited new approbation; but that, in the mean time, some organical institutions were necessary to regulate the duties and diminish the labours of those judicial citizens.

It was impossible to follow M. le Comte Regnault through all the details which he furnished on the important topic of the War Department. The result is, that, on the 1st of April, 1814, the army consisted of four hundred and fifty thousand men, exclusive of one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, all veteran soldiers, and of one hundred and fifteen thousand conscripts of the levy of 1815, of which forty-five thousand only out of one hundred and sixty thousand had been raised. The last government, at once prodigal and avaricious, alarmed at its own strength, and essentially hostile to the army, had taken every possible means of diminishing it.

The orator then described the various oppressions to which the army had been exposed, particularly by the introduction of the emigrants, and which had reduced its number to one hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Since the 20th of March last, its number had been raised to three hundred and seventy-five thousand combatants of every description; and, before the 1st of August, it would amount to five hundred thousand, independent of the national guards.

The Imperial Guard.—"This surest bulwark of the throne in times of war, and its finest ornament in time of peace," had a separate article allotted to it in the official report. The minister condemned the injustice with which it was treated by the last government, and announced that it already amounted to forty thousand men.

The losses in the Artillery had been in a great measure repaired; they were occasioned chiefly by treachery, and especially the delivering up of all the strong places, by order of the Count D'Artois, in his capacity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. By this single act, France had lost twelve thousand pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, the value of which was estimated at two hundred millions of francs. This loss, however, had been entirely supplied; the arsenals, magazines of powder, and armories, were in full activity;

and, after having armed the national guard and associations, there would remain in the magazines six hundred thousand muskets.

Military Expenditure.—The administrative details on this subject were little susceptible of abridgement. The minister, however, asserted that the necessary funds would be easily provided, and no new taxes be required.

The Marine presented considerable resources, notwithstanding the evils produced by treachery, which had not, however, cast any stain upon its honour.

It is not easy to conjecture the reason that induced Buonaparte to be so unwilling to announce the certainty of hostilities, and the absolute necessity that existed of his putting himself at the head of his armies. His delay in setting out from Paris for this purpose, has been supposed to originate from his apprehension that the republican party would take advantage of his absence, and either depose him altogether, or greatly curtail his authority. And it must be confessed that his situation was one of extreme difficulty and hazard. Against France there were collected more numerous armies than had ever marched against a single opponent: and these armies consisted, for the most part, of the men, and were headed by the generals, who had already once conquered France, and driven him from his throne. Had France, therefore, been even unanimous and zealous in his support, there would still have been ample grounds for apprehension. We have already stated, however, that, in some of the departments, the adherents of the Bourbons were numerous and active; in other districts the people were lukewarm; and scarcely in any part was there a positive and active disposition in favour of himself. What, then, would be his fate, if his first efforts were unsuccessful? Would not he be driven from his throne? And, if he were successful, had he not reason to apprehend that his authority would still be cramped by the constitutionalists? Was it not evident that they regarded him with a jealous eye; and only endured him because he was a skilful general, not because he was the monarch of their choice?

It was, however, necessary that he should quit Paris, and put himself at the head of his armies. He had, indeed, declared that he would not strike the first blow: that, if war were to break out, the blame of beginning it should rest entirely with the allies: that France must be invaded before he would unsheath the sword. These declarations were made in the hope of rousing the French people; but this hope proving vain, he did not judge it prudent to lose any advantage he might gain, merely that he might be able to appeal to Europe as the person attacked.

Of the allies, only the Prussians and the English were as yet on the frontiers of France. If, therefore, he could gain a decisive victory over them, it would in all probability dispirit the rest, and dissolve the confederacy: especially might these consequences be expected, if he could defeat the British army. England was the soul of the confederacy: her spirit animated, her money supported it: if, therefore, her army were defeated, she would not be willing, and perhaps might not be able, to keep together the allies. Besides, under the Duke of Wellington, she had assembled a very large force, consisting of her best troops: if, therefore, this general, on whom she prided herself, and this army, yielded to the genius of Napoleon and the superiority of French soldiers, the people of England would probably insist on peace, even though the English ministry were still desirous of war.

There were still other motives for beginning the attack before the rest of the allies were come up. France evidently had less of that fondness for military glory than she displayed during his former reign. Now by what means would she so probably be re-animated by those feelings as by a signal victory gained by him? The contest, no doubt, would be obstinate. Between the Prussians and the French there existed a most deadly hatred; a hatred of a personal, as well as of a national, character. Blucher, who commanded the Prussians, it was well known, was pre-eminent in this hatred: ever since the battle of Jena, he had sworn to free his country. During the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, he had accomplished this object, and had retaliated on France some of the evils which she had inflicted on Prussia. But Buonaparte, the scourge of Prussia, was now returned, rendering, at least for the time, all Blucher's exertions and success of little avail. It may well be supposed, therefore, that Blucher entered into the new contest, resolved that the fate of Buonaparte should now be sealed for ever, and that France should be amply punished for her perfidy. In these feelings he was followed by almost every man under his command; for scarcely a single Prussian soldier existed but what had private wrongs inflicted by the French to revenge. Whose cottage had not been destroyed?—whose land had not been laid waste?—whose mother, or wife, or sister, had not been insulted? On the other hand, the French hated those whom they had thus injured: and to this source of hatred were added others. In the first place, they remembered the invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick in the beginning of the revolution; they recollected his manifesto; the evils with which it threatened France! In the second place, they called to mind that France had been overrun by the Prussians in 1814; and this national affront they now thought they had an opportunity to wipe out.

The feelings of the French and English towards each other were different; they were not so savage: but they prompted them in nearly an equally strong manner to wish for combat. The French had been repeatedly defeated by the English in Spain: the English had first proved to Europe that the Corsican's *invincible troops* could be repeatedly beaten, and effectually resisted;—their disasters in Spain might be regarded as the grand source of all their other calamities. French vanity, indeed, easily found a cause for their defeats in the Peninsula: there they fought under great disadvantages; the people harassed their operations; they were obliged to fight not only against the English, Spanish, and Portuguese armies, but also against the whole population. Besides, the operations of Buonaparte in other quarters prevented him from supplying the war in Spain as he ought, and as it required: and, above all, he was not there in person.

The English, also, were eager for the battle in the Netherlands. Under the Duke of Wellington, they had beaten the French armies led on by their most celebrated marshals: but now they would be afforded an opportunity of beating Buonaparte himself. After what they had done, and with their confidence in the duke, they could not doubt what would be the issue; but still they were anxious for the combat.

Such were the motives and objects which induced Buonaparte to resolve on immediately quitting Paris; and such were the feelings of the hostile armies towards each other. Buonaparte also considered the scene of approaching action as in a high degree favourable to him. The Belgians still retained their attachment to the French, which certainly had not been weakened by their union with Holland: if, therefore, he should be decidedly victorious in the first battle, he had reason to hope that the people of the Netherlands would rise in his favour;—and that their example, preceded by a great victory, would rouse in France itself a more enthusiastic feeling than had as yet displayed itself.

The day before Napoleon left Paris, deputations from the chamber of peers and the chamber of representatives waited upon him. The address of the former, and Buonaparte's reply to it, presented nothing remarkable: but the address of the chamber of representatives, and the reply to that, deserve insertion, as affording additional proofs of the boldness of the representatives; of the ideas of liberty which they entertained; of the hopes respecting the issue of the contest which they indulged; and of the feelings and principles which Buonaparte thought proper to express on this occasion.

"Sire,—The chamber of representatives received with profound emotion the words which proceeded from the throne at the solemn sitting, when your majesty, laying down the extraordinary power which you exercised, proclaimed the commencement of a constitutional monarchy.

"The chief bases of that monarchy, the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, have been recognised by your majesty, who, rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, have declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, the chamber of deputies will perform the task thus devolved upon it: it requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or left to exist, in our constitutions considered as a whole.

"But, at the same time, sire, the chamber of representatives will not show itself less anxious to proclaim its sentiments and its principles as to the terrible contest which threatens to cover Europe with blood. In the train of disastrous events, France invaded, appeared for a moment listened to, as to the establishment of a constitution, only to see herself almost immediately subjected to a royal charter emanating from absolute power, to an ordinance of reform always revocable in its nature, and which, not having the expressed assent of the people, could never be considered as obligatory on the nation.

"Resuming now the exercise of her rights, rallying around the hero whom her confidence anew invests with the government of the state, France is astonished and afflicted at seeing some sovereigns in arms call her to account for an internal change, which is the result of the national will, and which attacks neither the relations existing with other governments, nor their security. France cannot admit the distinctions with the aid of which the coalesced powers endeavoured to cloak their aggression. To attack the monarch of its choice, is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel, without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people; *the will even of a victorious prince will be insufficient to draw on the nation beyond the limits of its own defence:* but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice.

"Why are we not still permitted to hope, sire, that these warlike preparations, formed perhaps by the irritation of pride, and by allusions which every day must

weaken, may still disperse before the want of a peace necessary to all the nations of Europe, and which shall restore to your majesty a spouse, to the French the heir of a throne? But blood has already flowed; the signal of combat, prepared against the independence and liberty of France, has been given in the name of a people who carry to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of liberty and independence. Doubtless, among the communications which your majesty promises us, the chambers will find proofs of the efforts you have made to maintain the peace of the world. If all these efforts must remain useless, may the calamities of war fall upon those who shall have provoked them.

"The chamber of representatives only waits for the documents announced to it, in order to contribute with all its power to the measures which the success of so legitimate a war will require. It delays pronouncing its resolves only till it knows the wants and resources of the state; and while your majesty, opposing to the most unjust aggression the valour of the national armies and the force of your genius, will seek in victory only one mean of attaining a durable peace, the chamber of representatives will deem that it marches towards the same object, by incessantly labouring on the compact, of which the improvement must cement the union of the people and the throne, and strengthen, in the eyes of Europe, by the amelioration of our institutions, the guarantee of our engagements."

To this address, Napoleon replied,—

"Mr. President, and gentlemen deputies of the chamber of representatives,

"I recognise with satisfaction my own sentiments in those which you express to me. In these weighty circumstances my thoughts are absorbed by the imminent war, to the success of which are attached the independence and the honour of France.

"I will depart this night to place myself at the head of my armies; the movements of the different hostile corps render my presence there indispensable. During my absence, I shall see with pleasure a commission appointed by each chamber engaged in deliberating on our constitutions.

"The constitution is our rallying-point; it must be our pole-star in these stormy moments. All public discussion, tending to diminish, directly or indirectly, the confidence which should be placed in its enactments, will be a misfortune to the state; we should then find ourselves at sea, without a compass and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the lower empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, made itself the laughing-stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions at the moment when the battering ram was shaking the gates of the city.

"Independently of the legislative measures required by the circumstances of the interior, you will probably deem it useful to employ yourselves on organic laws destined to put the constitution in motion. They may be the object of your public labours without any inconvenience.

"The sentiments expressed in your address sufficiently demonstrate to me the attachment of the chamber to my person, and all the patriotism with which it is animated. In all affairs my march shall be straight forward and firm. Assist me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement, which I renew, of employing in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown, and the little experience I have acquired, in seconding you in the amelioration of our constitutions."

The same night Buonaparte set out from Paris, and the operations of the French army, as soon as he joined it, were extremely prompt, and marked by that military talent for which he was distinguished. At the same time, three large armies, one from Laon, at the head of which was the Corsican himself; that of the Ardennes, commanded by General Vandamme; and that of the Moselle, under the command of General Girard, breaking up from their respective cantonments by a simultaneous and admirably executed movement, united on the frontiers of Belgium.

The 14th was the anniversary of Napoleon's victories at Marengo and Friedland; and it was supposed that he would have fixed on this day to have commenced hostilities; but, though he was extremely attached to *fortunate days*, yet, in this instance, he showed that prudence weighed more with him than this attachment; for, on the 14th of June, he could not have begun hostilities with any chance of success. He therefore contented himself with issuing the following address to his troops:—

GENERAL ORDER.

"*Avesnes, June* 14, 1815.

"Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to

meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

"Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six!

"Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered!

"The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable. After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

"The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb.

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours;—the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered!

"To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The Duke of Wellington, notwithstanding he had used his best endeavours to learn the arrival of Buonaparte at his army as soon as it took place, was certainly not early informed of that event, and yet it was of the utmost consequence that he should be so; for, in consequence of the want of provisions, and especially of forage, he had found it necessary to disperse his army very much. The British cavalry were as far off as the banks of the Dender; the Prussians occupied the line of the Sambre, and, consequently, were nearest the enemy. As it was impossible to know at what point Buonaparte would commence the attack, it was necessary, also, on this account, to spread the British and Prussian forces over a wide space: they were, however, so posted, as to afford the means of quick combination and mutual support.

The Duke of Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels, and certainly the appearance of the French upon the Sambre was an unexpected piece of intelligence there. The advance of Buonaparte was as bold as it was sudden. The second corps attacked the outposts of the Prussians, drove them in, pursued them, crossed the Sambre, and advanced for the purpose of intercepting the Prussian garrison at Charleroi. At the same time, the light cavalry of the French following the second corps as far as Marchienne-au-pont, turned to the right, after crossing the Sambre, and pushed along the left bank as far as Charleroi. In consequence of this rapid and unexpected movement, Charleroi was taken before the Prussians had time to destroy the bridge. The third division occupied the road to Namur, and the rest of the army were stationed between Charleroi and Gosselies. The Prussian garrison of Charleroi retired on Fleures, where Blucher was concentrating his army. On the morning of the 16th, the French troops, which had hitherto remained on the right of the Sambre, crossed that river.

As soon as this was effected, Buonaparte determined to attack the Prussians and British at the same time. The left wing of his army, consisting of the first and second corps, and of four divisions of cavalry, was now under the command of Marshal Ney. Buonaparte directed him to march upon Brussels by the way of Gosselies and Frasnes, while the centre and the right wing, with the imperial guards, under the immediate command of Napoleon, marched to the right towards Fleures against Blucher.

The intelligence of Buonaparte's movements reached Brussels on the evening of the 15th, at which time the Duke of Wellington and most of his officers were at a ball given by the Duchess of Richmond. Orders were immediately issued that the garrison of Brussels should move out to meet the enemy; and, at the same time, the cavalry, artillery, and guards, who were stationed at Enghien, were directed to move in the same direction. Among the first to muster in Brussels, were the forty-second and ninety-second Highland regiments, which had become great favourites in that city. They were so domesticated in the houses where they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see a Highland soldier taking care of the children, or keeping the shop of his host. They thus gained on the affections of the honest Flemings, who had been so little accustomed to experience such mildness and good behaviour in soldiers, that they could not believe they would be a match for the ferocious troops of Buonaparte; and they grieved to think that men to whom they had become so attached, should be exposed to the almost certain destruction to which they were marching. The Highlanders, however, soon proved that, if they were gentle as lambs in their quarters, they were fierce and unconquerable as lions in the field. They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the well-known martial air "Come to me, and I will give you flesh,"—an invitation to the wolf and to the raven, for which they were going to prepare an ample feast.

The alarm excited in Brussels, on this occasion, has

been thus described by an interesting writer, who was an eye-witness of the scenes which he relates:

"It was past midnight, and profound repose seemed to reign over Brussels, when suddenly the drums beat to arms, and the loud call of the trumpet was heard from every part of the city. It is impossible to describe the effect of these sounds, heard in the silence of the night. We were not long left in doubt of the truth. A second courier had arrived from Blucher; the attack had become serious; the enemy were in considerable force; they had taken Charleroi, and had gained some advantage over the Prussians, and our troops were ordered to march immediately to support them: instantly every place resounded with martial preparations. There was not a house in which military were not quartered, and, consequently, the whole town was one universal scene of bustle: the soldiers were seen assembling from all parts in the Place Royale, with their knapsacks upon their backs; some taking leave of their wives and children; others sitting down unconcernedly upon the pavement, waiting for their comrades; others sleeping upon packs of straw, surrounded by all the din of war; while bât-horses and baggage-waggons were loading, artillery and commissariat trains harnessing, officers riding in all directions, carts clattering, chargers neighing, bugles sounding, drums beating, and colours flying.

"A ludicrous contrast to this martial scene, was presented by a long procession of carts coming quietly in, as usual, from the country to market, filled with old Flemish women, who looked irresistibly comic, seated among their piles of cabbages, baskets of green peas, early potatoes, and strawberries, totally ignorant of the cause of all these warlike preparations, and gazing at the scene around them with gaping wonder, as they jogged merrily along, one after another, through the Place Royale, amidst the crowds of soldiers, and the confusion of baggage-waggons."

Another writer makes the following remarks on the state of the city, at the first alarm:

"Every house was the scene of *adieus*, not the less tender and sorrowful on account of the shortness of the intimacy that had preceded them. The young men that had not been very provident, were in a flutter, trying all sorts of expedients to procure a few necessaries for the march. Relations and intimate friends, belonging to different regiments, hurried together for an instant, to shake hands, and charge each other with short confidential commissions, to be discharged by the survivor.

"As the troops were collecting and falling into their ranks, the spectacle was most peculiar and impressive. The darkness gave way a little, as the first light of a summer-morning broke through the edge of the sky; but the candles still continued to shine through the windows, showing that no person had been at rest during the night; and their pale hue, as the morning advanced, gave a melancholy character to the look of the streets, corresponding with the general feeling of the spectators, who crowded to see gallant men go forth to death. The light was scarcely sufficient to discover features, before the march commenced;—feathers, flags, and bayonet-points, were all that could be seen. They went on and off, and gathered and formed, in a hazy obscurity. Mounted officers emerged rapidly from the deep shadows that lay in the distances: loud cries were heard, causing a confusion, that soon, however, settled itself into military regularity. Women who had bidden farewell at home, could not be satisfied, but came forth, and stood, in slight neglected clothing, at the corners by which they knew their friends would pass,—almost ashamed of their own feelings, but unable to resist the wish to gain one more look, and receive another pressure of the hand. Our officers speak with enthusiasm of the signs of affection shown to them at this affecting moment by the Brussels hosts and hostesses. A friend of mine was embraced by his landlord at the instant of parting, and made to promise, that, if any accident should send him back to Brussels, he would return to the house where he had been long and kindly entertained. The promise was kept: one day only intervened before the officer made his appearance again at the door of this good citizen. He presented himself bleeding, exhausted, and in agony: his inviter received him with open arms;—'Now,' said he, 'you have made me your friend for ever, for you have observed your promise, and have shown that you relied on my sincerity.' Every possible attention was extended to the wounded officer for the several months of his slow recovery, and there was as much delicacy in the manner of these attentions, as heartiness in the disposition by which they were dictated.

"The rapid march was long and painful. The officers, though they knew that the enemy had attacked the Prussians, did not think that they were on their road to immediate battle. But such was the fact. The divisions of our army were at this time all making their way to the point of concentration fixed upon by their commander: the whole dreadful machine was now in motion,—no one part comprehending its relation to the others, but the eye of the mover superintending and understanding all."

The Duke of Wellington, accompanied by his staff, and some squadrons of light cavalry, proceeded, on full gallop, to a farm called Quatre Bras, on the road to Gosselies. This position was of the utmost import-

ance, as it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, by which Lord Wellington communicated with the Prussian army at Sombref. A detachment under the Prince of Weimar had retreated hither on the preceding evening, having been driven from the ground which it occupied between Quatre Bras and Frasné; but, being subsequently reinforced by the Prince of Orange, it was again enabled to resume its former position.

On his arrival at Quatre Bras, Lord Wellington ordered the troops of the Prince of Weimar to fall back and join him, while he awaited the arrival of the regiments from Brussels, and prepared to repel the attack which he expected the enemy to make.

The first and second corps of the French army, under the command of Ney, were ordered to advance on Quatre Bras, and attack the position of the British, while Buonaparte, in person, directed his whole remaining force upon the Prussians. Ney executed his orders with great precision, and, leaving the first corps at Frasné, advanced to the combat with the second, and as only the second and fifth divisions of the British army had arrived, succeeded in making a considerable impression.

Taking advantage of their numerical superiority, the French attacked some battalions who were separated from the main body, and almost completely destroyed them. A corps of Belgians was ordered to advance with the forty-second Highland regiment to support a detachment which was vigorously pushed by the French. Whether occasioned by the ardour with which the British rushed to the fight, or the slowness with which the Belgians followed, the two battalions were separated. An ambush of French lancers, who were concealed by some hedges and high standing corn, and who could not be discovered till they were close on the British, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara ordered the regiment, which was advancing in column, to form itself into a square; but, in performing this evolution, two companies were left out, when the lancers charged upon them, and in a moment overwhelmed them. Encouraged by this success, they charged on the square, and, though repulsed with loss, succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the Highlanders, among whom was the gallant colonel.

The command was now assumed by Lieutenant-colonel Dick, although he had received a wound in the shoulder from a musket-bullet. He rallied the regiment, formed them into a smaller square, and awaited another attack. The lancers again rushed desperately on them, and, although once more repulsed, did considerable execution. The lieutenant-colonel fainted from loss of blood, and was carried from the field. The next senior officer, however, assumed the command; for not a man thought of retreating or yielding. Again the lancers precipitated themselves on the Scottish heroes; and it was not until the regiment was reduced to less than a tenth of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight.

The Prince of Orange, advancing too far, in the ardour of the contest, was surrounded and made prisoner; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, hastened to his relief, and rescued him from the enemy. The prince immediately tore off the insignia of his order, and threw it among the soldiers, exclaiming, "There, my brave fellows! you have all deserved it." They accordingly fastened the star to their colours, and exclaiming, "The Prince for ever!" swore to defend it to the last drop of their blood. At this moment they were exposed to a galling fire, and many of them fell while in the act of pronouncing this loyal oath.

Under the protection of their numerous cavalry and artillery, the French succeeded in forcing the British positions, and penetrated to the village of Quatre Bras The gallant Wellington, however, contemplated their approach without dismay and without apprehension He stationed himself in an open part of the plain, exposed to the hottest fire, where he could be distinctly seen by both armies, and there issued his orders with as much coolness and precision, as if his troops had been passing before him at a review.

Some squadrons of Brunswick cavalry had in vain attempted to stem the enemy's progress. They rapidly retreated along the high road through the village, and were closely pursued by Napoleon's cuirassiers, when the ninety-second regiment, which lined a ditch bordering the road, poured on the French, who were almost at the muzzles of their guns, an unexpected volley, which destroyed every man in the direction of their fire, and made a complete chasm between the front and rear ranks of the squadrons which were galloping by. The few who were in advance proceeded to the spot on which the Duke of Wellington was posted, and rushed on him and his staff; but they were, to a man, either killed or taken. The rear of the enemy disconcerted by this unexpected reception, turned their horses and fled. The ninety-second now leaped from the ditch to charge in their turn. As they rose, a tremendous volley was poured upon them by a mass of French infantry at a little distance. The staff of the regimental colours was completely shattered, and the ensign who supported it was shot through the heart. The British infantry, however, cheered and advanced. A little further on was a house, with a garden on the opposite side of the road. These were occupied by the Corsican's

troops, who, under cover of the enclosure and the walls, kept up a constant fire on the British as they approached. The impetuosity of the ninety-second regiment was not to be restrained; the garden and the house were speedily cleared, and the enemy pursued to the skirt of a wood But, in this short space, they had sustained a loss of three hundred men. Four commanding officers were successively wounded and carried off the field, and the regiment was now separated from the rest of the line, and compelled, though most reluctantly, to retire.

The thirty-third regiment, in the mean time, after suffering severely from the enemy's artillery, was broken by a charge of cavalry, and driven into the wood of Bossu with immense loss. The French followed them with impetuosity, and were rapidly making themselves masters of the wood, when the first division of the guards fortunately arrived on the field of battle. They had marched nearly twelve hours without intermission, and, though exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they immediately formed into line, arrested the progress of the enemy, and drove him again into the plain. But, in penetrating through the forest, their line had become irregular and broken, and, on emerging into the open ground, they found a division of French infantry drawn up ready to receive them. Flushed with success, the guards waited not to re-form their line, but darted forwards to the new combat; and the French, imagining that they should easily repulse so irregular an attack, readily engaged them. The contest, though short, was very severe. The French recoiled from the shock, and were pursued up the rising ground, when the cavalry of Ney, perceiving that the British division was unsupported, charged upon them. All attempts to form a square were in vain, and their only safety consisted in a rapid retreat to the forest. This they happily effected, though with some loss; and, having rallied in the wood, they poured on the cavalry, which pursued them, a destructive fire, which not only checked their progress, but soon sent them in disorder from the field.

The guards again advanced to the attack of the infantry, which had now occupied its former position. Again the enemy was unable to stand before them; and once more pushing on too far in the eagerness of pursuit, the cavalry rushed on them as before, and drove them back to the forest. A corps of Brunswickers now joined the British, and advancing together, they finally compelled the enemy to retreat.

The Duke of Wellington, in the mean time, though considerably outnumbered by the enemy, had obstinately contested every inch of ground. By the arrival of the guards he was enabled to act on the offensive. The French were not only driven from every position which they had gained, but the whole of their line was intimidated, and could with difficulty preserve itself from being broken. Ney, perceiving the danger to which he was exposed, sent in haste for the first corps; but he found, to his utter astonishment, that Buonaparte had already employed it at Sombref, to enable him to carry the position of the Prussians.

The marshal's consternation at this discovery was extreme; as all his plans were deranged, and the day appeared to be inevitably lost: but, recalling his self-possession, he brought the whole of the reserve of the second corps into action, and led them himself to the charge. The French cuirassiers advanced with great courage, but they were unable to withstand the cool intrepidity of the British troops, and, receiving a galling fire from some infantry who lined the wood, they turned their horses and fled.

The twenty-eighth regiment was now attacked by a numerous body of cuirassiers and lancers, and, being formed into a square, continued to fire, at the same time, from three sides, on one of which the lancers presented themselves, and, on the two others, the cuirassiers. In vain the cavalry repeatedly and desperately charged upon them. As the front ranks were pierced by the sabres or lances of their horsemen, their places were immediately supplied, and, as their numbers decreased, the square was gradually diminished; but not for a moment were they disordered; not one opening was left for the cavalry to penetrate, and at length, by their incessant and deliberate fire, they succeeded in completely repulsing the enemy. Several French squadrons, however, still hovered round them, and it would have been dangerous to have deployed. They therefore advanced in square against a mass of infantry, and, in a few moments, penetrated their centre, and routed them; then deploying, they charged in line, and cleared the whole front of a host of skirmishers, which covered the retreat of the main body. The French were now thrown into complete confusion. The baggage, the camp-followers, and the wounded who had been sent into the rear, conceived that the fate of the day was decided, and retreated as rapidly as possible towards Charleroi.

General Rousel's division of cuirassiers then presented itself, and held the British advanced troops in check, till the infantry had time to rally. These formed into squares, and retired as far as Frasné, where they again halted. The British, however, promptly pursued, and endeavoured by several determined charges to carry the heights, but the French fought with a desperation, which maintained their position. The engagement continued with various success until the close of day, when

the first corps of the French army, of which Buonaparte had made no use, returned to Frasné, and the British cavalry arrived from Niuove. It was now too late for either party to avail themselves of their reinforcements, and they bivouacked on their respective positions.

This battle, though attended with no decisive result, reflected the highest credit on the British arms. During the greater part of the day, the Duke of Wellington contended against an immense superiority of numbers. His artillery had not arrived, and at no time had he more than a few squadrons to oppose to the crowd of cuirassiers and lancers who galloped round the British squares, and availed themselves of the slightest disorder to break in upon and overwhelm the infantry. The divisions, also, were separately engaged, and advanced to the combat fatigued by a long and rapid march, and without having taken any refreshment since the preceding day.

The loss on both sides was prodigious, and nearly equal. The allies acknowledged a loss of nearly four thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the French a loss of four thousand two hundred. The number of prisoners, on either side, was inconsiderable.

Among the killed of the allied army was the Duke of Brunswick, who fell as he was gallantly heading his troops in a desperate charge. He had recently returned from England to take possession of the dominions of his ancestors, and, on the first intelligence of the landing of Buonaparte, had hastened with his black hussars, and other regiments, to join the armies of the allies. He led in person every charge of cavalry during this memorable day. He was scarcely engaged when a severe wound caused him, for a moment, to retire to the rear; a handkerchief was bound over it, and he returned to his men, who were beginning to waver, and led them back to the charge. Two slight wounds, which he afterwards received, were disregarded; and, after that, another dangerous one checked not his ardour; and it was not until the corps of the enemy to which he was now opposed was dispersed, that he would permit a dressing to be applied. This was scarcely completed, when the enemy again advanced in force, and threatened to overwhelm one of the British divisions. He again placed himself at the head of his men, and led them on to a more desperate charge than they had yet attempted, when a musket-bullet passed through his bridle-hand into his breast, and caused his death in a few minutes.

When the Corsican moved with his centre and right wing against Blucher, he imagined that he left to Ney a more easy task than his own; and that the marshal would find no difficulty in pushing on to Brussels, before the British army could be concentrated in sufficient force to oppose him. To himself he reserved the task of coping with Blucher, and by his overthrow cutting off all communication between the Prussian and British armies, and compelling each to seek safety in unconnected movements. The Prussian veteran was strongly posted to receive his inveterate foe. His army occupied a line where three villages, built upon broken and unequal ground, served each as a separate redoubt, defended by infantry, and well furnished with artillery. His right wing occupied the village of St. Amand, his centre was posted at Ligny, and his left at Sombref.

All these hamlets are strongly built, and contain several houses, with large court-yards and orchards, each of which is capable of being converted into a station of defence. The ground behind these villages forms an amphitheatre of some elevation, in front of which is a deep ravine, edged by straggling thickets of trees. The villages were in front of the ravine; and masses of infantry were stationed behind each, to reinforce the defenders as circumstances might require. In this position Blucher had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to eighty thousand men. But the fourth corps, commanded by Bulow, being in distant cantonments between Liege and Hannut, had not arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated in the Prussian despatches at one hundred and thirty thousand men. But, as Ney had at least thirty thousand soldiers under him at Quatre Bras, it does not seem that the troops under Buonaparte's immediate command at the battle of Ligny, even including a strong reserve, which consisted of the first entire division, could exceed one hundred thousand men. The forces, therefore, actually engaged on both sides, might be nearly equal.

Fired by sentiments of the most inveterate hostility, the ordinary rules of war, which, on other occasions, afford some mitigation of its horrors, were renounced upon both sides. The Prussians declared their purpose to give and receive no quarter; and two of the French divisions hoisted the black flag, as an intimation of a similar intention.

The morning was employed in reconnoitring the ground, and making the necessary dispositions; but, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the engagement commenced by a furious cannonade, under cover of which the third corps of the French army, commanded by Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand. They were received by the Prussians with the most determined resistance, in despite of which they succeeded in carrying the village at the point of the bayonet, and established themselves in the church and church-yard The Prussians made the most desperate efforts to recover possession of this village, which was the key of

their right-wing. Blucher put himself at the head of a battalion in person, and impelled them on the French with such success, that one end of the village was again occupied; and the Prussians regained possession of that part of the heights behind it, which, in consequence of Vandamme's success, they had been forced to abandon.

The village of Ligny, attacked and defended with the same fury and inveteracy, was repeatedly lost and regained, each party being alternately reinforced from masses of infantry, disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied. Several houses inclosed with court-yards, formed each a separate redoubt, which was furiously attacked by the one party, and obstinately maintained by the other. It is impossible to describe the fury with which the troops on both sides were animated. Each soldier appeared to be avenging his own personal quarrel; and the slaughter was in proportion to the length and obstinacy of a five hours' combat, fought hand to hand, within the crowded and narrow streets of a village.

There was also a tremendous cannonade on both sides through the whole of the afternoon. But, in this species of warfare, the loss of the Prussians was much heavier than that of their antagonists, their masses being drawn up in an exposed situation upon the ridge and sides of the heights behind the villages, while those of the French were sheltered by the winding hollows of the lower grounds.

While this sanguinary contest continued, Buonaparte seemed to doubt of its ultimate success. To ensure the taking of St. Amand, he ordered the first corps of infantry, which was stationed near Frasnes, with a division of the second corps commanded by Girard, and designed to be a reserve either to his own army or to that of Marshal Ney, to move to the right to assist in the attack. Of this movement Ney complained heavily in a letter to Fouché, as having paralyzed his efforts, and nearly exposed his troops to destruction.

The reinforcement, as it happened, was unnecessary, so far as the first corps was concerned; for, about seven o'clock, Vandamme had, after repeated efforts, surmounted the resistance of the Prussians at St. Amand; and Girard had taken possession of Ligny. Sombref, upon the left of the Prussian line, was still successfully defended by the Saxon general, Thielman, against Marshal Grouchy; and the Prussians, though driven from the villages in front of the amphitheatre of hills, still maintained their position upon the heights themselves, impatiently expecting to be succoured, either by the English, or by their own fourth division under Bulow. But the Duke of Wellington was actively engaged at Quatre Bras; and Bulow had found it impossible to surmount the difficulties attending a long march through bad roads and a difficult country. In the mean time, Buonaparte brought the engagement to a decision, by one of those skilful and bold manœuvres which had so often proved successful on former occasions.

Being now possessed of the village of Ligny, which fronted the centre of the Prussian line, he concentrated upon that point the imperial guards, whom he had hitherto kept in reserve. Eight battalions of these veteran troops, formed into one column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse-grenadiers of the guard, traversed the village of Ligny at the *pas de charge*, threw themselves into the ravine, and began to ascend the heights, under a dreadful volley of musketry from the Prussians. Notwithstanding the effect of this fire, they continued to advance against the Prussian line, and made such an impression upon the masses of which it consisted, as threatened to break through the centre of their army, and thus cut off the communication between the two wings; the French cavalry, at the same time, charged and drove back that of the Prussians.

At this crisis, the cause of Europe had nearly suffered a momentous loss in the death or captivity of the heroic Blucher. This veteran had himself headed an unsuccessful charge against the French cavalry; and his horse being shot under him in the retreat, he was stunned by the fall, and both the fugitives and pursuers passed over him as he lay on the ground; an adjutant threw himself down beside his general, to share his fate; and the first use which the Marshal made of his recovered recollection was, to conjure his faithful attendant rather to shoot him than to permit him to fall alive into the hands of the French. The Prussian cavalry, in the mean time, had rallied, charged, and, in their turn, repulsed the French, who again galloped past the marshal, as he lay on the ground, covered with the cloak of his adjutant. He was then disengaged and remounted, and proceeded to organize the retreat, which was now become a measure of indispensable necessity.

The Prussian artillery, being dispersed along the front of an extended line, could not be easily withdrawn, and several pieces fell into the hands of the French. Blucher's official despatch limits the number of guns thus lost to fifteen, which Napoleon, in his usual gasconading style, extends to fifty. But the infantry, retiring regularly, and in masses impenetrable to the cavalry of the pursuers, amply preserved that character of discipline, by which they had been so highly celebrated in the campaigns of the preceding year.

In their retreat, which they continued during the night, they took the direction of Tilly; and, the next

morning, were followed by General Thielman with the left wing, who, after evacuating the village of Sombref, which he had maintained during the whole of the preceding day, formed the rear-guard of Blucher's army. Being at length joined by the fourth corps, under General Bulow, the Prussian army was once more concentrated in the neighbourhood of the village of Wavre, ten miles behind the scene of their former defeat; and the utmost exertions were used to place it in a condition for renewing the conflict.

In this engagement, the Prussians lost upwards of twenty thousand men, with forty pieces of cannon, and several colours. The French bulletins confess a loss of three thousand men, but the actual number was at least four times as great.

The most exaggerated statements were immediately transmitted to Paris. Marshal Soult, in a despatch to Davoust, says, "The emperor has succeeded in separating the line of the allies. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions."

Another despatch, speaking of the two battles, says, "The noble lord must have been confounded. Whole bands of prisoners are taken. They do not know what is become of their commanders. The route is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not hear again of the Prussians for some time, even if they should ever be able to rally. As for the English, we shall see now what will become of them. The emperor is there!"

The events which we have just recorded had a material influence on the plans of the generals on both sides. While the Duke of Wellington was proposing to follow up his advantage at Quatre Bras, by attacking Ney at Frasnes, he received intelligence, on the morning of the 17th, that Blucher had been defeated on the preceding day, and was in full retreat. This left the duke no alternative but to fall back to such a corresponding position as might maintain his lateral communication with the right wing of the Prussians; since, to have remained in advance, would have given Buonaparte an opportunity either to have placed his army betwixt those of England and Prussia, or to have turned his whole force against the Duke's army, which was inferior in numbers. The British commander, therefore, resolved upon retreating towards Brussels; a movement which he accomplished in the most perfect order, the rear being protected by the cavalry under the gallant Earl of Uxbridge.

Buonaparte had also taken his resolution. The defeat of the Prussians would enable him, if he thought proper, to pursue them with his whole army, excepting those troops under Ney, who were in front of the Duke of Wellington. But this would have been to abandon Ney to imminent danger; since, if he was unable, on the preceding day, to make any impression on the van of the British army alone, it was not probable that he could withstand them, when supported by their main body, and joined by powerful reinforcements. In the supposed event of Ney's defeat, Buonaparte's rear would have been exposed to a victorious English army, while he knew, by experience, how speedily Blucher could rally his troops even after a severe defeat. He therefore resolved to direct his whole force against the English, leaving only Grouchy and Vandamme, with about twenty-five thousand men, to hang upon the rear of Blucher; and, by pursuing his retreat from Sombref to Wavre, to occupy his attention, and prevent him from taking any share in the expected action.

It is probable that Napoleon expected to find the English army upon the ground which it had occupied during the 16th. But the movement of his own forces from St. Amand and Ligny to Frasnes, had occupied a space of time which was not unemployed by the Duke of Wellington. The retreat had already commenced, and the position at Quatre Bras was, about eleven in the forenoon, only occupied by a rear-guard, sufficiently strong to protect the retrograde movement of the British.

The British troops had scarcely commenced their march when the masses of the enemy began to appear. Their advanced-guard consisted of lancers and cuirassiers, the latter of whom were all arrayed in armour. The front cuirass is in the form of a pigeon's breast, so as to effectually turn off a musket-shot, except fired within twenty yards. The back cuirass is made to fit the back. They weigh from nine to ten pounds each, according to the size of the man, and are stuffed inside with a pad. They fit on by a kind of fish-scaled clasp, and are put off and on in an instant. The men have helmets like the English horse-guards, straight long swords and pistols, but no carbines, and, if there is a good horse to be found, they are sure to have it. They are all picked men, must be five feet seven inches French (above six feet English), have served in three campaigns, have been twelve years in the service, and of a good character.

In close action they were protected from the sabres of their antagonists by their armour, except the blow fell on the neck or limbs; but the shape and weight of the cuirass necessarily impeded the motion of their arms, and rendered them far inferior to the British in the dexterous use of the sabre.

The day was extremely stormy, the rain fell in torrents, the roads were almost impassable, and the open country could not be traversed even by the cavalry.

On this account the French were unable to harass the flanks of the retiring army, and confined all their efforts to the centre, which proceeded on the high road.

Several skirmishes took place with various success, until the rear of the British army arrived at Gemappe. Lord Uxbridge halted on a plain beyond the town, and resolved to attack the enemy's squadrons as they issued from the place. The seventh hussars were ordered to commence the attack. They accordingly charged with impetuosity on the French; but, with their small horses and light arms, they were unable to make any impression on the heavy-armed troops to which they were opposed. They were repulsed in some disorder, and with considerable loss. Again they rallied and returned to the charge; but the massive columns of the enemy remained unbroken. The heavy household-troops were now brought forward, and ordered to charge at full speed, and to strike only at the limbs. The French were dismayed at this novel mode of attack, and fled with precipitation.

This affair produced the following letter from Lord Uxbridge (afterwards created Marquis of Anglesea) to the officers of the seventh, which was his own regiment:—

"*Brussels, June* 2, 1815.

"My dear brother-officers,—It has been stated to me, that a report injurious to the reputation of our regiment has gone abroad, and I, therefore, do not lose a moment in addressing you on the subject. The report must take its origin from the affair which took place with the advanced-guard of the French cavalry near Gemappe, on the 17th, when I ordered the seventh to cover the retreat. As I was with you, and saw the conduct of every individual, there is no one more capable of speaking to the fact than I am. As the lancers pressed us hard, I ordered you (upon a principle I ever did and shall act upon) not to wait to be attacked, but to fall upon them. The attack was gallantly led by the officers; but it failed, because the lancers stood firm, and had their flanks completely secured, and were backed by a great mass of cavalry. The regiment was repulsed, but did not run away. No—it rallied immediately, and I renewed the attack. It again failed, from the same cause. It retired in perfect order, although it had sustained so severe a loss; but you had thrown the lancers into confusion, who, being in motion, I then made an attack upon them with the life-guards, who certainly made a very handsome charge, and completely succeeded. This is the plain truth. However lightly I think of lancers, under ordinary circumstances, I am of opinion that, posted as they were, they had a most decided advantage over the hussars. The impetuosity and the weight of the life-guards, however, carried all before them. Whilst I exculpate my own regiment, I am delighted in being able to bear testimony to the gallant conduct of the former.

"Be not uneasy, my brother-officers; you had ample opportunity, of which you gallantly availed yourselves, of revenging yourselves on the 18th for the failure of the 17th; and, after all, what regiment, and which of us, individually, is certain of success. Be assured that I am proud of being your colonel, and that you possess my utmost confidence.

"Your sincere friend,

(Signed) "Anglesea, Lieut.-Gen."

As the Duke of Wellington did not wish to bring on a general engagement, he contented himself with the check which the enemy's cavalry had received, and continued his retreat without further molestation to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, the appearance of which is thus described by an admired poet:—

"Thy wood, dark Soignies, holds us now,
Where the tall beech's glossy bough,
For many a league around,
With birch and darksome oak between,
Spreads deep and far a pathless screen,
Of tangled forest-ground.

Stems planted close by stems defy
The adventurous foot—the curious eye,
For access seeks in vain;
And the brown tapestry of leaves,
Strew'd on the blighted ground receives,
Nor sun, nor air, nor rain."

At five o'clock, the British army arrived at its destined position, and occupied a rising ground, having in its front a gentle declivity. The extremity of the right wing was posted at Merke Braine. The enclosed country and deep ravines round this village defended the right flank, and rendered it impossible for the enemy to turn it. In the centre of the right, was the Chateau de Goumont, or Hougoumont, a house of the old Flemish architecture, having a tower and battlements. On one side was a large farm-yard, and, on the other, a garden fenced by a brick-wall. The house was loop-holed and strongly occupied; the garden and orchard were lined with light troops, and the wood, before the house, was defended by some companies of the guards. The front of the right, which was thrown back to avoid a ravine which would otherwise have exposed it, consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first of the Netherlands, under the command of Lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the Prince of

Orange, supported by the regiments of Brunswick and Nassau, with the guards under General Cooke, on the right, and General Alten's division on the left. In front was the farm of La Haye Sainte, which was occupied in considerable force. The road from Genappe to Brussels ran through the middle of the centre. The left wing, comprising the divisions of Generals Picton, Kempt, and Lambert, extended to the left of Ter la Haye, the defiles of which defended the extremity of the left, and prevented it from being turned. The greater part of the cavalry was posted in the rear of the left of the centre.

Separated by a valley varying from half to three-quarters of a mile in breadth, were other heights following the sinuosity of those on which the British troops were posted. The advanced guard of the enemy reached these heights in the evening of the 17th, and some slight skirmishes took place between the outposts.

The night was stormy and tempestuous; the rain descended in torrents, and the soldiers were up to their knees in mud. Many of the officers, who had not yet been able to change their ball-dresses, laid themselves down to rise no more; as their limbs were so completely stiffened by the cold and wet, that they were unable to move. Few places could be found sufficiently free from mud to light a fire, and, when the fire was lighted, the rain, which continued to pour down, immediately extinguished it.

But, if the night were terrible to the soldiers who were inured to the inclemency of the weather, it was still more dreadful to the inhabitants of the villages in the rear of the French army. It had always been Buonaparte's policy, when so much depended on the heroism of his troops, to relax the severity of his discipline, and to permit them to indulge in the most shameful excesses. They now abandoned themselves to more than usual atrocities. Every house was pillaged; the property which could not be removed was wantonly destroyed, and the terrified inhabitants fled in despair to the adjacent woods.

Notwithstanding the torrents of rain and the depth of the roads, the Corsican was enabled to bring up his whole army, together with three hundred pieces of artillery. He was apprehensive that the British would retire in the night; and, when he saw them at the dawn of day occupying the position of the preceding evening, he exclaimed with emotion, "Ah, I have them, then, these English!"

A farmer, named La Coste, who lived at the house called Belle Alliance, was seized by the French, and carried to Buonaparte, who was then at a farm called Rossum. On his being introduced, the Corsican asked him, if he was well acquainted with the local situation of the country, and if he would be his guide? La Coste having answered him satisfactorily, Buonaparte told him he would accompany him, adding—"Speak frankly with me, my friend, as if you were with your children."

While Napoleon remained at the farm, La Coste was closely watched by one of the guards, who, whilst walking with him, informed him of the force of the French army, and told him, that, upon passing the frontiers, they had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which forty thousand were cavalry, among which were nine thousand cuirassiers, seven thousand of the new, and eight or nine thousand of the old, guards. This soldier praised much the bravery displayed by the British at Quatre Bras, and particularly admired the *sang froid* of the Scotch Highlanders.

During this time, Buonaparte had La Coste called three different times, to obtain information as to the maps of the country, which he constantly consulted. He questioned him chiefly upon the distance of several towns of Brabant from the field of battle, and made him explain those he had seen in his youth. La Coste named fourteen, which appeared to please Buonaparte: he seemed very much satisfied to find that La Coste was Flemish, and that he spoke the language: he advised him, above all, to give only well-authenticated information, and not to answer for things of which he was uncertain.

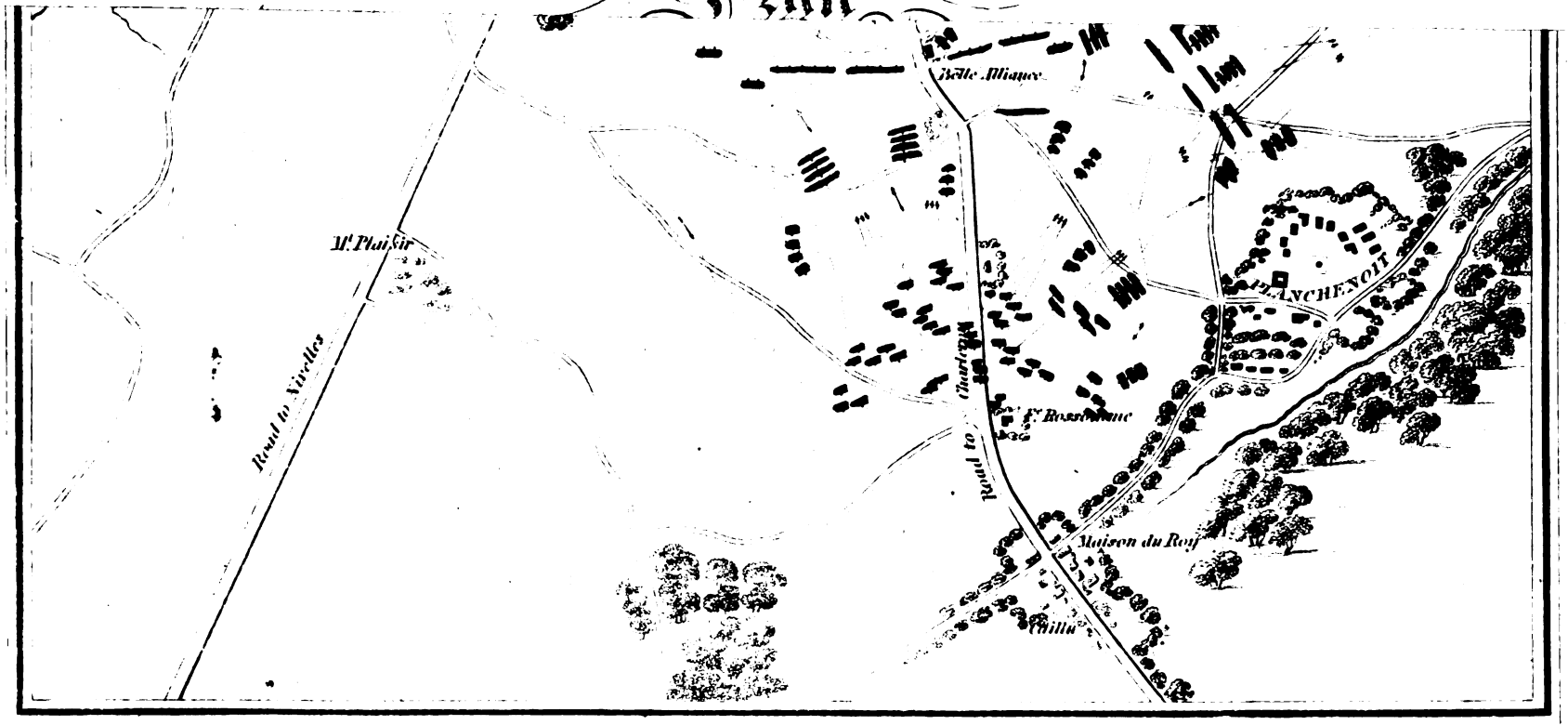
Before any of the French troops were placed in the positions which they were to occupy, Napoleon ascended a neighbouring eminence, and carefully examined every feature of the surrounding country. Not an inequality of the ground, not a hedge escaped him. He was employed in this preparation during four or five hours, and every observation was carefully noted in a map, which he held in his hand.

The space occupied by the two armies was the smallest in extent of front, compared with the numbers engaged, in the recollection of military men. The British line did not extend more than a mile and a half in length, nor the French line more than two miles. This may partly account for the immense loss sustained by each party, and particularly for the destruction occasioned by the artillery.

About nine o'clock the rain began to abate, and, at eleven, the French were ready to advance to the attack. Their left wing was commanded by Jerome Buonaparte; the centre by Generals Erlon and Reille, and the right by Count Lobau. The imperial guard was in reserve.

The leaders of the hostile armies were acknowledged to be the greatest generals of the age. Buonaparte had often confessed that the Duke of Wellington was the

Plan



Scale of one French League

EXPLANATION of the SIGNS

RED.	English & Belgian	Infantry	
		Cavalry	
GREEN.	Prussian	Infantry	
		Cavalry	
BLUE.	French	Infantry	
		Cavalry	

Published Aug.st 30 1816 by Thomas Kelly N.o 53 Paternoster Row London.

second general in the world, and this acknowledgment was always followed by the lamentation that he had not yet had the good fortune to meet him in battle. When he set out from Paris to place himself at the head of his troops, almost his last words to his friends were, "that he was at last going to measure swords with this Wellington, of whom he had no doubt that he should give a good account."

The Duke had successively vanquished all the French marshals who had been opposed to him, and now, for the first time, found himself confronted with their master. Never, in the annals of modern warfare, had two generals of equal reputation met on the field, or two whose system of tactics was so entirely different.

The plan of Buonaparte was simple, but grand. The whole weight of his army was directed on one point, either where his opponent seemed to be weakest, or where success must be followed by the annihilation of the foe. To accomplish his favourite objects, he hesitated not to sacrifice regiments, divisions, or whole armies. When one corps retired in confusion, another was instantly ordered to occupy its place. "Forward, forward," was the only reply to every intelligence of repulse; and it must be acknowledged, that his calculations were usually correct, and his efforts successful.

The system of the Duke of Wellington was diametrically opposite. Anxious to spare the blood of his soldiers, he usually awaited the attack of his enemy. No temporary or partial success could induce him to compromise the safety of his army: but his penetrating eye detected the first error, or the first indecision of the foe, and, with a promptitude as characteristic as his previous coolness, he availed himself of the critical juncture, and secured the victory.

These renowned generals were now opposed to each other for the first time. The reputation which each had previously gained, the rivalry which existed between them, and the almost uniform success which had attended their different systems, were powerful incentives to extraordinary exertions. Nor had they now to contend for mere personal glory; the one had to secure his usurped dignities—the other to give repose to a bleeding world.

Napoleon had rushed on with all his accumulated force, as the last effort of despair. No new levies were at hand to repair his losses. Victory alone could obtain reinforcements; and, if he were severely repulsed in this engagement, his ruin was sealed for ever. On the other hand, if success attended him, the enthusiasm of the French would again be roused; thousands would flock to his standard; the country which he now invaded would declare in his favour, and he would be enabled to protract the war until winter closed the campaign, or till the seeds of dissension were sown among the allies. As the troops of the respective armies advanced to their positions, Buonaparte ascended an observatory, which had been recently erected by order of the king of the Netherlands, preparatory to a trigonometrical survey of the country. From this spot he commanded the whole of both lines. He was particularly struck with the fine appearance of some of the British troops. "How steadily," said he to his aides-de-camp, "these troops take their ground! How beautifully those cavalry form! Observe those grey horse! (the Scotch Greys). Are they not noble troops? Yet, in half an hour, I shall cut them to pieces."

Lord Wellington had despatched a courier on the preceding evening to Marshal Blucher, stating that he expected to be attacked, and desiring the co-operation of as many divisions as he could spare. The Marshal promised to be with him in person, and proposed that, should the French army decline the combat, the combined British and Prussian troops should become the assailants.

When the French troops were all drawn up on the opposite heights, one of the Duke of Wellington's officers expressed some alarm, and wished that the Prussians were arrived. "The roads are heavy," replied the British hero. "They cannot be here before two or three o'clock, but my brave fellows will keep double that force at bay until then."

About eleven o'clock the cannonade commenced, and soon became general through the whole of the line. At half-past eleven, the left wing of the French advanced against the *chateau* of Hougoumont. The battalions which occupied the wood in front defended themselves with great gallantry against the overwhelming numbers that pressed upon them; but, after many repeated attacks, the French penetrated to the house. The English were now reinforced by the second brigade of guards, who, occupying the *chateau*, and lining the orchard and walls, resisted every attempt to dislodge them. The French forced their way to the very doors of the *chateau*, but were there received with so well-directed a fire that they retreated in confusion, or perished beneath the bayonet. Again they penetrated, and again were forced back. In less than half an hour fifteen hundred men perished in the orchard, which did not comprise more than four acres.

After some time, the house and out-buildings were set on fire, and a most dreadful scene ensued. In one part the combat raged with unabated fury, although both parties were enveloped with flames. In another, the British, after having repulsed the enemy, were unwilling to quit their station, although the flames were advancing towards them, and the building threatened

to crush them in its ruins. In one of the out-buildings the wounded of both parties, who were indiscriminately heaped together, perished by the most terrible death. Their shrieks and groans echoed through the wood; but the combatants were too fiercely engaged to lend them any assistance, and they were left to perish in the conflagration.

The *chateau* was now reduced to a mere shell, and the French were enabled to approach it with greater facility; but, as often as they penetrated within the walls, they were repulsed by the bayonet, and at length, being foiled in all their attempts, and having suffered an immense loss, they retreated to the main body. The British had received orders not to pursue them beyond a certain point, and contented themselves with still maintaining the post which they had so nobly defended.

Had the French been able to gain possession of this position, and to have planted their artillery precisely at the angle which it occupied, they would have commanded the whole of the Duke of Wellington's lines, and their fire would have carried destruction through the British army. The reader will therefore perceive why this was selected as the first object of attack, and why that attack was continued with such obstinacy.

When Buonaparte was convinced that he had failed in his design upon Hougoumont, the fire of cannon and musketry became more terrible. Columns of French infantry and cavalry, preceded by a formidable artillery, advanced from all points, ascended the eminence on which the British were stationed, and precipitated themselves on their squares. In vain the French artillery mowed down entire ranks of their opponents. The chasms were instantly filled, and not a foot of ground was lost. "What brave troops!" exclaimed Buonaparte to his staff. "It is a pity to destroy them; but I shall defeat them at last." The British reserved their fire until the enemy had approached within a few paces, and then, with one well-directed volley, levelled whole squadrons of the French. Other troops, however, succeeded, and the enemy pressed on to closer and more destructive combat.

The principal masses of the French were now directed on the left of the British, where the divisions of Generals Picton and Kempt were posted. Napoleon's object in this attack was to turn the left of the allies, and, by separating them from the Prussians, cut off the retreat of Lord Wellington in that direction. The Scottish regiments displayed all the heroism by which they had been distinguished in the battle of the 16th, and sustained the principal brunt of the attack.

A strong column of the enemy advanced under a galling fire from the British artillery, without discharging a shot. They gained the height, and pressed on, resolved to carry the position. Sir Thomas Picton immediately formed his division into a solid square, and advanced to the charge. Appalled by the boldness of this manœuvre, the French hesitated, fired one volley, and retreated.

On this occasion, Sir Thomas Picton received a musket-ball in his temple, and expired without a struggle. After his lamented fall, it was discovered that he had received a wound in the hip, on the 16th, which he had concealed from all except his valet, and which had assumed a serious aspect for want of surgical assistance.

This meritorious officer had been forty-five years in the army. The first active service in which he was employed was in the West-Indies, where he was sent with his regiment (the sixty-eighth) on the breaking out of the revolutionary war. There he distinguished himself upon every occasion, and particularly at the capture of St. Lucie, and speedily rose from the rank of captain to that of lieutenant-colonel.

In 1797, he was appointed governor of Trinidad: and, though in that situation he was accused of extreme severity, the accusation was completely rebutted by the verdict of a British jury; and the inhabitants of Trinidad were so sensible of the benefits which they had received under his administration, that, on his quitting the island, they voted him five thousand pounds, as a testimony of their esteem and gratitude. Some time after this a dreadful fire reduced the capital of the island to ashes. A subscription was opened for the unfortunate inhabitants, and Picton immediately returned the five thousand pounds, which he had received from them.

After a lapse of some years, he was employed in the expedition to Walcheren, and, on the capture of Flushing, was appointed governor of that place; an attack of the fever, which proved so destructive to the British army, compelled him to relinquish his post, and return to England.

He had scarcely recovered, when he was appointed to the command of a division in the Duke of Wellington's army in the Peninsula, and was the favourite companion of the hero in most of the battles of that protracted war. In the battle of Vittoria, his division sustained, for more than four hours, an unequal contest against the main body of the French army, and received, at the close of the engagement, the warmest acknowledgments from the commander-in-chief.

It was at the personal solicitation of the Duke that he accepted the command of a division in the campaign of the Netherlands, where he terminated his military exploits and his mortal existence.

But, to resume the thread of our narration.—A column of two thousand men bore down on the position occupied by the ninety-second regiment, which, from the losses it had sustained on the 16th, and the galling fire to which it had now been exposed, was reduced to two hundred men. This little, but heroic, band shrunk not from the unequal contest. They did not even wait for the attack, but forming themselves into line, and presenting a narrow, but compact front, charged on the column with such impetuosity that they pierced the centre, when the Scotch Greys, profiting by the confusion, dashed in at the opening. The two regiments cheered each other, shouting, "Scotland for ever!" and the enemy were, to a man, either killed or taken prisoners.

A column of French cavalry, with the cuirassiers at their head, now advanced to the relief of their infantry. The Scotch Greys, in the mean time, had been reinforced by a brigade of heavy dragoons, and the most dreadful engagement now took place. The impenetrable cuirasses of the French gave them a decided advantage over the English, who could only strike at the neck or limbs of their opponents. Nothing, however, could resist the determined valour of the British, and, after a long and sanguinary conflict, the cuirassiers turned their horses and fled. The slaughter was then dreadful, but the British had strict orders not to pursue them beyond the lines, and the scattered remnant of the French sought refuge in the rear of their infantry. In this struggle, the forty-ninth and one hundred and fifth French regiments lost their eagles.

At this period of the engagement Sir William Ponsonby led his brigade against the Polish lancers, and checked their destructive attacks on the British infantry. Never was a more timely, or a more successful, charge; but the impetuous valour of two of his regiments hurrying them too far in the pursuit, he galloped forward, attended by only one aide-de-camp, to restrain their rashness. He entered a newly-ploughed field where the ground was exceedingly soft, and, being badly mounted, his horse sunk in the mire, and was unable to extricate itself. At this instant a body of lancers approached him at full speed. Sir William saw that his fate was decided. He took out a picture and his watch, and was in the act of giving them to his aide-de-camp, to deliver to his wife and family, when the lancers came up, and killed them on the spot. His body was found lying by the side of his horse, pierced with seven wounds. Many of those whose temerity led to the destruction of their chief, perished here; but, before the day was ended, the Polish lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces by the brigade which this gallant officer had led against them.

Buonaparte now changed the object of his attack, and, bringing up a formidable body of fresh troops, directed them to attack the farm of La Haye Sainte. This was a point of equal importance with the position of Hougoumont, or that of Ter La Haye. If the Corsican were successful here, he would break the British line, and cut off the retreat of Lord Wellington on the road to Brussels.

Both parties felt the importance of this position, and made the utmost exertions, the one to carry, and the other to maintain it. As the respective battalions were weakened or destroyed, fresh reinforcements immediately occupied their places, and for upwards of an hour the conflict continued with very doubtful success. At length the ammunition of the allies was expended, and the French penetrated to the farm, and surrounded it. Yet, under these circumstances, the German Legion, which occupied it, continued to defend themselves with the bayonet; nor was the position carried until all its defenders were annihilated.

Napoleon instantly seized the advantage which he had now gained, and, pressing on with immense masses of infantry and cavalry, attacked the centre, which was now exposed. The first battalion that he encountered, overwhelmed by superior numbers, gave way; and the Corsican, considering the victory secure, despatched a courier to Paris with the intelligence that the day was won.

Had he now brought forward all his reserves of infantry, or waited until the British squares had been thrown into confusion, by the fire of his artillery, or the furious charges of his foot-soldiers, it might have been impossible even for the Duke of Wellington to have restored the fortune of the day. But, following up his advantages too hastily, and conceiving that the new levies of the duke could not resist the shock of his cavalry, he ordered them to advance and charge upon the centre of the allies.

The lancers and cuirassiers rushed on at the head of the columns, and precipitated themselves on the British squares. A few battalions, who were slow or awkward in their evolutions, were instantly cut to pieces; but wherever the squares were formed, the enemy could make no impression. In vain the French cavalry, defended by their armour, walked their horses round the British squares, and dashed at the slightest opening; in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have sacrificed themselves, by receiving the fire of their opponents, while the main body waited to charge on the British before they could re-load their muskets, or fill up the chasms. The cool, intrepidity of the allied infantry baffled all attempts to break them.

Other squadrons of French cavalry penetrated between the squares, and charged on the position which the duke and his staff occupied. It was their evident object to signalize themselves by the death or capture of the British hero. His personal escort was obliged to be continually on the alert, and was frequently closely engaged with the enemy.

The British cavalry now advanced and charged the cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs, who had penetrated the line, and the battle was contested man to man.

Buonaparte was now convinced that he had committed a grand error; and the whole centre of his infantry was brought forward to assist, and, if possible, to disengage the cavalry. A close column of French accordingly pressed forward, overpowered all resistance, and marched on to attack the village of Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the British position.

The Duke of Wellington was perfectly aware of the critical situation in which he was now placed, and, presenting himself wherever the danger was most imminent, led on in person several successive charges. When any of the squares appeared to waver, he threw himself into the midst of them, and, by a few words, re-animated and confirmed their courage. At length he succeeded in arresting the progress of the enemy, and wresting from them all the advantages they had gained. They were driven from the eminence which they had carried; the farm of La Haye was retaken, and the combatants again occupied the positions which they had held at the commencement of the affair, except that Buonaparte's troops continued to occupy a small mound on the left of the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and from which they could not be dislodged, till the grand advance of the British army at the close of the engagement.

The duke now found it extremely difficult to restrain the impetuosity of his troops. Wherever he appeared, he was hailed with enthusiastic shouts, and his soldiers, tired of standing for so many hours exposed to a murderous fire, and their energies confined to merely driving back the squadrons which rushed upon them, eagerly demanded to be led against the foe. "Not yet, not yet, my brave fellows!" was the duke's reply. "Be firm a little longer; you shall have at them by and by."

The attack on Hougoumont had recommenced, and continued during the day, but the French were unable to obtain even a momentary possession of it. Bringing forward, however, some strong bodies of infantry and cavalry, they made a circuit round the *chateau*, and advanced to the eminence by which it was commanded. Here, as in the centre, their cavalry boldly penetrated the squares, and, for a short time, appeared masters of the position; but the British dragoons coming up, an awful scene of confusion ensued. The artillery of the two armies was still opposed, and poured forth an incessant torrent of round and grape-shot. Suddenly the artillery would wheel round, and massive columns of infantry would advance, and either engage in a close fusillade, or make a destructive charge with the bayonet; while, in the rear of the allied infantry, the cavalry of the two armies maintained a gallant and doubtful combat.

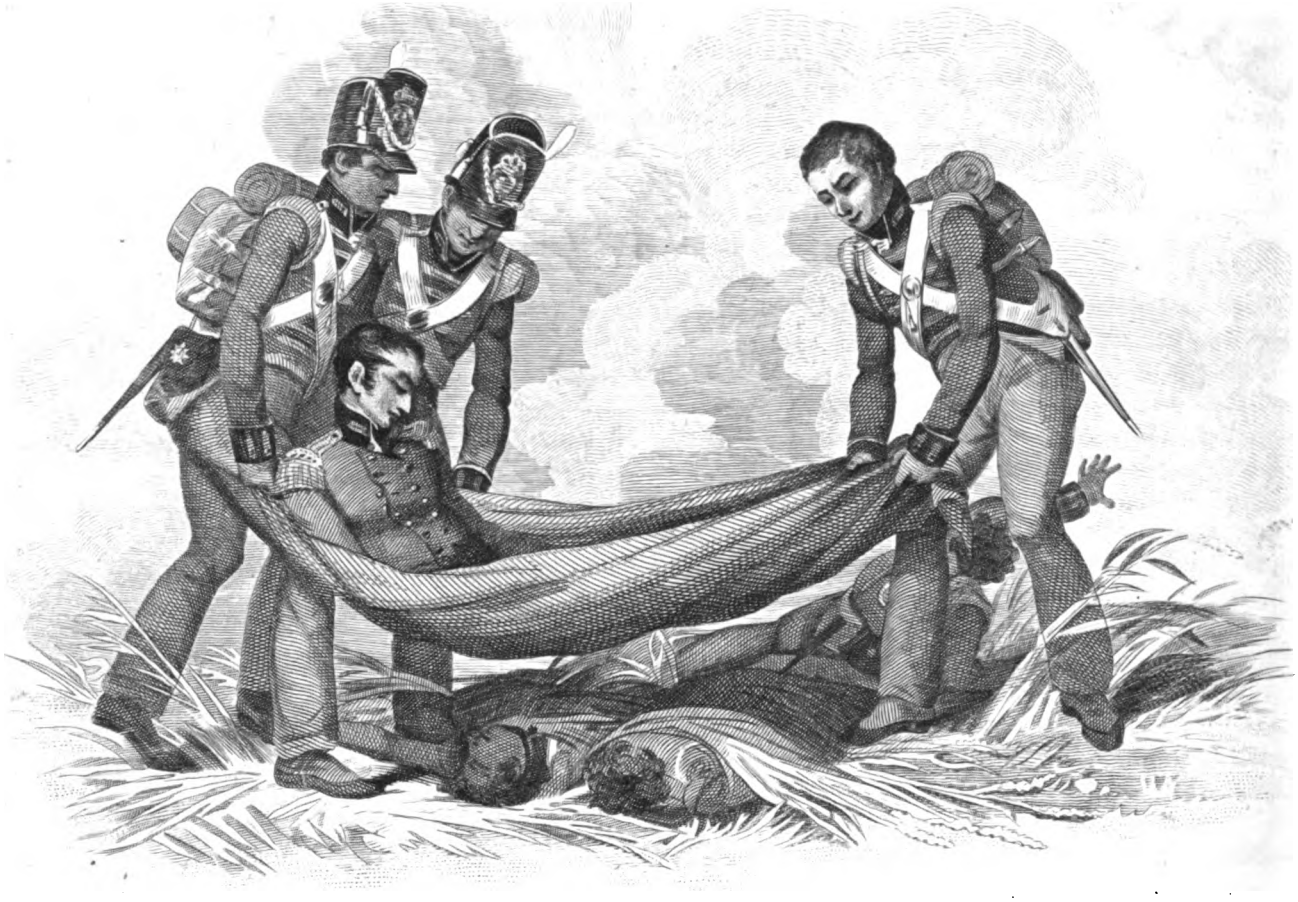
The thirtieth regiment sustained several charges of the cuirassiers. Defended by their breast-plates, they galloped up to the very bayonets of the infantry, hoping that some opening might be made through which they might penetrate; but, in no instance, did they succeed in making the least impression. The horsemen had no sooner passed than the regiment again deployed into line, that its fire might be more extended and effectual. They had scarcely completed the evolution, when the command was again given, "Reform square; prepare to receive cavalry." The whole were prostrate on their breasts, to let the iron shower of the artillery fly over, and erect in an instant, when the cannon ceased, and the cavalry charged.

Unable to break in upon the square by open force, a commanding officer of cuirassiers tried a *ruse de guerre;* he lowered his sword to General Halket. Several of the officers called out, "*Sir, they surrender.*"—"BE FIRM AND FIRE," was the promptly obeyed answer. The general justly suspected an offer of surrender to a body of infantry fixed to the spot in a defensive position, by a body of cavalry, who had the option of galloping off with all the plain open behind them. The volley sent the colonel and his cuirassiers, as usual, about, with a laugh of derision from the men he had meant to cut to pieces; and many a ring from their balls, upon the back-pieces of the mails.

This gallant brigade was honoured with several visits from the illustrious commander-in-chief. In one he inquired, "*how they were?*" The answer was, "that two-thirds of their number were down, and that the rest were so exhausted, that leave to retire, even for a short time, was most desirable; and some of the foreign corps, who had not suffered, to take their place. General Halket was told that the issue depended on the unflinching front of the British troops; and that even a change of place was hazardous in the extreme. He immediately replied with energy, "*Enough, my lord, we stand here till the last man falls.*"

The first foot-guards were, for a short time, almost separated from the rest of the army, and surrounded by the French cavalry, who repeatedly charged on every side of the square at once. Their loss was con-

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.



Colonel Gordon mortally Wounded.

London Published by Thomas Kelly Paternoster Row

sequently immense; but, though the soldiers rapidly fell, no chasm was for a moment left. The files were closed, and the square gradually diminished, nor would they have surrendered though cut off to the last man. At length the British cavalry advanced to their relief, while the intrepidity of the allies prevailed in all parts of the field, and the French were driven back to their former positions, with prodigious loss.

An uninterrupted series of attacks now commenced through the whole line, but chiefly on the centre, sometimes with infantry, at other times with cavalry, and occasionally with both united; while nearly three hundred pieces of artillery played on all parts of the British position. The carnage was truly awful; yet it would have been greater had not the earth been so completely soaked with rain. On this account the balls never bounded along as when the ground is dry. The shells also frequently buried themselves, and, when they exploded, produced no other effect than throwing up a fountain of mud.

The battle had now raged with unabated fury nearly six hours, and almost one-third of the allied troops were killed or wounded. The Prussians, so long expected, did not yet arrive, and Lord Wellington began to fear that they had been defeated by the French corps which had been left to watch them.

The duke's reserves were now all in action, while those of Buonaparte were not yet brought forward. The brave Scotch division was reduced from six thousand to less than two thousand men. The sixth division had been almost destroyed without firing a gun. The spirits of the soldiers began to droop, and it required the utmost exertion of the officers to prevent them from yielding to despair. They disdained the idea of retreating, and were eager to be led against the foe: but thus to stand and be murdered without resistance was more than they could bear. They were tired of having nothing to occupy their attention but the dreadful roar of the artillery, the fall of their companions, and the lamentable cries of the wounded. An indifference to life was rapidly spreading through their ranks, and the British commander was in a state of the most anxious suspense, convinced that, unless the Prussians arrived within another hour, the battle must be inevitably lost. Yet he was perfectly cool and collected; and, while one regiment continued firm at its post, he would not resign the contest. An aide-de-camp now came with the information that the fifth division was almost destroyed, and that it was impossible for them any longer to maintain their ground. "I cannot help it," he replied, "they must keep their ground with myself to the last man. Would to God! that night or Blucher were come."

General De Lancy now fell as he was leading back to the charge a battalion of Hanoverians who had been thrown into confusion. He conceived that his wound was mortal, and, as the soldiers eagerly rushed forward to carry him to the rear, he desired them to leave him to his fate; adding, that they should not waste that time on him, which might be employed in assisting many brave fellows who might be enabled again to fight their country's battles.

They obeyed and retired; but the next morning he was found yet living, and his friends began to entertain hopes of his recovery. These hopes, however, were fallacious, and he died in a few days, probably a martyr to his own disinterestedness.

The person of the Duke of Wellington was repeatedly exposed to the greatest dangers. While he stood on the centre of the high road in front of Mont St. Jean, several guns were levelled against him, distinguished as he was by his suite, and the movements of the officers about him.

The balls repeatedly grazed a tree on the right-hand of the road, which tree now bears his name. "That's good practice," observed the duke to one of his suite, "I think they fire better than in Spain." Riding up to the ninety-fifth regiment, when in front of the line, and even then expecting a formidable charge of cavalry, he said, "Stand fast, ninety-fifth—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?"

On another occasion, when many of the best and bravest men had fallen, and the event of the action seemed doubtful even to those who remained, he said, with the coolness of a spectator, who was beholding some well-contested sport—"Never mind, we'll win this battle yet." To another regiment, then closely engaged, he used a common sporting expression; "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest."

Sir William Delancey, struck by a spent ball, fell from his horse—"Leave me to die," he said to those who came to assist him; "attend to the duke."

Sir Alexander Gordon received his mortal wound, while expostulating with the commander-in-chief on the personal danger to which he was exposing himself. One of the duke's aides-de-camp was sent off to a general of brigade in another part of the field, with a message of importance. In returning, he was shot through the lungs; but, as if supported by the resolution to perform his duty, he rode up to the Duke of Wellington, delivered the answer to his message, and then dropped down dead, from his horse.

Captain Curzon, of the 69th, the fourth son of Lord Scarsdale, an aide-de-camp to the duke, was sent with Lord March on a service of importance, when a grape-

shot struck him on the breast. As he fell from his horse, he affectionately exclaimed, "Good bye, March." In vain his noble friend rendered him every possible assistance; the tide of life ebbed fast. At this juncture a movement of the French cuirassiers threatened to attack a battalion of Nassau troops, near the spot on which he lay. Lord March, perceiving the danger to which they were exposed, hastily endeavoured to form them into square. As he was thus employed, and animating the soldiers to wait with firmness the expected attack, Curzon lifted his head, and, with his dying breath, exclaimed, "Well done, March; that's right, my brave fellow, well done, well done!"

Buonaparte was equally astonished and chagrined at the obstinate resistance of the British troops. He incessantly took snuff in large pinches from his waistcoat-pocket, violently snuffing up a part, and throwing the rest from him. "These English are devils!" he exclaimed; "will they never be beaten?" A moment afterwards he added, "I shall defeat them yet; though it is a pity to destroy such brave troops." He then turned to Soult. "How admirably these English fight! but they must soon give way." Soult, who had some experience of British courage and firmness, replied, that "he doubted whether they would ever give way." "Why?" indignantly asked Napoleon. "Because, sire, they will suffer themselves to be cut to pieces first."

The Corsican's attacks were now redoubled, and he began to expose himself to the thickest of the fire; though the accounts which have been published of the desperation with which he sought every danger, and his apparent determination to die on the field, are altogether unfounded.

Buonaparte now contemplated with a stern countenance the horrible scene of slaughter which presented itself to his view. The more numerous the obstacles which presented themselves, the more his obstinacy seemed to increase. He became indignant at these unforeseen difficulties; and, far from fearing to push to extremities an army which reposed boundless confidence in him, he ceased not to pour down fresh troops, and to give orders to march forward,—to charge with the bayonet,—to carry by storm. He was repeatedly informed from different points, that the day went against him, and that the troops appeared to be disordered; but his only reply was, *Forward! forward!*—One general sent him information that he could not maintain his position, being dreadfully annoyed by a battery; and requested instructions how to elude its murderous fire—"*Let him storm the battery!*" said the unfeeling wretch, and turned his back on the aide-de-camp, who brought the message.

At this moment he received intelligence that the Prussians were opening on his right flank, and threatening his rear. He, however, disregarded the report, affirming that these pretended Prussians were no other than Grouchy's corps; and even abused several aides-de-camp, who brought the intelligence, charging them with timidity, and dismissing them with ill-humour.

After so peremptory an answer, many of them, ashamed to have been mistaken, heedlessly advanced towards the Prussian Yagers; and, notwithstanding these kept up a sharp fire against them, they approached near enough to be either killed or taken prisoners. In no long time, however, Buonaparte was undeceived by a furious attack on the part of the Prussians; part of the sixth corps was detached to sustain this new shock, until Marshal Grouchy's corps, which was every moment expected, should come up. By his orders, General Labedoyere announced the arrival of Grouchy, and that he was attacking the enemy; and this false intelligence he also spread among the soldiers as he rode along the line.

No blame can be attributed to the Prussians with respect to the delay of their arrival. Prince Blucher had put his army in motion at break of day. The corps of Borstel and Bulow were to march by St. Lambert, occupy a position there under cover of the forest near Fritschermont, and take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. Ziethen's corps was to co-operate on the right flank of the enemy by Ohaim, and Thielman to follow slowly, and afford succour in case of need. But the first two of these corps had been placed on the east side of the river Dyle at Wavre; they had to cross by a narrow bridge, and, to add to the delay which this necessarily occasioned, the houses in the street leading to it had been set on fire by the French; so that the infantry passed with difficulty, the cavalry and artillery with still greater, and the ammunition was compelled to wait till the fire was extinguished. The passage, too, by the defile of St. Lambert, was far more difficult than had been expected; so that, when it was half-past four in the afternoon, only two brigades of Bulow's corps had arrived at the position which was assigned them.

The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost; and the general resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. Their way was through the forest of Soignies, a tract consisting of more than thirty thousand acres. By good fortune, the peasant who guided them, was a man of more than ordinary sagacity; and, instead of coming out of the forest at Fritschermont, he proposed to descend into the valley lower down, and come out in a direction towards Planchenoit, nearly

on the rear of the French reserves. "Then," said he, "we shall take them all."

The moment at which they arrived, was truly critical: nor can we reflect, without shuddering, how much, at this moment, depended on the knowledge and fidelity of a single peasant; who, had he been less disposed to serve the allies, or less intelligent, might easily have led them into a hollow way impassable to their cannon.

When Napoleon was at length convinced that the corps which he had so obstinately taken for that of Marshal Grouchy, consisted of Prussians, he felt the critical situation in which he was now placed; but, as he did not believe that the main body of the Prussians could come up for some hours, he hoped that success was yet in his power. He therefore resolved to attack the weakest part of the British line with his whole concentrated force, and thus endeavour to defeat the Duke of Wellington before his reinforcements could arrive. Accordingly, leaving the sixth corps to keep the Prussians in check, he brought forward the whole of the cavalry of the imperial guard, and directed it on the centre of the British position. The shock, for the moment, was irresistible; the allied troops gave way; the heights were carried, and several guns were taken by the French. The Duke of Wellington, however, hastened to the spot, and placed himself at the head of some English and Brunswickers. He addressed to them a few sentences, which he well knew would inflame their ardour, and led them against the enemy, who, flushed with success, were advancing to the very rear of his lines. Suddenly the victory was wrested from their grasp. The artillery which they had taken was hastily abandoned, and they fled with precipitation.

At this period, the Prince of Orange received a musket-ball in his shoulder, as he was rallying some of his troops who had shrunk from the impetuous attack of the French. In a previous stage of the combat he had been hurried away by the ardour of the fight, and taken prisoner; but a battalion of his troops rushing to his assistance, immediately effected his rescue.

The troops of Count Lobau had, in the mean time, repulsed the advanced-guard of the Prussians, and driven them back into the woods. Animated by this success, and at the same time sensible how necessary it was for him to avail himself of it, Napoleon put himself at the head of his guard, consisting of fifteen hundred men, and made one last desperate effort on the centre of the British. He led them on till he came to a hollow part of the road, where he stopped under a ravine, protected from the fire of the British artillery. Here he addressed his troops. He reminded them how often he had relied on their valour in cases of emergency and that they had never disappointed his expectations. He stated that the enemy, greatly diminished in numbers, could offer no effectual resistance, and that they had nothing to encounter but an artillery, which was indeed formidable, but which they would easily carry with the bayonet. To these observations they replied with one general shout of "*Vive L'Empereur!*" which was distinctly heard as far as the British lines.

The allies now conceived that Buonaparte was about to attack them in person. He thought proper, however, to remain under shelter of the rising bank, while his devoted guards defiled before him under the command of Ney, and ascended the eminence.

The decision of the battle, the fate of Europe, now depended upon these troops. The fire of the allies abated; and, with indescribable feelings, they contemplated the approach of those chosen battalions, who had been so long the terror of Europe, and who had never yet been vanquished. The pause, however, was but for a moment. Every cannon opened at once on the foe, and swept away entire ranks. But as those in front fell, others instantly rushed forward to fill up the chasms, and, with stern and unbroken front, the imperial guard still continued to advance.

Some Brunswickers first attempted to oppose them: but, after an obstinate resistance, they were defeated with immense slaughter. The French penetrated within the lines; and, for a short space, the victory was more than doubtful.

In a hollow of the ground, directly in front of the French, and sheltered from the fire of their artillery, lay a regiment of the British guards. The Duke of Wellington had placed himself on a ridge behind them, and, on the imperial guard advancing within a hundred yards, he suddenly exclaimed, "Up, guards, and at them." The unexpected appearance of this fine body of men startled the French battalions, and they suddenly paused; but immediately recovering themselves, they advanced more rapidly, while their artillery filed off to the right and the left. They then approached within twenty yards of their opponents, and were in the act of rushing upon them with the bayonet; when a volley was poured upon them by the British, which literally knocked them backward with its shock. A second volley threw them into greater confusion, and, before they could either deploy or manœuvre, the British cheered and rushed upon them with such impetuosity, that they suddenly turned, and fled in the utmost confusion.

The Duke of Wellington, perceiving the disorder of the French, and the advance of the Prussians on their right flank, immediately commanded the British troops

to form line, and assume the offensive. The whole line formed four deep, and, supported by the cavalry and artillery, rushed down the slopes and up the corresponding bank, driving before them the flying French, whose confusion became each moment more irretrievable. The tirralleurs of the imperial guard attempted to cover the retreat; but they were charged by the British cavalry, and literally cut to pieces.

Just as the English army had deployed into line for the general charge, the sun beamed out, as if to shed his setting glories upon the conquerors of that eventful day. Fatigue and diminution of numbers, even wounds, were forgotten, when the whole line, supported by the cavalry and artillery, were ordered to charge. Headed by the Duke of Wellington himself, with his hat in his hand, the troops advanced with the utmost spirit and rapidity.

The French fought with desperation, but all their efforts were in vain: their first line was speedily thrown back on the second, and both became united in one tide of general and undistinguished flight. Baggage-waggons, artillery-carts, guns overthrown, and all the impediments of a hurried flight, encumbered the field as well as the causeway, without mentioning the thick-strewn corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the still more miserable wounded, who, in vain, implored compassion, as fugitives and pursuers drove headlong over them in the agony of fear or the ecstacy of triumph. All the guns which were in line along the French position, to the number of one hundred and fifty, fell into the immediate possession of the allies.

The last effort of the Corsican's troops, and their entire defeat, are thus beautifully described by Walter Scott, in his "Field of Waterloo:"—

"On came the whirlwind—like the last,
But fiercest sweep of tempest blast—
On came the whirlwind—steel gleams broke
Like lightning through the rolling smoke,
The war was wak'd anew.
Three hundred cannon-mouths roar'd loud,
And from their throats, with flash and cloud,
Their showers of iron threw.
Beneath their fire, in full career,
Rush'd on the ponderous cuirassier,
The lancer couch'd his ruthless spear
And hurrying as to havoc near,
The cohorts' eagles flew.
In one dark torrent, broad and strong,
The advancing onset roll'd along,
Forth harbinger'd by fierce acclaim,
That, from the shroud of smoke and flame
Peal'd wildly the imperial name.
But, on the British heart were lost
The terrors of the charging host;
For not an eye the storm that view'd
Chang'd its proud glance of fortitude;
Nor was one forward footstep staid,
As dropp'd the dying and the dead.
Fast as their ranks the thunders tear,
Fast they renew'd each serried square;
And, on the wounded and the slain,
Clos'd their diminish'd files again,
Till, from their line, scarce spears'-lengths three,
Emerging from the smoke they see
Helmet, and plume, and panoply,—
Then wak'd their fire at once!
Each musketeer's revolving knell,
As fast, as regularly, fell,
As, when they practise to display
Their discipline on festal day.
Then down went helm and lance,
Down were the eagle banners sent,
Down reeling steeds and riders went,
Corslets were pierc'd, and pennons rent;
And, to augment the fray,
Wheel'd full against their staggering flanks,
The English horsemen's foaming ranks
Forc'd their resistless way.
Then to the musket-knell succeeds
The clash of swords—the neigh of steeds—
As plies the smith his clanging trade,
Against the cuirass rang the blade;
And, while amid their close array,
The well-serv'd cannon rent their way;
And, while amid their scatter'd band
Rag'd the fierce rider's bloody brand;
Recoil'd in common rout and fear,
Lancer, and guard, and cuirassier,
Horsemen and foot,—a mingled host,
Their leaders fallen, their standards lost."

The last gun fired was a French howitzer, which was turned upon the retreating army, and discharged by Captain Campbell, aide-de-camp to General Adam, with his own hand, who had thus the honour of concluding the battle of Waterloo. The march and advance of the Prussians crossed the van of the British army, after they had attacked the French position, about the farm-house of La Belle Alliance, and there the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher accidentally met, and congratulated each other upon their joint-success. Here, too, the victorious allies of both countries exchanged military greeting,—the Prussians halting their regimental band to play "God save the King," while the British returned the compliment with three cheers to the honour of Prussia. Marshal Blucher then gave orders that every man and horse in his army capable of action should press upon the rear of the fugitives, without giving them a moment's time to rally.

It was now half-past nine at night; and the moon arose with more than ordinary splendour. The van of the Prussian army accelerated its march, and the French were pursued without intermission, and became absolutely disorganized. The Prussians put no limit to their revenge, and listened to no cries of mercy: their light-horse, always formidable on such occasions,

made a fearful and indiscriminate slaughter, scarcely interrupted even by the temptation of plundering the baggage with which the roads were choaked, and unchecked by an attempt at resistance. The road was covered with cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacks. In some villages, they attempted to maintain themselves; but, as soon as they heard the beating of the Prussian drums, or the sound of the Prussian trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. The Brunswick cavalry, though they had borne their full share in all the fatigues of the day, intreated permission to join in the pursuit. The destruction on the field of battle had not, in their opinion, sufficiently atoned for the death of their beloved prince. They therefore eagerly headed the chase, and their ferocity knew no bounds. Not a man whom they could sacrifice to the manes of their leader was spared. As they charged through Gemappe, General Duchesme, who then commanded the rear-guard of the French, was standing at the gate of an inn. One of the Brunswick black hussars, perceiving that he was a superior officer, rode up to him, and instantly cut him down, exclaiming, "The duke fell the day before yesterday, and now thou shalt bite the dust."

Buonaparte had remained in the ravine under the British lines, until he had witnessed the defeat of his hitherto invincible guards; he then hastily retired to his former position near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Here he beheld, with mingled rage and despair, the superb charge of the whole British line, the feeble resistance which his troops opposed, and the irremediable confusion which so soon pervaded his whole army. During the day, except when he had yielded to momentary paroxysms of rage at the unconquerable obstinacy of the British, he had been cool and collected, and had fought the battle with more than ordinary skill. But he now seemed to be deprived of the powers of recollection, and stood an image of horror and despair. Some indistinct and incoherent expressions of admiration of his devoted guard, or of indignation at the cowardice of the rest of his troops, alone shewed that he breathed. In vain his officers applied to him for orders; in vain one messenger after another enquired what was to be done in different parts of the field. He regarded them not. "My guard, my faithful guard!" he exclaimed. A moment afterwards he added, "Ah! they are thrown into confusion! the game is indeed lost!" He was now surrounded and borne away by crowds of fugitives.

For a few moments he sought refuge, with a few of his officers, in the cottage of a shepherd, near La Belle Alliance; but, as the Prussian hussars had began to scour the field in every direction, he thought proper to abandon his army to their fate, and to seek his own safety in the most rapid flight.

As the Corsican and his suite issued from the cottage, and galloped across the plain to reach some of his retinue, they saw several parties of Prussian hussars busily employed in revenging the calamities of their country. They were not perceived, and Napoleon was conducted to one of his carriages. He drove furiously towards Gemappe. Having arrived there he found the streets completely thronged with carriages of all descriptions. They were all obliged to pass over one bridge, and, in their haste to effect their escape, they impeded each other's progress, and produced the most dreadful confusion. For more than an hour he remained entangled in the crowd, which resisted every effort to open a passage. Every moment new crowds of fugitives, cavalry, infantry, guns, baggage-waggons, and carriages of every description, rushed into the place, increased the tumult, and rendered the passage of the bridge impracticable.

To complete the horror of the scene, the Prussians now approached. Their shouts were plainly heard, mingling with the shrieks of the miserable wretches who were perishing under their sabres.

The streets were hastily barricadoed, and every preparation which despair or terror could suggest was made for a last defence. The Prussians, however, soon broke through every obstacle, and entered the town at full speed.

Buonaparte's carriage was soon recognised, and the conquerors dashed at it, in the hope of taking the Corsican himself. The coachman and the postillion were making a desperate attempt to force their way through the throng. The Prussian officer, who headed the foremost troop, called to the coachman to stop, but he only lashed his horses with increasing violence. The hussars then cut down the postillion, and killed the leaders, while the sabre of their officer brought the coachman from his box at one blow. He then deemed his prize secure: but, as he opened the door, Napoleon escaped from the opposite side, and, before the Prussian could pass round the carriage, he had mounted a horse, and was lost in the throng. In his haste he dropped his hat, his sword, and his mantle, which were found by the side of the carriage in the road.

The carriage was afterwards brought to England by the officer into whose hands it fell, and is now exhibited in a museum, in Piccadilly. This vehicle was built at Brussels to convey Buonaparte on his memo-

rable expedition to Russia. It travelled as far as Moscow, and was almost the only equipage which escaped in his disastrous retreat. It afterwards carried the Corsican to Dresden, and brought him back a second time in disgrace to France. After his abdication, it conveyed him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and was shipped with him for Elba, where it was there used in all his excursions round the island. When he planned his second usurpation, his troops were permitted to take neither equipage nor baggage, but his favourite travelling-carriage was carefully shipped, and landed at Cannes. His journey to Paris was chiefly performed in it, nor would he quit it, although the state-carriages were despatched from Paris to convey him in triumph to the Thuilleries. When he departed to join his armies in the north of France, this carriage again accompanied him, and, in his disgraceful flight from Waterloo, it fell into the hands of his triumphant enemies.

It nearly resembles a fashionable English travelling-carriage, though with a greater appearance of heaviness. Its colour is dark blue, bordered with gold, and ornamented with the imperial arms of France. The lamps have a curious appearance, one is at each corner, and another in the centre of the back, which illuminates the inside of the carriage.

The interior presents the most perfect specimen of elegance and convenience which can be conceived. It is a complete office, bed-chamber, dressing-room, eating-room, and kitchen. Packed up in the most ingenious way, are a complete breakfast-service for tea, coffee, and chocolate, including a spirit-lamp; sandwich-service, consisting of plates, knives, forks, spoons, salt, pepper and mustard boxes, decanter and glasses; a dressing-case, containing every article for the toilette; a complete wardrobe; a bedstead, bed, and mattrass; and all so arranged as to be found in an instant.

Leaving, for a while, Napoleon to pursue his flight towards Paris, we shall lay before the reader the *official accounts* of that memorable and important battle, the outline of which has been previously given:—

THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT.

"*Waterloo June 19th*, 1815.

"My Lord,

"Buonaparte, having collected the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth, corps of the French army, and the imperial guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced, on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

"I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to the left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

"The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position.

"The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and, on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

"The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

"In the mean time, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the fifth division under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

"At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the first and second corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

"The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the fourth corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

"We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves,

as well as Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, Major-general Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-general Cooke, and Major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the fifth division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the twenty-eighth, forty-second, seventy-ninth, and ninety-second regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

"Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

"Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and, as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

"This movement of the marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Gemappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

"The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sombref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

"This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the first Life-Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Gemappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

"The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain, and the marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

"The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th, and yesterday morning; and, at about ten o'clock, he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

"This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

"The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life-Guards, Royal Horse-Guards, and First Dragoon-Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

"These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort, with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and, having observed that the troops retired from the attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frichemont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and, as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, *one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon*, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

"I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it, only on account of the fatigue of

our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night: he has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Gemappe.

"I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

"Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that our's has been immense. In Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.

"The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket-ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

"It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-general Maitland, and Major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

"I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, Lieutenant-general Sir H. Clinton; Major-general Adam; Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-general Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda; Colonel Mitchele, commanding a brigade of the fourth division; Major-generals Sir James Kempt and Sir Denis Pack; Major-general Lambert; Major-general Lord E. Somerset; Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby; Major-general Sir C. Grant, and Major-general Sir H. Vivian; Major-general Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-general Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

"The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-general Major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-master-general, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannot-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.

"General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the king of the Netherlands.

"General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

"I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them.

"The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

"I send, with this despatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

"I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

THE PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

"It was on the 15th of this month, that Napoleon, after having collected, on the 14th, five corps of his army, and the several corps of the guard, between Maubeuge and Beaumont, commenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps, were Fleurus, Namur, Ciney, and Hannut; the situation of which made it possible to unite the army in one of these points, in twenty-four hours.

"On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin, upon the two banks of the Sambre, against Charleroi. General Ziethen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had, on that day, a very warm action with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleroi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Ziethen maintained himself in his position near that place.

"Field-marshal Blucher intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the other three corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the second and third corps were to arrive on the 15th, and the fourth corps on the 16th.

"Lord Wellington had united his army between Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist Field-marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

June 16.—BATTLE OF LIGNY.

"The Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situated in its front. Meantime only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, had been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, Field-marshal Blucher resolved to give battle, Lord Wellington having already put in motion to support him a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the fourth corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

"The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up above one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Prussian army was eighty thousand strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it, after a vigorous resistance.

"He then directed his efforts against Ligny. This is a large village, solidly built, situated on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken: but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves; and the movements forwards or backwards were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each army had behind the part of the village which it occupied great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in several places at once. From time to time, the combat extended through the line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the third corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the Field-marshal himself; in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless, the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the fourth corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the Field-marshal the means of making, immediately, with the right wing, an attack, from which great success might be expected: but news arrived that the English division destined to support us, was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain alone the contest with an army greatly superior in numbers. The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with unremitting fury, and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in the rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise, on the part of the enemy, was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

"Our infantry posted near Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds himself exposed, or, by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannon, in their precipitate retreat, had taken directions which

led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder; in this manner, fifteen pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he, at day-break, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under General Bulow, had at length arrived during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our soldiers fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength. On this day Field-marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket-shot struck the field-marshal's horse: the animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The field-marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, advanced: our last horseman had already passed by the field-marshal, an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but Heaven watched over us. The enemy, pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the field-marshal without seeing him: the next moment, a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him, any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the field-marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon-horse.

"On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against Lord Wellington upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained, on the same day, near Quartre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-la-Leud, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the Field-marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the Field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The Field-marshal promised to come with his whole army: he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to shew how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

BATTLE OF THE 18TH.

"At break of day, the Prussian army again began to move. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about eighty thousand strong; the enemy had above one hundred and thirty thousand. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry were overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

"It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's

right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

"Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The Field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news: it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict, continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone ensure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under General Pvich, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while, at the same time, the whole English line advanced.

"Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and, in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several sanguinary attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, and, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The Field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, were absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but, as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit; for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

"At Gemappe, the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned-carriages: at our approach, we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon-shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and, in an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About forty thousand men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

"The enemy, in his flight, has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

"At three o'clock, Napoleon had despatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet an exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time, about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons, are in our hands.

"Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed

towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle: it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that, by a happy chance, Field-marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

"In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the Field-marshal desired, that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance.*

"By the order of Field-marshal Blucher.

"General GNEISENAU."

THE BELGIAN ACCOUNT.

Head-Quarters, Nivelles, 17th June, 1815, *Two in the morning.*

"Very early on the morning of the 15th, the Prussian army was attacked in its position, which it abandoned, and retired from Charleroi, by Gosselies, as far as the environs of Fleurus. As soon as I was apprised of this attack, I gave the necessary orders to the corps of troops under my command. In consequence of what took place in the Prussian army, the battalion of Orange Nassau, which, together with a battery of light artillery, occupied the village of Frasné, were attacked at five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. These troops maintained themselves in their position on the height of this village, called Quatre Bras, and at a short distance from the road. The skirmishing ceased upon this point at eight o'clock in the evening.

"As soon as I was informed of this attack, I gave orders for the third division, as well as to two English divisions, to move upon Nivelles; and to the second, to maintain the position of Quatre Bras. Only a part of the second division was enabled to move thither immediately, in consequence of the brigade, under the orders of Major-general Byland, not being able to leave Nivelles prior to the arrival of other troops at that place.

"The firing of the tirailleurs commenced at five o'clock yesterday morning on this point, and was kept up on both sides until mid-day, without any result. About two o'clock the attack became much more severe, especially on the part of the cavalry and artillery. The brigade of light cavalry, under the command of General Van Merlen, was not able to come up before four o'clock; previous to which time I had no cavalry to oppose to the enemy. Seeing of how great importance it was to preserve the position on the heights of the road, called Quatre Bras, I was fortunate in maintaining them against an enemy who was in every respect superior to me in force.

"Having been attacked by the two French corps, commanded by Generals D'Erlon and Reille, and having succeeded in checking them, the Duke of Wellington had time to assemble a sufficient force to foil the projects of the enemy. The result of this attack has been, that, after a very obstinate contest, which lasted till nine o'clock in the evening, we not only checked the enemy, but even repulsed him.

"The Prussian army, which was also attacked yesterday, maintained its principal position; and there is no doubt, that Napoleon, with very considerable forces, will direct an attack upon the whole line.

"Our troops bivouacked upon the field of battle, whither I shall immediately proceed, in expectation of the probability that Napoleon will endeavour to execute to-day the project of yesterday. The Duke of Wellington has concentrated upon this point as many troops as he was able to collect.

"I experience a lively pleasure in being able to announce to your majesty, that your troops, and the infantry and artillery in particular, fought with great courage.

"Circumstances having prevented my receiving the reports from the different corps concerning their loss, I am unable to acquaint you with it: but I shall have the honour of doing it as soon as possible.

(Signed) "WILLIAM, Prince of Orange."

Brussels, June 22, 1815.

"After the battle of the 16th, of which I had the honour of giving an account to your majesty on the 17th, at two in the morning, from the head-quarters at Nivelles, the Duke of Wellington, keeping his line with the Prussian army, made a movement in the morning, the result of which was, that the army found itself in position upon the heights in front of Waterloo, where it bivouacked; the enemy's cavalry, which followed the movements of the army, was in different attacks repulsed with loss by the British cavalry.

"On the 18th, at day-break, we discovered the enemy in our front: at ten o'clock he shewed a disposition to attack. The army of Buonaparte was composed of the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth, corps, the Imperial Guards, nearly the whole of his cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of many hundred pieces of cannon. About eleven o'clock, the enemy unmasked a small battery, under the cover of

the fire of which, his tirailleurs advanced against our right wing, and, immediately after, his attack was directed against a farm surrounded with copse-wood, which was situated a short way in front of this wing, and on the left of the road leading to Nivelles. The enemy made the most furious, but fruitless, attacks, to possess himself of this farm. At noon, the cannonade became violent; and, before half-past twelve, the battle was extended along the whole line. The French repeatedly attacked our two wings; but, as their principal object was to pierce the right of our centre, they employed all their means to accomplish it. Some columns of the enemy's cavalry advanced boldly against us: but, notwithstanding the inconceivable violence with which they renewed their attacks, from three o'clock in the afternoon until the end of the battle, they never succeeded in making our line waver. The enemy was constantly repulsed, as well from the fire of the squares as by the charges of our cavalry: it is impossible to depict to your majesty the fury with which they fought, especially during the last six hours.

"I was unfortunate in not being able to see the end of this glorious and important battle, having received, half an hour before the defeat of the enemy, a ball through my left shoulder, which compelled me to quit the field of battle.

"It is with the most lively satisfaction that I am able to inform your majesty, that your troops, of all arms, have fought with the greatest courage. In the charges of cavalry, the brigade of carabineers attracted particular notice. The division of Lieutenant-general Chassé was not engaged until late; and, as I was not personally able to quit the centre, I had placed it, for the day, under the orders of General Lord Hill, commanding the second corps of the army. I have heard that this division likewise conducted itself with much bravery, and that Lieutenant-general Chassé, as also the two commanders of brigades, very satisfactorily acquitted themselves of their duty.

"I cannot, at this moment, make any detail to your majesty of the loss we have sustained, not having received the returns. I am obliged, nevertheless, with the most profound regret, to state that it is considerable.

"I have charged my adjutant, Van Hooft, to transmit this report to your majesty. I take the liberty of recommending him to your favourable consideration.

(Signed) "WILLIAM, Prince of Orange."

THE HANOVERIAN ACCOUNT.

BY GENERAL ALTEN.

"The troops broke up from their cantonments on the night of the 15th, and proceeded towards Gemappe. The hereditary Prince of Orange, under whose command my division had been placed, took a position at Quatre Bras, at the intersection of the roads from Mons to Namur, and from Charleroi to Brussels.

"The French had divided their force, and attacked Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington on the same day. As soon as the design of the enemy was perceived, a position was assigned to us between Quatre Bras and Sarte à Maveline, with our right wing at the former village, and the latter occupied by our left. Our troops marched to their position under a most violent cannonade from the enemy. The wood of Bossu, on the right of Quatre Bras, was the scene of the most obstinate contention, and was carried and retaken several times.

"The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against our left wing, and the battalion of Lüneburg was detached to drive him out of the village of Pierremont in our front. The commission was executed by Lieutenant-colonel Klenke with great courage and skill; the village was carried, and our troops maintained themselves in it, notwithstanding the incessant and furious attacks of the French. The enemy's infantry now advanced in great force, against whom I opposed the battalions of Grubenhagen, Osnabruch, and Bremen, with the artillery of the German legion. The French were repulsed, and retired in confusion.

"The enemy's cavalry now made several desperate charges on our right, but the determined bravery of our troops prevented them from being broken. The landwehr of Lüneburg, under Colonel Von Ramdohr, particularly distinguished itself in this affair. It permitted the cuirassiers to approach within thirty paces, and then poured on them a steady and well-directed fire, by which they were driven back with great loss.

"We successfully maintained our position; but the Prussians having sustained a severe check on our left, we were compelled to fall back upon Gemappe on the 17th. In effecting this movement, my division formed the rear-guard. The enemy presenting themselves in great force in the afternoon, we continued our retreat to Mont St. Jean, on the road to Brussels.

"The army of the Duke of Wellington was concentrated here, with the left wing at the village of Frichemont, and the right on the road from Brussels to Nivelles. The road from Gemappe to Brussels intersected the centre, where my division was posted. The second light battalion of the King's German Legion occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte, in front of the left of my position. A company of Hanoverian yagers, and two companies of English Guards, were posted at the *chateau* of Hougoumont, and a small wood before it, and in front of the right wing.

"The infantry of the Prince of Orange was so placed that the battalions might form into squares, or deploy into line as circumstances might require, and a sufficient space was left between them for the manœuvres of the cavalry and artillery, which were posted in the rear. General Hill, with the reserve, was at Merke Braine, and covered the road from Nivelles to Brussels, and beyond this road were some corps of cavalry to observe the motions of the enemy.

"At one o'clock the enemy's riflemen attacked the wood in front of our right, and a severe contest ensued. This position was of great importance, and, could the enemy have carried it, and gained possession of the heights, our right flank would have been endangered. Strong columns of infantry, supported by artillery, advanced upon this position, which was bravely defended by the British guards.

"The battle now became general through the whole line. A numerous artillery was directed upon the centre, under cover of which an immense column of infantry advanced upon the road of Gemappe, but it was repulsed by the second light battalion, the eighth battalion of the line of the German Legion, and the battalion of Lüneburg. The French cavalry next advanced with such impetuosity as to drive in our light troops, and penetrate to the brow of the hill among the squares. This ground they maintained, notwithstanding every opposition, till the British cavalry came up, and completely repulsed them.

"The fire of artillery now became more tremendous, and was continued with a violence which the oldest soldiers never before witnessed. The attacks of the French infantry and cavalry were incessant, and directed on various points. Buonaparte was resolved to pierce the centre, and open for himself a way to Brussels. He every moment advanced nearer to us, and continually brought up fresh troops. His artillery played on our squares at the distance of one hundred and fifty paces; but not a single battalion yielded, the dead were thrust aside, and the ranks were immediately closed. Some of the regiments waited not to receive the attack, but, rushing on the enemy, repulsed him in disorder.

"At length, weakened by so many repeated and murderous attacks, and several of the battalions being nearly cut to pieces, my division was compelled to fall back; but it retired in good order, and cheerfully advanced again at the command of the Duke of Wellington. That illustrious hero was an eye-witness of our conduct; he was uniformly found where the danger was most imminent, and the Prince of Orange displayed a valour worthy of his noble ancestors. It was against his division that the principal efforts of the main body of the army, led on by Buonaparte in person, were directed.

"At this critical moment, the Prussian general, Von Bulow, hastened to our assistance with thirty thousand men, and attacked the enemy in his flank. The day was soon our own. The enemy fled in every direction, and abandoned the greater part of his artillery. Two hundred pieces of cannon, and several eagles, were taken, and, although the number of prisoners cannot yet be accurately stated, it amounts to several thousands.

"The glory of these two days has been purchased with the loss of the greater part of our most distinguished officers, among whom are Colonels Von Ompteda, Du Plat, Von Wurmb, and Von Langrehr. The battalions of Bremen, Lüneburg, Verden, Grubenhagen, and the Duke of York, deserve the highest praise. A favourable report has also been made to me of many of the brigades of Landwehr. That of Osnabruch, under Count Munster, fought against Napoleon's Imperial guard, and threw them into confusion."

THE SPANISH ACCOUNT.

Supplement to the Madrid Gazette, July 13, 1815.

"The lieutenant-general of the Royal Armies, Don Miguel de Alava, minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty in Holland, has addressed to his Excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state, the following letter:—

"Most Excellent Sir,

"The short space of time that has intervened between the departure of the last post and the victory of the 18th, has not allowed me to write to your Excellency so diffusely as I could have wished; and although the army is at this moment on the point of marching, and I also am going to set out for the Hague, to deliver my credentials, which I did not receive till this morning; nevertheless, I will give your Excellency some details respecting this important event, which, possibly, may bring us to the end of the war much sooner than we had any reason to expect.

"I informed your Excellency, under date of the 16th instant, that Buonaparte, marching from Maubeuge and Philippeville, had attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and that, after driving them from Charleroi, he had entered that city on the 15th.

"On the 16th, the Duke of Wellington ordered his army to assemble on the point of Quatre Bras, where the roads cross from Namur to Nivelles, and from Brus-

sels to Charleroi; and he himself proceeded to the same point, at seven in the morning.

"On his arrival, he found the Hereditary Prince of Orange, with a division of his own army, holding the enemy in check, till the other divisions of the army were collected.

"By this time, the British division under General Picton had arrived, with which the duke kept up an unequal contest with more than thirty thousand of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground. The British guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scotch brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and Lord Wellington told me, on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better during the number of years he had commanded them.

"The French cuirassiers suffered very considerable loss; for, confiding in their breast-plates, they approached so near the British squares, that they killed some officers of the forty-second regiment with their swords; but those valiant men, without giving way, kept up so strong a fire, that the whole ground was covered with the cuirassiers and their horses. In the mean time, the troops kept coming up; and the night put an end to the contest in this quarter.

"During this time Buonaparte was fighting with the remainder of his forces against Marshal Blucher, with whom he had commenced a sanguinary action at five in the afternoon; from which time, till nine in the evening, he was constantly repulsed by the Prussians, with great loss on both sides. But, at that moment, he made his cavalry charge with so much vigour, that they broke the Prussian line of infantry, and introduced disorder and confusion throughout.

"Whether Buonaparte did not perceive this circumstance, or that he had experienced a great loss; or, what is more probable, that Marshal Blucher had re-established the battle, the fact is, that he derived no advantage whatever from this affair, and that he left the Prussians quiet during the whole of the night of the 16th.

"Lord Wellington, who, by the morning of the 17th, had collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras, was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a despatch from Marshal Blucher, communicating to him the events of the preceding day, together with the incident that had snatched the victory out of his hands; adding, that the loss he had experienced was of such a nature, that he was forced to retreat to Wavre, on our left, where the corps of Bulow would unite with him, and that on the 19th he would be ready for any affair he might wish to undertake.

"In consequence of this, Lord Wellington was obliged immediately to retreat; and this he effected with so much skill, that the enemy did not dare to interrupt him. He took up a position on Braine le Leud, in front of the great wood of Soignés, as he had previously determined, and placed his head-quarters in Waterloo.

"I joined the army on that morning, though I had received no orders to this effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his Majesty, and at the same time fulfil your Excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs who commanded on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

"The position occupied by his lordship was very good; but towards the centre it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general-in-chief. These qualifications were, however, sufficiently found in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day.

"On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which Lord Wellington quickly perceived, because the position could not be attacked on that side without carrying it, and it might therefore be considered as its key.

"The duke confided this important point to three companies of the English guards, under the command of Lord Saltoun, and laboured during the night of the 17th in fortifying it as well as possible, covering its garden, and a wood which served as its park, with Nassau troops, as sharp-shooters.

"At half-past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the imperial guard; here was Buonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking desperately with one of his corps, and with his usual shouts, the country-house on the right.

"The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post: but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that, though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it with the utmost bravery, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a

great number of killed and wounded. Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased for the present on this side.

" The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than two hundred pieces, under cover of which Buonaparte made a general attack from the centre to the right, with infantry and cavalry in such numbers, that it required all the skill of his lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter to resist the attack.

" General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

" The English life-guards then charged with the greatest bravery, and the forty-ninth and one hundred and fifth French regiments lost their respective eagles in this charge, together with two or three thousand prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the life-guards, and thus save their infantry; but the guards received them with the utmost valour, and the most sanguinary conflict of cavalry that ever was witnessed now took place.

" The French cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had no defence of the kind; and they lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the Royals.

" Intelligence now arrived that the Prussian corps of Bulow had reached St. Lambert, and that Prince Blucher, with another corps under the command of General Ziethen, was advancing with all haste to take part in the combat, leaving the other two in Wavre, which had suffered much in the battle of the 16th, at Fleurus. The arrival of these troops was absolutely necessary, in consequence of the forces of the enemy being now more than triple ours, and our loss having been horrid during an unequal combat, from half-past eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon.

" Buonaparte, who did not believe them to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying Lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that, in the critical position in which he would soon be placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the British position, and thus, if possible, beat the duke before his own right was turned and attacked by the Prussians.

" Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than three hundred pieces of artillery, which made horrid ravages in our line, and killed and wounded numerous officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position.

" The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

" At last, about seven in the evening, Buonaparte made a final effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it; and, for a moment, the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful. The duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which a great general possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

" Fortunately at this moment he perceived the fire of Marshal Blucher, who was attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the duke put himself at the head of the English foot-guards, spoke a few words to them, which were answered by a general hurrah, and his Grace himself leading them on with his hat in his hand, they eagerly rushed forward to come to close action with the imperial guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into the most complete rout ever witnessed by military men. Entire columns, throwing down their arms and cartouch-boxes, that they might escape the better, fled in the utmost disorder from the field, and abandoned to us nearly one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The rout at Vittoria was not comparable to this, and it only resembles it, inasmuch, as on both occasions, the French lost all the train of artillery and stores of the army, as well as all the baggage.

" The Duke followed the enemy as far as Gemappe, where he found the illustrious Blucher, and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the principal road to Charleroi; but, finding himself in the same position with the Prussians, and that his army stood in need of rest after so dreadful a struggle, he left to Blucher the charge of following up the enemy, who promised that he would not leave them a moment of rest. He is now pursuing them, and yesterday, at noon, he

had reached Charleroi, whence he intended to proceed at night, and continue the chase.

"This is the substance of what took place on this memorable day; but the consequences of the affair are too evident for me to detain you in stating them.

"Buonaparte, now tottering on his usurped throne, without money and without troops to recruit his armies, has received a mortal blow, and, according to the language of the prisoners, no other resource is left him, 'than to cut his own throat.'

"It is said that he had never been known to expose his person so much, and that he seemed to seek death, that he might not survive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences.

"I informed your Excellency, under date of the 16th, that his manœuvre appeared to me extremely daring in the face of such generals as Blucher and the Duke. The event has fully justified my prediction. For this reason, I conceive that his executing it has arisen merely from despair, at the appearance of the innumerable troops who were about to attack him on every side, and in order to strike one of his customary blows before the Russians and Austrians came up.

"His military reputation is lost for ever; and, on this occasion, there is no treason on the part of the allies, nor bridges blown up before their time, on which to throw the blame: all the shame will fall upon himself. Numerical superiority, superiority of artillery, all was in his favour; and his having commenced the attack, proves that he had sufficient means to execute it.

"In short, this talisman, whose charm had so long operated on the French military, has been completely dashed to pieces. Buonaparte has for ever lost the reputation of being invincible; and, henceforward, this character will belong to an honourable man, who, far from employing this glorious title in disturbing and enslaving Europe, will convert it into an instrument of her felicity, and in procuring for her that peace which she so much requires.

"The loss of the British is dreadful, and of the whole military staff, the Duke and myself alone remained untouched in our persons and horses.

"The Duke of Brunswick was killed on the 16th, and the Prince of Orange and his cousin, the Prince of Nassau, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, received two balls. The Prince of Orange distinguished himself extremely; but, unfortunately, although his wound is not dangerous, it will deprive the army of his important services for some time, and possibly he may lose the use of his left arm.

"Lord Uxbridge, general of cavalry, received a wound at the close of the action, which made the amputation of his right leg necessary: this is an irreparable loss, for it will be difficult to find another chief to lead on the cavalry with the same courage and skill.

"The duke was unable to refrain from shedding tears on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions. Nothing but the importance of the triumph can compensate for a loss so dreadful.

"This morning he has proceeded to Nivelles, and, to-morrow, he will advance to Mons, whence he will immediately enter France. The weather cannot be better.

"I cannot close this despatch without stating to your excellency, for the information of his majesty, that Captain Don Nicholas de Minuissir, of Doyle's regiment, and of whom I before spoke to your excellency, as well as of his destination in the army, conducted himself yesterday with the greatest valour and propriety. He was wounded when the Nassau troops were driven from the garden; yet he rallied them, and led them back to their post. During the action, he had a horse wounded under him, and, by his former conduct, as well as by his behaviour on this day, he merits from his majesty some proof of his satisfaction.

"This officer is well known in the war-office, as well as to General Don Josef de Zayas, who has duly appreciated his merits.

"God preserve your excellency many years,

(Signed) "MIGUEL DE ALAVA

"*Brussels, 20th of June*, 1815."

"P. S. The number of prisoners cannot be stated, for they are bringing in great numbers every moment. There are many generals among the prisoners; among whom are the Count de Lobau, aide-de-camp to Buonaparte, and Cambrone, who accompanied him to Elba."

THE FRENCH ACCOUNT.

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

"On the morning of the 16th, the army occupied the following position:—

"The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the first and second corps of infantry, and the second of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasné.

"The right wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the third and fourth corps of infantry, and the third corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in the rear of Fleurus.

"The emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the Imperial guard and the sixth corps. The left wing had orders to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombref The emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

"The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

"The empèror reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

"General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The fourth division of the second corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

"At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy fought there in considerable force.

"General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

"On the right, General Girard came into action with the fourth corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times.

"Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy shewed from eighty to ninety thousand men, and a great number of cannon.

"At seven o'clock, we were masters of all the villages situated on the bank of the ravine which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied with all his masses the heights of the mill of Bussy.

"The emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

"Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse-guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns which were on the heights of Bussy, and, in an instant, covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

"General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field-marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Our's was three thousand killed and wounded.

"On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Les Quatre Bras with a division which cut in pieces an English corps that was stationed there; but, being attacked by the Prince of Orange with twenty-five thousand men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasné. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the eighth regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the sixty-ninth regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many persons and generals of note killed or wounded. We estimate the loss of the English at from four to five thousand men. On our side it was very considerable, it amounts to four thousand two hundred killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Les Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Gemappe.

"In the morning of the 17th, the emperor repaired to Les Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref in pursuit of Field-marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position.

"At ten o'clock in the evening the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in posi-

tion before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

"The head-quarters of the emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues."

BATTLE OF MONT ST. JEAN.

"At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the first corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The second corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon-shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The sixth corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank; an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

"The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at eighty thousand men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be fifteen thousand men. The enemy's force then was upwards of ninety thousand men; our's less numerous.

"At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported, with thirty pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also, on our side, dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count D'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All our efforts were made on the opposite eminence. A brigade of the first division of Count D'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count D'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

"It was three in the afternoon. The emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being ready in advance. The Prussian division whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should have advanced.

"This done, the emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they had suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in proper time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and, before the affair on the right was terminated, became fatal.

"Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket-firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank-attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces and we had nothing more to fear. This was the moment that indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers had suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle-guard to protect them, to keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

"Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves

in force upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the eminence in rear of Mont St. Jean, and part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

"In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions, which the enemy had possessed at the outset of the battle. Our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy, having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of it, ensured us a signal success on the next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the victory gained, and the field of battle in our power.

"At half-after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, which were near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and, in consequence, fled in disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers even pretend that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Save who can.* However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and the troops threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

"In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle-mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus terminated the battle, a day of false manœuvres was rectified, the greatest success ensured for the next day, yet all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the body-guard drawn up by the side of the emperor, was disorganized and overthrown by an overwhelming force, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, all the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

"The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

"The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which they have made;—ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Previous to the confusion which took place, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely, engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its organization.

"The artillery was as usual covered with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position; no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

"Such was the result of the battle of Mont St. Jean, so glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal."

MARSHAL NEY'S ACCOUNT, IN A LETTER TO THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

"M. LE DUC

"The most false and defamatory reports have been publicly circulated for some days, respecting the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have repeated these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought during twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; and maliciously to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

"Compelled to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of oneself, and particularly to repel

calumnies, I address myself to you, sir, as the president of the provisional government, in order to lay before you a brief and faithful relation of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the imperial head-quarters. I had no command, and had no information upon the force and composition of the army. Neither the emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken unprepared, without horses, without equipage, and without money; and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. I arrived on the 12th at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and, on the 14th, at Beaumont. I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I proceeded on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer I had with me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our light troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

"The emperor immediately ordered me to put myself at the head of the first and second corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant-General Pire, of the division of light cavalry of the guard under the command of Lieutenants-General Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of Count Valmy, forming altogether eight divisions of infantry and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasne, Millet, and Heppiegnies. There I took up a position for the night, with the exception of the first corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me until the following day.

"On the 16th, I was ordered to attack the English in their position at Les Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing could resist our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful; when, at the moment that I intended to bring up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasne, I learned that the emperor had disposed of it, without acquainting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, that he might direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was warmly engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me confounded me. Having now under my command only three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, I could not do more than maintain myself in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was returned to me by the emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were absolutely paralyzed, and were idly paraded, during the whole of the battle, from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

"I cannot help suspending these details for a moment, to call your attention to all the melancholy consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad disposition during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the emperor, instead of directing all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been taken unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How could the emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what the military men who were witnesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army would undoubtedly have been destroyed between Les Quatre Bras and Gemappe; and that position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have afforded the emperor an opportunity of outflanking the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered it otherwise.

"On the 17th, the army marched in the direction of Mont St. Jean.

"On the 18th, the battle commenced at one o'clock, and though the bulletin which details it makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to say that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-General Count Drouet has already spoken of that battle in the chamber of peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to disclose. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most dreadful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labedoyere came to me with a message from the emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the united English and Prussians. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and

who gave new proofs of them at that moment, notwithstanding the fatigue with which they were exhausted. What was my astonishment, (I should rather say indignation,) when I learned, immediately afterwards, that, so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to our support, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians were attacking our extreme right, and forcing it to retire!

"Whether the emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the marshal could support him, or whether the advance of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was still only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

"A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard advancing, led on by the emperor. With these troops he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on. Generals, officers, and soldiers, all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak long to resist the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and we were soon compelled to renounce the hope which this attack had for a few moments inspired. General Friant was struck by a ball at my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who have survived this terrible battle, will, I trust, do me the justice to state, that they saw me on foot, with sword in hand, during the whole of the evening, and that I was one of the last who quitted the scene of carnage at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly gave way. The English also advanced in their turn. There yet remained to us four squares of the old guard, to protect our retreat. These brave grenadiers, the flower of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, until finally overpowered by numbers, they were almost completely destroyed. From that moment the retrograde movement was decided, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *Save who can*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, being constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot, having had all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to walk, I owe my life to a corporal, who supported me in the march, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night, I met Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont, at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of the fate of the emperor, of whom, before the end of the battle, I had entirely lost sight, and who, I had reason to believe, was either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the emperor was at Charleroi, I supposed that his majesty intended to place himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying near Avesnes; and with this persuasion I proceeded to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following us too closely, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence concerning the emperor.

"In this state of things, having no intelligence of his majesty, nor of the major-general, the disorder increasing every instant, and, with the exception of some veterans of the regiments of the guard and of the line, every one pursuing his own inclination, I determined to proceed immediately to Paris by St. Quentin, and disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the minister of war, that he might send some fresh troops to meet the army, and rapidly adopt the measures which circumstances required. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the emperor had passed through that place at nine o'clock in the morning.

"Such, M. le Duc, is a faithful history of this calamitous campaign.

"I now ask those who have survived that fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which our military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I who, to serve it, have shewn a zeal which I have perhaps carried too far; but this calumny is not and cannot be supported by any fact or any presumption. Whence have these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, arisen? If, in the inquiries which I have made on this subject, I had not feared almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I should declare that every circumstance proves that I have been basely deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, under the veil of treason, the errors and extravagancies of this campaign; errors which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I have in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the

chamber of peers. I expect from the justice of your excellency, and from your kindness to me, that you will cause this letter to be inserted in the journals, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

"I renew to your excellency, &c.

"Marshal Prince of the MOSKWA.

"*Paris, June 26th*, 1815."

MARSHAL DE GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR AT WAVRE.

"*Dinant, June 20th*, 1815.

"It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June that I received the letter of the Duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack General Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre; and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre on the right of the Dyle was carried; but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was wounded by a ball in the breast, while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and Lieutenant-general Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to co-operate with your majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle, and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the mean time, maintained the attack on Wavre, and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to debouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limale, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the cavalry. Night did not permit us to advance further, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your majesty was engaged.

"I halted in this situation until day-light. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of Bielge taken. The brave General Penney was killed.

"General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre, and, along the whole of my line, the success was complete. I was in front of Rozierne, preparing to march on Brussels when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me, that your majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong to make a diversion in favour of your majesty, without compromising the army which I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment, the columns in the rear were attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered for a moment the retreat of the left; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken, were recovered by the brave twentieth dragoons, who, besides, took an howitzer from the enemy. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile which extends from this place to Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I intrusted the defence of Namur to General Vandamme, who, with his usual intrepidity, maintained himself there till eight in the evening; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.

"The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate; the troops have performed their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed) "DE GROUCHY."

To these official accounts we shall subjoin the following

RELATION BY A FRENCH OFFICER,

which the great poet Walter Scott has pronounced to be "an *incomparable* history of the battle, and, indeed, the *only* authentic narrative of *all the incidents* of the battle of Waterloo:"—

"The army of the North, on its arrival at Beaumont, joined that of the Ardennes, commanded by Vandamme, whose head-quarters were at Furnay. The army of the Moselle, under General Girard, quitting Metz by forced marches, debouched in the same period by Philippeville, and brought itself likewise into line. Thus the army of the North consisted of five corps of infantry, under the command of the Lieutenant-generals D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Girard, and the Count

de Lobau. The cavalry, commanded in chief by Marshal Grouchy, was divided into four corps, under the orders of Generals Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman.

"The imperial guard, which was composed of twenty thousand men, formed the nucleus of this fine army, which was followed by a considerable *materiel* of artillery, perfectly well equipped, and in the best possible condition, as well as a great many pontoons. Beside the battering-train attached to each division, every corps of the army had its park of reserve. The guards, in particular, had a magnificent artillery, almost wholly composed of new pieces.

"These chosen troops, might amount to about one hundred and fifty thousand effective men, of which twenty thousand were cavalry, accompanied with three hundred pieces of ordnance. But, already in the interior of their own country, the troops evinced a want of discipline, which constitutes the strength of armies, and the security of the countries to which they belong.

"Regardless of their unhappy countrymen, who manifested the greatest zeal in furnishing every kind of subsistence in their power, the French soldiers treated them with the most cruel rigour, and considered plunder as one of their most incontestable privileges, and made a sort of merit in giving themselves up to every species of excess.

"Every where they sacked the houses; and, under pretext of searching for provisions, burst open the doors, broke open the closets, ill-treated the peasants, and seized upon whatever they chose. 'They had taken the field,' they said, 'and the war could not be carried on without them;' consequently every thing was allowed them, and they gave a full scope to their taste for plunder—a taste which can only be compared, for the ravages committed during a ten years' war, to the excursions of barbarous hordes upon the lands of their neighbours. In this manner, roaming from house to house, from granary to granary, from one cellar to another, the soldiers returned to their camp loaded with plunder, after having barbarously destroyed what they could not carry away. The peasant considered himself unusually fortunate, if, after enduring all sorts of abuse and ill-treatment, he escaped their vengeance, by leaving his all to their discretion.

"To this infamous pillage, the greater part of the officers opposed but a feeble resistance; nay, they even tolerated it, under the ready excuse, 'We must not be too severe: the soldier must live.' And, whilst the soldier had his subsistence, it may be easily conceived the officer had an abundance, and was only perplexed by the difficulty of choice.

"Do we recognise here, it may be asked, the frank and loyal character of the French officer? Certainly not. But let not the French name be disgraced in the estimation of posterity, because the officers of Buonaparte were not those of Turenne and Villeroi. In the midst of this herd of lawless and unprincipled devastators, there were not wanting many men of honour and principle, who lamented over this frightful disorder, and who served with profound regret in this rebellious army, but who endeavoured to persuade themselves that it was their duty to defend their country under *any* leader. A principle of military honour kept them firm to their post. They were indifferent to Napoleon, but they were attached to France.

"Nor was it, perhaps, possible to repress those disorders in an army which had been formed to them by the habit and example of twenty years. It was, in fact, by this system of brigandage, that Napoleon had succeeded in so firmly attaching the soldiers to his name and cause.

"The country which the troops were traversing, covered with wheat already browning, promised a luxuriant harvest: but this abundance existed in vain; woe to the fields through which was the passage of the army; and still more so to those which became the position of a camp. In a few moments, the labour and gift of the year were trodden under foot by men and horses, or torn up by the roots for fodder.

"The interior of the army was distracted by intestine divisions and anarchy. It seemed as if the different corps were animated with a hatred of each other, and that open war existed between them. Above all, there was no agreement between the chiefs.

"When a commandant of a column, or a regiment, arrived at the place which it was to occupy, he seized upon whatever was found there, without any regard to who might come after him. A guard was placed upon those houses which furnished any supplies, and, without any other right than that of being the first occupied, every share was denied. Frequently, indeed, they fell upon the sentries, and a disgraceful conflict ensued. In this manner a number of men were wounded, and some were actually killed.

"The *imperial guard* conducted themselves with great arrogance towards the other troops, and were particularly hated by them; and, for the disdain which they showed towards others, they were themselves persecuted in their turn, whenever they were not strong enough to give the law.

"The cavalry, in like manner, insulted the infantry with every kind of outrage; and the infantry menaced the cavalry with their bayonets, and affected to despise them. Such was the condition of the army which was marched upon the frontiers to protect and defend the

citizens: they had put them in a condition not to dread the presence of a most ferocious enemy.

"In this state they proceeded by forced marches: the weather, although constantly showery, had nevertheless been tolerably fine, so that the roads did not impede the march of the artillery and carriages. The movements were effected with a celerity bordering upon precipitation. It was evidently the intention to surprise the enemy by an unexpected appearance, and these rapid marches rendered a sudden irruption into Belgium highly probable.

"On the 14th the whole army was found united in line upon the extreme frontier; and the uncertainty which had hitherto subsisted respecting the intention of the manœuvres, caused the publication of a proclamation, which was inserted in the order of the day, and read at the head of each regiment.

"This proclamation was received with transports of joy and loud acclamations by the multitude of ignorant soldiers, to whom a few high-sounding words which they do not understand, seem the very height of eloquence. The proclamation itself wears the same stamp with all the other productions of Napoleon, and only differs from them in greater extravagance and absurdity. Whoever weighed the incoherent declamation of that vain-glorious prophet, looked on it with pity. Meanwhile it increased the public inquietude by laying open the whole extent of the dangers which Buonaparte intended to brave. The chiefs, however, were delighted with the precision of their routes, and recognised the presence of the *great man* in those scientific combinations, by which all the masses of the army, after encumbering each other's march, seemed all at once to rise from the ground, and find themselves ranged in line by the effect of magic. Such is the power of prepossession.

"On the 15th, at break of day, this army broke up for the Belgic territory. The second division attacked the Prussian outposts, and pursued them as far as Marchienne-au-Pont; the cavalry of this body had to charge several corps of infantry different times, which they drove back, took some hundreds of prisoners, and the Prussians were obliged to recross the Sambre. The light cavalry of the centre followed the second division on the road to Charleroi, and, chasing away in different charges such of the enemy as they met, drove the whole to the other side. While numerous sharp-shooters defended the approach to the bridge, the Prussians were employed in rendering it impassable, in order to retard our march, and afford them time to evacuate the city; but being too closely pushed, they were unable to destroy it effectually, and our men soon removed all difficulties to their passage over it. About noon their work was completed, and the light cavalry took possession of Charleroi.

"The second corps, in the mean time, having effected a passage lower down the river at Marchienne, advanced upon Gosselies, a large town upon the opposite side of the river, and through which was a road to Brussels. The object of this movement was to prevent the Prussians from retiring upon this point, when they should be driven from Charleroi by the attack which was then proceeding. The Prussians, thus forced in front, and anticipated upon our flank, retired upon Fleurus, where they began to occupy themselves in concentrating their army.

"Whilst the Prussians were employed in this operation, they had to sustain themselves against the repeated attacks of our divisions, who unceasingly interrupted them whilst taking their position.

"The presence of Buonaparte so electrified the French troops, that the divisions, as fast as they arrived, threw themselves upon the enemy with such irresistible impetuosity, as to bear down every thing before them. They scarcely discharged a musket, but, with fixed bayonets, dashed into the thickest of the enemy's masses.

"The squadrons of Napoleon's body-guard made several charges upon the Prussian infantry; in one of which, General Letort, Colonel of the dragoons of the guard, received a mortal wound. The French finally succeeded in driving the enemy from all his positions on the Sambre.

"Towards night the combat ceased; and Buonaparte, after having left the third corps on its route towards Namur, and the second at Gosselies upon the road to Brussels, returned to Charleroi as his head-quarters. The remainder of the army occupied the surrounding villages. The results of these different engagements were a thousand prisoners, the passage of the Sambre; and the possession of Charleroi and its magazines.

"But it was a still more signal advantage, that it confirmed the courage of the troops by success. Napoleon availed himself of this success, and of its fruits, according to his usual system.

"The prisoners were paraded with the artifice of a procession at a theatre, by the effect of which a few bands, carefully repeated, and systematically re-introduced, appear to be an army. Thus the prisoners were marched in presence of different divisions from the front to the rear. The air resounded with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the soldiers believed every thing done in this auspicious commencement of the campaign. In the beginning of this day, the Prussian army, consisting of four corps, were encamped on the line of the Sambre; they fell back to their points of concentration,

Fleurus, Namur, Cincy, and Hannut. The principal corps engaged with us was that of General Zeithen. This general was at Fleurus, where he received us bravely.

"Blucher was informed of these events in the course of the afternoon, and immediately ordered his other three corps (those at Namur, Cincy, and Hannut) to advance by a forced march to Sombref, about four miles from Fleurus, where he intended to put himself at their head, and give us battle on the following day.

"The whole of the French army was now in the territory of Belgium, in the midst of the new subjects of the kingdom of the Nethetherlands, who welcomed us with acclamations, as their deliverers, and asserted that they only waited for our arrival to rise *en masse* in favour of our cause.

"We found, in fact, a few groups of peasants at the entrance of the villages we passed through, who came to meet us with cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* they did not appear however to be animated by a sincere enthusiasm; and, to speak freely, they rather resembled hired criers, than citizens, who were anxious to express their real sentiments.

"They received us as conquerors, whose good-will it was necessary to conciliate; or rather, they were the friends of the strongest party, and their exclamations evidently meant thus: 'We are willing to be French subjects, if your bayonets give the law. Do not plunder us, do not ravage our fields; but treat us as your countrymen.'

"These supplications, however, were disregarded; and notwithstanding the confidence our soldiers gave to these friendly demonstrations, they treated them as their most decided enemies: devastation and rapine every where marked the march of the army. No sooner had the troops taken up a temporary position in the neighbourhood of some village, than they rushed like a torrent upon the ill-fated houses; provisions, drink, furniture, and clothes, all disappeared in an instant. A village near which they had encamped, when they quitted it the next morning, presented only a vast heap of ruins, around which lay dispersed, all that had served as the furniture of the houses.

"The surrounding country, which was for the most part covered with corn, seemed to have been destroyed by a hail-storm; and the places where the bivouac-fires had been made, remained black, and, scattered over the meadows and corn-fields, now reduced to stubble, appeared like places struck with lightning.

"The instant the troops departed, the inhabitants, overwhelmed with terror, the women dissolved in tears, the children half naked and seized with horror, emerged in swarms from their hiding-places, and ran over their devastated fields, to recognise the various utensils which constituted their property, and to collect the wreck.

"We now learned, that the Prussian out-posts, although on their guard, were surprised; and that, far from expecting an aggression so hasty and so serious, the allies were intending, in the course of a few days, to enter the French territory.

"The inhabitants themselves were thunder-struck at our appearance, at a time when they thought us employed in securing our own frontiers from invasion. They spoke very ill of the Prussians, whom they represented as very extortionate, and who daily ill-treated them.

"From these reports, which conveyed no positive information, every one formed his own opinion upon the probable result of the campaign. The general idea was, that the allied army not being united, could not effect its concentration; that the divided corps, sharply pursued, and turned on every side, would make but a feeble defence. That Lord Wellington would be totally disconcerted by this unexpected movement, and that all his plans for the campaign would be rendered abortive.

"Besides this, the troops had such entire confidence in Buonaparte, whose combinations were considered as certain as they were admirable, that nothing was now thought of but the destruction of the English, or a precipitate embarkation, a speedy arrival upon the Rhine, amidst the shouts of the Belgians, risen in mass, and eager for the opportunity of rejoining their old companions in arms.

"At three o'clock, on the morning of the 16th, the columns which remained on the right bank of the Sambre, put themselves in motion, and passed the river, when the whole army advanced forward. The command of the left wing, consisting of the first and second divisions of infantry, and four corps of cavalry, was given to Marshal Ney, who had arrived the preceding evening at head-quarters, and received orders to march by Gosselies and Frasnes on the road to Brussels.

"The centre, composed of the third, fourth, and sixth divisions, the reserve, and a numerous body of cavalry, forming the mass of the army, directed itself upon Fleurus. Marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol, and some battalions of foot, manœuvred towards the village of Sombref, on the road to Namur.

"They soon discovered the Prussian army; the chief masses of which appeared in close columns, crowning the upland levels that surround the mill of Bussi, and stretching in amphitheatre through the whole length of a sloping hill, in front of which was a deep

ravine, tufted with thickets, that extended in front of the whole line. Its right rested on the village of St. Amand, its centre at Ligny, and its left stretched beyond the reach of the eye towards Sombref, Gembloux, and the Namur road. All these villages, which are large, and built on uneven and broken ground, are in front of the ravine, and were lined with infantry. Having duly recognised the position, Buonaparte ordered the suitable dispositions to attack it. His mind, his eye, his whole deportment, were now on fire.

"The *first corps*, which made a position of our left, together with two divisions of heavy cavalry, was posted in the rear of the village of Frasnes, a little to the right of the high road to Brussels, so as to be in readiness to move towards any point in which it might be wanted. The *third corps* was directed in columns of attack upon the village of St. Amand.

"The *fourth* advanced upon Ligny, having the guard, the *sixth corps*, and a numerous cavalry in reserve. Marshal Grouchy, with the divisions on the right, made his advance towards Sombref. The third corps began the fire in attacking the village of St. Amand, where it met with an obstinate resistance. It carried it, however, at the point of the bayonet, but was again charged by the enemy, and compelled to abandon it.

"In the mean time, the fourth corps precipitated itself with great alacrity upon Ligny, and a desperate conflict was commenced upon this point. Each party fought with the greatest obstinacy, and for a long time there appeared no thought of yielding on either side.

"At the same moment, our two wings had come to the engagement with the opposite wings of the enemy; our right, directing itself against the enemy at Sombref, whilst our left advanced against Frasnes.

"Every part of both armies (with the exception of our reserve) was thus engaged; the affair therefore was now general, and the cannonade, increasing every instant, roared in tremendous horror along the lines.

"The combat was kept up on both sides with equal obstinacy. It is impossible to form an idea of the fury which animated the soldiers of the two parties against each other; it seemed as if each of them had a personal injury to revenge, and had found in his adversary his most implacable enemy. The French would give no quarter; the Prussians, they said, had vowed to massacre all the French that should fall into their hands: these menaces were particularly addressed to the guard, against whom they appeared to have an uncommon spite. In fact, on both sides the carnage was awful in the extreme.

"The villages which formed the theatre of action were taken and retaken several times with a horrible butchery; those of St. Amand and Ligny, especially, were disputed with invincible obstinacy.

"The French however contrived to lodge themselves in the church-yard of St. Amand, and to maintain themselves there, in spite of the repeated attempts of the Prussians to dislodge them. But there was one terrible moment, where the success was so doubtful on that point that Buonaparte sent in all haste for the first corps to reinforce them.

"The left wing, which was now sharply engaged with the English army, against which it had the advantage, and had driven them from the heights of Frasnes to the farm of Quatre Bras, where they had taken a position, found itself considerably weakened. But what had nearly caused the total loss of the battle, was the imprudence of Buonaparte in not apprising Marshal Ney of his having withdrawn a part of his troops.

"The first corps had set off about an hour to march towards St. Amand, when the English army, to which the Prince of Orange had brought numerous reinforcements, took again in turn the offensive, and vigorously repulsed our riflemen and the columns of attack which followed them. The English cavalry, which was formed along the Brussels road, occupied the whole border of an extensive wood on the left of it.

"Along the whole length of this border there was a hollow road, which had the appearance of a ravine, and plains covered with rye of a tolerable size separated this road from the wood, the right of which was occupied by the French, to a certain extent. In a moment these plains were covered with numerous battalions formed in squares, supported by a formidable cavalry, who advanced with great confidence, and threatened to force our line. Our troops appeared intimidated, and recoiled with a sort of panic.

"The moment was very pressing, and it was necessary to hasten the reserves. Marshal Ney, however, who was little alarmed at these attempts, as he relied on the first corps, sent an order for them to march instantly to the spot, and to charge the enemy. But what was his astonishment and confusion, when he found that Buonaparte had otherwise disposed of them!

"He immediately ordered the eighth and the eleventh cuirassiers, who happened to be at hand, to charge the first battalions. This charge was executed with the greatest resolution; but these battalions, being supported from behind with the infantry which filled the wood, were enabled to open such a terrible fire upon us, that our cuirassiers, being repelled in their attempt to pierce them, were obliged to make a wheel round; and, as always happens in such cases, retired in much disorder.

"It was in this charge, which, however unfortunate, was executed with the greatest bravery, that a cuirassier of the eleventh regiment took a colour of the English sixty-fourth regiment. The retrograde movement which was now sensibly beginning, and the multitude of wounded soldiers who threw themselves into the rear, began to excite an obvious terror amongst their comrades.

"The waggoners, the servants, the attendants of the camp of all kinds, saved themselves with precipitation; and, communicating their panic to all they met, soon clogged up the road to Charleroi. The rout, indeed, in this point, (Ney's command,) was beginning to be complete; every one was flying in confusion; and the cry of *the enemy! the enemy!* was general.

"The evil, however, was not, in fact, so great as it appeared, and therefore was repaired. Marshal Ney, the bravest amongst the brave, was not to be daunted or confounded by a slight disaster. General Roussard, with his division of cuirassiers, hastened in a long trot into the front of the English, and re-assured the fugitives by his presence, and, in a considerable degree, re-established the battle.

"Our infantry, taking their position upon the heights of Frasnes, were compelled to abandon all thoughts of a more forward movement; they confined themselves, therefore, to maintaining their present position, and in this they succeeded.

"Such was the effect of Napoleon's withdrawing the first corps from Marshal Ney. And the first corps was as useless to the emperor, as it would have been effectual to Marshal Ney; as it was merely employed in marching and returning.

"In the meantime the fire continued with increased vivacity along the whole line, and particularly towards Ligny, where the greater part of both armies were assembled, and upon which, therefore, each directed its principal efforts. The cannonade, indeed, never relaxed for an instant; and our artillery, as far as I could form a judgment from what I saw, made a most dreadful havoc in the Prussian columns, which, being posted in masses on the opposite ridge of hills, and upon *plateaux* just below our batteries and position, afforded us a point-blank aim at less than half-cannon shot.

"Our own troops, on the other hand, carefully posted in the sinuosities of the ground, and at the foot of the hills, were, comparatively, little exposed to the Prussian artillery; which thus made more noise than effect, and reminded every military man of the ferocious whiskers and cowardly hearts,—the warlike dress, and insignificant minds, of the Prussian officers.

"About seven in the evening, we were masters of the villages, but the Prussians still retained their positions behind the ravines. Buonaparte had all along manœuvred so as to be enabled to make a sudden movement upon the rear of the ravine; he saw that the occasion was now at hand, and he instantly directed his imperial guard, and all his reserve, upon the village of Ligny.

"This bold and skilful movement had for its object to separate the right of the Prussians from the rest of their army, and thus to intercept it from making a retreat upon Namur.

"The guards, supported by a strong cavalry and powerful artillery, instantly pressed forward to the ravine, which they cleared amidst a shower of balls, and the combat became dreadful. But nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the French grenadiers, who cut their way with the most horrible carnage, our cavalry charging at the same time on all sides. At length, after the most obstinate defence, the Prussians were driven back, and left us masters of the field of battle, covered with the dead, the dying, the wounded, some prisoners, and a few field-pieces. The guards immediately possessed themselves of the slopes and uplands which were evacuated, and our cavalry pursued the fugitives. During this decisive operation at Ligny, the third corps were endeavouring to employ the Prussian right wing, in order to divert their attention from what had passed. But they readily saw through our design, and effected their retreat to Gembloux and Namur.

"The French army prepared to push their success; but the approach of night, and the fatigues of the day, prevented it. They contented themselves, therefore, with taking possession of all the Prussian posts, and, at ten o'clock, the fire had ceased along the whole line.

"A variety of extravagant reports were circulated in our army respecting this battle. Marshal Blucher had, in fact, a horse killed under him; he was stunned by the fall, and surrounded by French cuirassiers; it was to the darkness of the night alone he owed his safety. But, notwithstanding, the Prussians must have severely suffered; their loss was never known, nor even attended to in our orders. On the left, where the English were engaged, both parties maintained their ground and their positions.

"The death of the Duke of Brunswick was announced, killed from the fire of the division commanded by Jerome Buonaparte; and also of General Hill. The first intelligence was confirmed the following day, and urged our French generals to interweave, for the purpose of currying favour with the ex-king of Westphalia, some unbecoming pleasantries on the fatality that seemed to pursue the unfortunate duke, who,

placed in constant opposition with the conqueror of his states, was condemned to die by his hand. And the latter, they augured hence, was again called to be his successor. It was added, that Jerome himself had been struck by a spent bullet. We will not stop to examine the truth of a fact of so trivial importance: but it is observable that this sort of shot never reaches any but great personages, whose valour it is interesting to enhance. Every one agreed that Buonaparte had obtained his end in separating the Prussians and the English; and that, having so much weakened the former, he had now only to encounter the latter.

"It was to realize the hope of exterminating the English, that, on the 17th, at day-break, Buonaparte, leaving behind him the third and fourth corps, together with the cavalry of General Pajol, under command of Marshal Grouchy, to watch the Prussians, marched with his reserve, and the sixth corps, towards Quatre Bras.

"The English appeared to occupy the same positions as on the day preceding; and the French army remained till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, observing them, and waiting for the troops from the right, whose arrival was delayed by heavy rains and cross-roads almost impracticable.

"Arrangements were made for the attack, and the united corps advanced in front of battle, along the heights of Frasnes, when it was perceived that the English had manœuvred so as to mask their retreat. The troops we saw on the plain, at the entrance of the wood, and on the road, were only a strong rear-guard to cover the same. Buonaparte set out in pursuit of them with his cavalry, and all the army urged its march to Brussels.

"During this rapid march, the ardour of the troops was incredible; they saw only in the expert and well-regulated retreat of the English, a total rout, which must terminate by their embarkation. Already they were promising themselves that they would no more make a stand, but that, giving up to their own resources, they would push on, abandoning Brussels to us, and regain their vessels with all possible expedition.

"The artillery, infantry, and carriages, filed along with great embarrassment and precipitation in the high road, covered with a thick mud, while the cavalry marched by the sides, across corn-fields, which were every where very beautiful, and which they reduced to manure.

"The horses plunged up to the belly into this black soil, which was softened and extremely adhesive, and could not be detached without great difficulty; which materially retarded the march, and rendered it extremely painful. On the road were found several English *caissons*, which had been abandoned, and carriages with broken wheels.

"We passed over the field of battle of Quatre Bras, which was covered with dead bodies, and with wrecks, on which was also found a tolerable number of wounded French who had not been carried off. We could here judge how destructive the affair had been to both parties; but, according to appearances, the loss of the English had been much greater than ours. The plains, which separated the wood where they were posted, from the high road, and particularly the borders of this wood and the hollow road before mentioned, were concealed from view by heaps of dead bodies, the greatest part of which were *Scotch*. Their costume, particularly attracted the attention of the French soldiers, who called them *sans-culottes*.

"Buonaparte, with his advanced-guard, pursued the English till night, and did not halt till he arrived at the forest of Soignies, where they opposed to him a resistance which he despaired of overcoming that day. After cannonading, and harassing them, as long as the day-light permitted him, he caused his troops to take up a position, and fixed his head-quarters at the farm of Caillou, near Planchenoit.

"The principal masses of the army encamped at Gemappe, and in the neighbourhood of that small town. The night was tremendous; a continual rain, which fell in torrents, made the troops suffer cruelly, who were bivouacked in the midst of the mud, and wet corn-fields, and had not time to construct themselves shelter. But if this night was terrible to the soldiers, how much worse was it to the unfortunate inhabitants of the country, who, overwhelmed with terror, had quitted their houses, which were given up to all kinds of rapine.

"It was generally supposed that the English would avail themselves of the night to continue their retreat, and no one had the least doubt but we should arrive at Brussels the next day; thus they amused themselves with considering the campaign as at an end, as they already believed themselves masters of that town, and that Marshal Grouchy, who they supposed would halt that night at Namur, could not fail to arrive at Liege, at the same time that Buonaparte entered the capital of the Netherlands.

"Some *soi-disant* deserters, who were no better than spies, assured us that the Belgian army was only waiting for an engagement to come over in a body to our side, but that, as their inclinations were known, they had been always kept in the rear, since the commencement of hostilities; that it was, nevertheless, believed they would unexpectedly rise upon the Prussians, against whom they had a mortal antipathy.

"Our first surprise, as the day dawned, was to see that the English, instead of retiring, had resumed their position, and seemed resolved to defend it. Buonaparte, who had no apprehension during the night, but that they would escape the punishment which he designed for them, was animated with a most sensible joy, at seeing them at their post; he was too fond of the game of war, and thought that he played it too well to have any pleasure in a game only abandoned to him. He could not retain the expression of his feeling to those around him.—"Bravo!" said he, "the English!—Ah! I have them, then,—these English!"

"He now hastened up, with all that imprudent impatience which characterizes him, the march of all the columns in the rear; and, without any other information than what his eye afforded him,—without knowing either the position or the forces of his enemy,—without ascertaining that the Prussian army was held in check by Marshal Grouchy, he resolved to attack them on the spot.

"The French army, which consisted of four corps of infantry, including the guard, and of three corps of cavalry, formed an effective force of one hundred and twenty thousand men. About ten in the morning of this day, (the 18th of June,) the whole of this force was assembled in advance of Planchenoit. The position was upon two eminences, parallel to two opposite ranges occupied by the English army, the English having taken their position upon some *plateaux* situated in advance of the forest of Soignies.

"Towards the centre of the line, which was upon Mont St. Jean, in the rear of the mount, and, around the farm of the same name, we perceived some strong and deep masses of infantry: they crowned a vast *plateau* or platform of ground, which extended itself on both sides along the edge of the forest; but the line, to appearance, at least, diminished in depth as it extended, and was covered with batteries.

"The right of the English army extended itself upon the village of Merke Brain, having in front of it the farm of Hougoumont, surrounded with intersected ravines; their left was extended towards Wavre, and was covered in front by a ravine and the farm of La Haye Sainte.

"We could not follow this line with our eyes through its whole extent; but it appeared to terminate behind the village of Smouhen, where was the position of the Brunswick troops. Generally speaking, with the exception of the great *plateaux* in and about Mont St. Jean, which formed the centre of the English line, we saw but a few troops; but naturally supposed what the event afterwards justified, that they were stationed, and thereby concealed, in the gorges which separated the flats from the forest, and the forest itself.

"The head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington were at Waterloo, in the rear of all his lines; and the lines were so established as to intersect and to cover the roads of Brussels and Nivelles.

"Scarcely had the French troops all assembled, when Buonaparte, who was stationed on a hillock, situated at a very short distance from the place where he had slept, on the right of the road, near the farm of La Belle Alliance, whence he could discover all the movements, sent an order to commence the action: he was walking alone, with his arms crossed upon his breast, in front, and at a short distance from his staff, who were ranged in a line behind him. The day was stormy; and there fell, at intervals, a few showers, which were not of long continuance. This weather continued during the day.

"The second corps was placed on the left, and marched against the farm of Hougoumont. The first rested its left upon the high road, and extended towards the centre. The sixth occupied the right. The guard remained in reserve upon the heights. The cavalry was divided between the different points, but the strongest columns of those troops occupied the two wings, and particularly the right.

"Towards noon, the first discharge of cannon resounded from the French lines, and numerous riflemen detached themselves in order to commence the action. The left attacked the farm of Hougoumont, the buildings of which had been looped by the infantry, who occupied them in great force, and who fought with extreme obstinacy. The battalions and squadrons marched against the masses stationed behind this farm, and who sent continually reinforcements to it.

"The engagement soon grew serious upon the right; and the centre, advancing gradually to follow the movement of the two wings, and to act in concert with them, an extremely heavy firing was opened along the whole of the line; the affair was become general, and promised, from the commencement, to be very hot and serious.

"After an hour's murderous conflict, during which the artillery and musketry of both sides were served in the most gallant style, the English appeared to retire a little, and the French army pressed its approaches: the artillery advanced in front throughout the whole line, and the columns followed it.

"Our troops were thus all engaged by degrees, not without suffering great losses, amidst the difficulties of an uneven ground, hilly, and intersected by hollows, deep ditches, and ravines, where they were stopped at every step by fresh masses, which, being concealed by the ground, were not perceived till they fell upon them.

"Every foot of ground was disputed, and only yielded, on either side, when all means of resistance were exhausted; the smallest hillocks, the most inconsiderable hollows, were often taken and retaken several times. Repeated charges of cavalry were carried into execution; the field of battle was heaped with dead bodies; and the firing, instead of relaxing in the least, was increasing continually in violence.

"The combat was sustained on both sides with equal fury; the defence was as obstinate as the attack was impetuous. In a short time it was announced, that very strong columns were marching, the bayonet in front, upon Mont St. Jean, at the same time that the cavalry of the wings were to charge the batteries, which appeared to be but little protected. This grand movement, from the result of which so much might be expected, was impatiently waited for; but the obstinate perseverance of the English in maintaining their position in the villages which flanked their wings, retarded it.

"They successively sent battalions towards the farms of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, which were as frequently driven back by our cavalry; yet those villages, though pressed with unparalleled vigour, still defended themselves. Eager to drive the enemy from Hougoumont, who appeared resolved not to retire, we determined to set fire to it, at the same time sending a reinforcement against La Haye Sainte, which we carried after a most sanguinary contest.

"The English artillery made dreadful havoc in our ranks: we were so completely exposed, that their rockets passed easily through all the lines, and fell in the midst of our equipage, which was placed behind on the road, and its environs. A number of shells also burst amongst them, and rendered it indispensable for the train to retire to a greater distance. This was not effected without considerable disorder, which was clearly perceived by the English.

"Our artillery re-opened their fire with equal vivacity; but probably with much less effect, as their masses could only be levelled against by approximation, being almost entirely masked by the inequalities of the ground. The unremitting thunder of more than six hundred pieces of artillery; the fire of the battalions and light troops; the frequent explosion of caissons, blown up by shells which reached them; the hissing of balls and grape-shot; the clash of arms; the tumultuous roar of the charges, and shouts of the soldiery—all created an effect of sound, which the pen would in vain attempt to describe; and all this within a narrow space, the two armies being close to each other, and their respective lines contracted into the shortest possible length. However, in spite of obstacles and dangers, the French army was sensibly gaining ground.

"The support of the two British wings being carried, we passed the ravine, and advanced amidst a deluge of balls and grape-shot. A strong column approached Mont St. Jean, whence a terrific fire was pouring. The French cavalry, at the same time, rushed to carry the guns on the plains, but was charged in its turn by the enemy's horse, who issued in a body from the hollows where they had lain in ambuscade, and the slaughter became terrible. Neither side receded one step; fresh columns reinforced them; the charge was repeated. Three times the French were on the point of forcing the positions, and three times they were driven back.

"These assaults, made without interruption, and with all the impetuosity which distinguishes the French, caused the enemy considerable loss, and obliged him to make the greatest efforts of resistance. Lord Wellington exposed himself considerably; and, in order to be able to direct all his means in person, threw himself frequently into the midst of the conflict, to show himself to his soldiers, and inspire them with confidence by his presence. The Prince of Orange, who was in the right wing, was wounded at the head of his troops.

"If, however, witnesses, worthy of credit, may be believed, the English were very near being forced. It has also been confidently asserted, that the greatest disorder prevailed in their rear for some time, and that their carriages were made to retrograde precipitately, which filed on the Brussels road with great confusion, amidst a general panic.

"But, be that as it will, it is not less certain, that they repulsed, with an insurmountable firmness, all our attempts, and succeeded in rendering them fruitless, by concealing from our observation the derangement and fears, which such furious attacks, so often and so obstinately repeated, certainly inspired.

"At the same instant as they began to be sensibly alarmed, there was also in the French army a hesitation and evident uneasiness; some battalions that had been overthrown retreated; great numbers of wounded detached themselves from the columns, and spread ideas of the greatest uncertainty respecting the issue of the battle; and a profound silence had succeeded to the acclamations of the soldiers, who had made sure of victory.

"With the exception of the infantry of the guard, the whole of the troops were seen to be exposed to the most murderous fire; the action was still kept up with the same violence, but without any important result.

"It was now near seven o'clock: Buonaparte, who hitherto had remained where he was first stationed, and

whence he could see all that passed, was contemplating, with a ferocious aspect, the hideous spectacle of such a horrid butchery. The more the difficulties increased, the more obstinate he was. He became angry at these unforeseen obstacles; and, far from fearing to push too far the trial of an army, whose confidence in him was unbounded, he continued to send fresh troops, and to give the orders to advance, to *charge bayonet*, to *carry* every thing. Several times he was informed that different points of the army were in a perilous situation; and that the troops appeared to give up: but his only answer was—*Forward! forward!*

"One general sent him intelligence, that he was in a position which could not be kept, being mowed down by a battery. He asked of him, at the same time, what he should do to withdraw himself from the destructive fire of this battery. *Storm it!* he replied, and turned his back on the aide-de-camp.

"A British officer, who was wounded, and a prisoner, was brought before him. He endeavoured to obtain some information from him, and asked, among other things, what was the force of the English army? The officer told him that it was very numerous, and that it had just received a reinforcement of sixty thousand men. 'So much the better,' said he; 'the more there are, the more we shall beat.' He sent off several estafettes with despatches, which he dictated to a secretary, and repeated several times, 'See that he does not forget to say every where that the victory is mine.'

"It was at this epoch, and at the moment when all his enterprises had completely miscarried, that it was announced to him, that some Prussian columns had appeared on our right flank, and were menacing our rear; but he would not give any credit to this report, and replied several times, that these pretended Prussians were nothing else than the corps of Grouchy. He even sent back with ill-humour several of the aides-de-camp, who successively brought him these tidings. 'Go along,' said he, 'you have been frightened; approach without fear to the columns which have appeared, and you will be convinced that they are those of Grouchy.'

"After so positive an answer, several of them, in confusion for their mistake, returned with confidence towards the Prussian advanced corps, and, notwithstanding the warm fire which these directed against them, approached so near as to run the risk of being killed or made prisoners.

"It was necessary, therefore, to yield to evidence, and it was, besides, impossible any longer to mistake the truth of what was stated, when these columns, filing off as they arrived, made a fierce attack on our right. Part of the sixth corps was sent to support this new shock, in expectation of the arrival of Marshal Grouchy's divisions, which were continually anticipated; the report was even spread in the army that they were already in line.

"It results from the accounts, that part of Marshal Blucher's army, which, after the battle of the 16th, had carefully concentrated itself near Wavre, had concealed its march from Marshal Grouchy; and that after being rejoined by the fourth Prussian corps under General Bulow, had with great expedition re-approached the English line, to co-operate with the Duke of Wellington.

"Marshal Grouchy had, in fact, pursued the Prussians closely in their retreat upon Wavre, and had in that place attacked the portion of their army which remained there. He was fighting, at the very time that we were also engaged, against some small corps, which he mistook for the whole of the Prussian army, over which he continued to gain signal advantages.

"These corps, however, being favoured by the difficulties of a mountainous country, opposed him with a resistance obstinate enough, if not to arrest his march, at least to retard it considerably. They thus succeeded in engaging him at a sufficient distance from the place where the business was really to be decided, and thus prevented his having any share in that decision. For this reason he was of no assistance to us; and thus the English received a considerable reinforcement, whose intervention, which they well knew how to value, and which was also foreseen, enabled them not only to be fearless of our most vigorous attempts, but to resume against us the offensive, and shortly to overpower us. They therefore re-assumed an entire confidence; and, calculating their dispositions from the favourable circumstances which presented themselves, they resisted with all their strength, and with an ardour incessantly renewed.

"It is, besides, evident, that this operation had been concerted between the two commanders-in-chief, and that the English defended their position with a steadiness so insuperable, only to give time to the Prussians for effecting this combined movement; on which depended the success of the battle, the commencement of which they hourly expected.

"Buonaparte, who, in despite of all, appeared to have no doubt concerning the speedy arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and who, undoubtedly, persuaded himself that he pressed closely on the Prussian army, judged with a determination which nothing could alter, that the moment for deciding the day was arrived. He accordingly formed a fourth column of attack, composed almost entirely of the guard, and, after sending off to every point instructions for supporting this movement

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

An Ammunition Waggon on Fire & the Horses taken fright.

on which the victory depended, directed it at the *pas de charge* on Mont St. Jean.

"These old warriors rushed upon the plain with the intrepidity one might expect from them: the whole army resumed its vigour, the fire was again lighted up along the line, the guard made several charges, but their efforts were constantly repulsed; being destroyed by a formidable artillery, which appeared to multiply.

"These invincible grenadiers beheld their ranks shattered by the grape-shot; they closed them, however, with great coolness, still marching on without being intimidated; nothing arrested their progress, but death or serious wounds; but the hour of defeat was come; enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, to which we could no longer oppose any, our own being entirely destroyed, poured upon them with fury, and, surrounding them on all sides, summoned them to surrender: '*The guard never surrender—they die,*' was their answer. From that time no more quarter was given them, almost the whole fell, fighting like desperadoes, beneath the strokes of sabres, or of bayonets: this horrible massacre continued as long as their resistance, but, at length, overpowered by forces vastly superior, and discouraged besides, from opposing themselves in vain to certain destruction, they quitted their ranks, and fell back in disorder to their first positions, with the design, no doubt, of there rallying again.

"During these events in the centre, the Prussian columns having arrived on our right, continued to advance, and to press with ardour the few troops that were found on that point; a cannonading and a brisk fire of musketry were heard in the rear of our line, and approached nearer and nearer; our troops sustained the combat as long as possible, but they gradually lost ground. At last our right wing retrograded sensibly, and the Prussians, who were turning it, were on the point of bursting on the high road, when the report was circulated that the guard had been repulsed, and that its battalions, scattered and reduced to a small number, were seen to retire with precipitation. A general panic now spread itself throughout the army, who dispersed in all directions, and sought their safety in the most precipitate flight: in vain did Buonaparte collect together, for one last effort, a few battalions of the young and old guard, who had not yet given way, and conducted them once more against the enemy, who had already issued *en masse* from their positions; all was ineffectual; intimidated by what was passing around them, and overwhelmed by numbers, this feeble reserve was speedily overthrown.

"At this period the whole army, as if moved by one impulse, abandoned their positions, and retired like a torrent; the gunners quitted their pieces, the soldiers of the train cut away the traces of the horses; the infantry, cavalry, all kinds of troops mixed and confounded together, no longer presented the appearance of any thing but an unformed mass, which nothing could stop, and which was flying in disorder along the high road and across the fields: a crowd of carriages on the sides of the road, followed the movement with precipitation, jostling altogether, and blocking up the road to such a degree, that there was no longer any passing.

"Nevertheless, no cry of *Save who can!* was to be heard, and this general rout was the consequence of a spontaneous movement, the causes of which are unknown, or which it would be very difficult to assign, if it were not natural to attribute them to the account which the soldier knew how to render to himself, of the perilous position in which we were placed.

"The French soldier is never like almost all those of other nations, entirely passive; he observes, he reasons, and, in no case, does he yield a blind obedience to his chiefs, so as to neglect submitting their operations to his own judgment; no point of direction had been given, and there was no word of command to be heard; the general and other chiefs, lost in the crowd, and hurried on by it, were separated from their corps; there did not exist a single battalion in the rear of which they could rally; and, since nothing had been provided to insure a reasonable retreat, how could they struggle against so complete a rout, such a one as was never heard of, hitherto in the French army, already assailed by so many disasters.

"The guard, that immoveable phalanx, which, in the greatest disasters, had always been the rallying point of the army, and had served it as a rampart, the guard, in fine, the terror of the enemy, had been appalled, and was flying, dispersed among the multitude. Every one now prepared to save himself as he could; they pushed, they crowded; groups, more or less numerous, formed, and passively followed those by which they were preceded.

"Some not daring to deviate from the high road, attempted to force themselves a passage through the carriages, with which it was covered: others directed their course to the right or left, as fancy guided; fear exaggerates every danger, and night, which was now gaining upon them, without being very dark, contributed greatly to increase the disorder.

"The enemy, perceiving the confused flight of the army, instantly detached a large body of cavalry in pursuit. While some squadrons, proceeding along the road, fell suddenly on the medical stations, which had not time to be prepared for this assault, other formidable columns advanced on our flanks.

"The carriages of the Buonaparte family, seized near

the farm-house in which Napoleon had lodged, became almost the first booty of the Prussians, together with a quantity of other baggage. All the cannon which had been formed into batteries, remaining on the ground where they had been used, as well as the caissons which belonged to them, fell at the same time into the enemy's hands. In less than half an hour all the *materiel* of the army had vanished.

"The English and Prussians having completely effected their junction, the two commanders, Wellington and Blucher, met at the farm of La Belle Alliance, and concerted the means of following up their good fortune. The English had suffered materially in the conflict. Their cavalry, in particular, being exhausted with fatigue, would have found it difficult to have followed up the French with sufficient vivacity to prevent their rallying; but the Prussian cavalry being fresh, hastened its advance, and pressed closely upon us, without allowing us a moment's relaxation.

"The mass of fugitives rapidly passed over the space of two leagues, which divides Gemappe from the field of action, and arrived at that small town, most of them hoping that they should be able to halt there for the night. With the intent of opposing the enemy's progress, they hastened to accumulate carriages in the road, and to barricade the entrance of the principal street.

"Some pieces of artillery were formed into a battery, bivouacs were established in the town and its vicinity, and the soldiers dispersed themselves among the houses in search of food and lodging. But scarcely were these dispositions formed, when the enemy appeared. A few cannon-shot, fired at the cavalry as it came in view, spread a general consternation. The camp instantly broke up, each individual took to flight, and the tumultuous retreat was resumed with increased confusion and embarrassment.

"During these movements, the fate of Buonaparte was unknown. Some asserted that he had fallen in the combat. When this intelligence was stated to a general officer, he replied in the words of Megret, after Charles the Twelfth was killed at Frederickstadt, '*Thus ends the tragedy!*' It was stated by others, that, after charging several times at the head of his guards, he was dismounted and taken prisoner. The same uncertainty prevailed as to the fate of Marshal Ney, of the major-general, and of most of the principal generals.

"The former, who had under his particular command the first and second corps, had personally directed the different attacks at the centre; and had been constantly in the heat of the battle.

"It seems that, to the very instant when it became certain that it was not Grouchy's corps which was advancing to the right, he had looked forward with hope for the event; but, on perceiving that Napoleon maintained against all evidence that Grouchy was marching into line, and that he caused this false intelligence to be ostentatiously circulated throughout the ranks, he imputed to him the design of imposing on his troops, and of inspiring them with a confidence prejudicial to their safety.

"From that time his opinion changed, and he no longer acted with the same coolness and self-possession: it must be avowed, however, that no reproach was made against him by the army on his change of conduct, and his bravery was never suspected; he merely partook the general anxiety and discouragement. It was, indeed, obvious, that, from the opening of the campaign, he appeared profoundly dissatisfied, but dissimulated his feelings in presence of the public.

"Between him and Buonaparte, there existed a certain misunderstanding, and a kind of reciprocal distrust very difficult to fathom, but not the less obvious. There is every reason to believe, too, that he entertained a jealousy of Marshal Grouchy. Such dissensions between the principal chiefs, must necessarily have confined the course of their operations, and disturbed the unity of their plans.

"A great number of persons stated that they had seen Buonaparte in the midst of the crowd, and perfectly distinguished him by his grey cloak and piebald horse.

"This story was the true one. When the last battalions of the guard were overthrown, Buonaparte was hurried away with them, surrounded on all sides by the enemy, into a cyder-orchard, near the farm of Caillon. There he was met by two cavaliers of the guard, who conducted him through the Prussian parties that were scouring the country, but who, fortunately for him, were all employed in stopping and plundering the equipages. In many places he was known and recognised, and often heard the whisper, 'The Emperor!—the Emperor!'—words of alarm, which caused his instant removal from the spot wherever heard.

"After a flight, harassed by the enemy through the whole night, the sad relics of our army arrived about day-break, part of them at Charleroi, and the rest at Marchienne au Pont, where they hastened to repass the Sambre. The remaining equipages, impeded by their gradual accumulation on the two roads which lead to the bridges of Charleroi and Marchienne, were overtaken by the Prussians, abandoned by their train and drivers, and thus the last cannon and military-carriage fell into the power of the enemy, who took, at the same time, a considerable number of prisoners.

"The Sambre once crossed by the fraction of our army, we expected to be able to halt, and bivouacs were established in the orchards and meadows on the right bank of the river; but an alarm was given, that the Prussians were at hand. Without waiting orders, without attempting to destroy the bridges, without making a single recognizance, the flight re-commenced with all its disorder: the whole started at once, and each individual directed his steps he knew not whither.

"At a short distance from Charleroi, there are two roads, one leading to Avesnes, the other to Philippeville. Having no instructions as to the route they were to pursue, and not seeing any of their chiefs, the army here divided itself into two parties, the most considerable of which took the road by which they had come, and which led to Avesnes; the other party directed their march towards Philippeville.

"A considerable number, cut off from the rest, with no other design than that of escaping the enemy's cavalry, threw themselves into the large woods in the neighbourhood. In this manner did the army become more and more dispersed, and almost entirely disappeared.

"It was this last road which Buonaparte had chosen for his retreat. Once more did he desert his army, without making a single effort to rally it, in the midst of dangers which he seemed to delight in, aggravating still more by delivering them up to anarchy, and a total dissolution.

"Wandering at random, and issuing in crowds from the woods, thousands of straggling soldiers, spread themselves over the fields, and carried with them alarm and consternation.

"The unfortunate inhabitants were confounded to learn, almost at the same moment, the success and irreparable defeat of the French army, and to find themselves the prey of an enemy, whom a victory, torn from their grasp, had rendered truly ferocious, at a moment, too, when they were rejoicing to see the theatre of war removing to a distance from them.

"The strong places every where shut their gates, and repelled by force the fugitives who presented themselves for admission, obliging them to fall back into the neighbouring communes, where they committed every kind of excess.

"It was in his quality of fugitive, that Buonaparte, more confused and less confident than all the rest, came to request admission to Philippeville; he stood in need of the protection of the ramparts of that place to conceal him from the active pursuit of the Prussians, who had tracked him with great caution, and who had already despatched towards this point numerous parties, into whose hands he expected to fall.

"On his arrival at the gates, he was obliged to submit to the humiliation of being interrogated by a guard, before whom he laid aside his quality, and who did not allow him admission till he was at length recognised by the governor, who was called upon to identify him. As soon as he had entered with his little suite, the barriers were closed.

"A short time afterwards, orders were issued to disperse the collection of soldiers which every moment increased around the city. It being rumoured among them that their *illustrious* emperor was at length found, and that he was in the place, they considered it their duty to encamp around him, flattering themselves likewise, that, through his protecting care, the fortress would at length be opened to them.

"Buonaparte, however, was perfectly aware that such a collection of troops might attract the enemy towards this point, and cause his asylum to be discovered; he therefore sent orders to them to continue their route. But having, as an able general, profoundly analyzed the means of acting on the *moral* of his troops after a defeat, in order to insure speedy obedience to his command, he adopted a stratagem, the result of which was certain. A few emissaries, issuing from the town, ran towards the camp in great confusion, crying out, 'Save yourselves, here come the Cossacks; make haste, here come the Cossacks!' It may easily be imagined that more was not requisite, and that the troops instantly disappeared.

"This mob of expelled wretches were the persons, who, in despairing accents, and overwhelmed with anguish, circulated the lamentable news, that their emperor was blockaded in Philippeville. This was considered as a positive fact, nor had any person along the roads to Mezieres and Laon the sagacity to conclude that it was nothing more than a well-concerted plan invented by Napoleon to cover the march on which his security depended.

"Fortunately, however, the public mind was not long oppressed by the inauspicious rumour of an event so fatal. Buonaparte left Philippeville after resting some hours there, and proceeded to Mezieres. At the approach of night, he passed by the walls of Rocroi, where it was believed that he would remain. Great numbers of the inhabitants ascended the ramparts, and he had the pain to hear himself hailed with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* as long as he continued in sight: he therefore deemed it prudent to take advantage of the night in making the best of his way, and set out as soon as possible. A few only of the officers who attended him, together with the small number of those of his suite who had survived the disaster, entered the town; two or three horses were all that remained, the

carriages of every description having fallen into the hands of the enemy.

"The large body of the army, which had directed its course towards Avesnes and Laon, felt the strongest uneasiness for the fate of their emperor; and in this direction, more particularly, they were entirely ignorant of what had befallen him. Convinced, as he was not amongst them, that he must have sunk on the field of honour, where he had led so many brave men to death, they mourned over the frightful destiny reserved for a person so highly valued by them. But on hearing of his arrival at Paris, in full health and vigour,—eternal disgrace!—how is the indignation to be described, which could not fail to impress their minds?

"Since the battle of Ligny, all communication with the right of the army had been cut off; we were perfectly ignorant of what had become of them, and the most unpleasant rumours were circulated respecting them. Where, then, was this fine army, recruited from the wrecks of many brilliant armies that Buonaparte had already sacrificed?

"It would have seemed that, enraged at seeing a few thousand brave fellows who had escaped his fury, he had issued from his retreat, only to devour the rest. But the faults that he committed ought rather to be attributed to his want of skill, accompanied by an extraordinary rashness, and to his incorrigible manner of advancing with a blind confidence, without any plan, and without calculating on any contingency.

"It was evidently from a knowledge of this system of warfare, that the hostile generals laid the snare for him, into which he plunged himself with such a lamentable security; for whatever foreign journals may say on this subject, with a view, no doubt, to raise the glory of their generals, and the courage of their troops, it is evident that the position of Mont St. Jean had been reconnoitred, designed, and prepared, as the spot where it was proposed to arrest the progress of Napoleon, and give him battle.

"A man must be like Buonaparte himself, not to perceive this. The retreat of the English evidently calculated upon so strong a position: the obstinacy with which they maintained themselves in it; the facility of masking in an immense forest, troops, and artillery; and, more than all, the batteries they had thrown up, and which were very apparent, would have inspired any other general with a distrust well-founded, or would at least have made him fear, that this arrangement, instead of being a position arising from circumstances, had been the effect of deliberate choice.

"What ought still to confirm this suspicion was, the construction of an observatory of wood, which had been erected on a hillock situate in front of the forest, from which, with a good glass, whatever was passing upon the plain, as far as the Sambre, could be discovered, and which, evidently designed for the purpose of exploring our movements, could not have been erected in the space of twenty-four hours.

"With all these hypotheses, did not prudence require the examination of the ground, and of the enemy's positions? would the most inexperienced general have ventured an attack before having insured a communication with his right wing, or, at least, being apprised of the result of its operations? besides, supposing even that the English should be forced, a thing which could not be done without considerable loss, what great advantage could reasonably be expected, since they had in their rear a forest, occupying an extent of fifteen leagues in length, and five in breadth? Ought not the road running through it to be considered as a very narrow defile, where ten thousand men, and a few pieces of artillery, could easily keep the greatest forces in check? Was it then indispensable to attack in front a position naturally very strong? or was there an utter impossibility in turning it?

"Such considerations would naturally have presented themselves to the mind of a man the least skilful in the art of war; but Buonaparte was resolved to see nothing upon Mont St. Jean but a numerous rear-guard, already intimidated, who put a good face upon it merely to give time to the different carriages to defile through the forest. He firmly believed, that he was not about to fight a battle, but to follow up his pursuit. He would neither believe his own eyes, nor listen to the advice of some of the generals, who recommended him to allow the English to effect quietly their evacuation of the forest, or, at least, to wait till the next day for the attack upon them, if they should not have effected it.

"Scarcely had his troops come in sight, harassed as they were with the continual rains, than, without allowing a moment of repose, he made them rush on the enemy. Persuaded that nothing could resist them, he made them attack in front an impregnable position, and, disdaining to have recourse to a few manœuvres, in order to render the approach less dangerous, exposed them with cruel indifference to the destructive fire of numerous batteries.

"In a short time he became angry at the resistance opposed to him; and resolving, in his delirium, to force the enemy's line, he pushed on the whole of his cavalry, and obliged them to charge at all hazards. In less than an hour it disappeared, having been overwhelmed by the English cavalry, or mowed down by their artillery. Thus had he deprived himself of the means of following up the pursuit, had he even proved victorious.

"Instead of gaining experience from the enormous loss he sustained, respecting the strength and designs of the enemy, and taking means to prevent the total ruin of his army, he descended furiously from the station where he had been directing the operations, placed himself at the head of his guards, and persisted in demanding of them things impossible, until, at length, overthrown and lost in the mass which overwhelmed them, they seemed to vanish, and escaped from his hands in the midst of the carnage.

"From that moment all was lost, and the destruction of the army was so much the more inevitable, as its right was turned, and no provision was made for its retreat. Who would believe that Buonaparte was the only man who did not perceive the dangers that menaced him? He still determined on pushing forward; and actually collected all his remaining force to repeat his attempts upon the centre. Inconceivable folly! He cherished the hope of overturning with a few battalions those forces which had withstood his whole army!

"And this is the man who is esteemed *the greatest general of the age!* Undoubtedly he is so, if, to gain battles, it is only necessary to shed the blood of thousands, by making them rush against each other without calculation. Yet it cannot be doubted that Buonaparte has shown at Mont St. Jean the extent of his capacity; victory was there so much needed by him, that he certainly brought his full powers into action.

"Thus we find ourselves reduced to the alternative, either of allowing that he owes all his victories to chance, or that his intellects had forsaken him during the battle of the eighteenth of June; for his combinations on that day can only be considered as well-conceived, by imputing to him the decided intention of causing his army to be massacred. Such, at least, is the judgment formed by some generals, whose ability to appreciate them is unquestionable, who, even during the contest, being unable to recover from their astonishment, or to repress their indignation, exclaimed aloud, 'Surely this man is beside himself! What will he do? His head is turned!'

"There are some, however, who are of opinion, that, setting aside every thing relative to the dispositions of the ground, the manner in which he directed the attacks, and the movements which he ordered to be executed, bore a near resemblance to what occurred at Marengo; so that, if suddenly, at the moment when the victorious English forsook their positions to fall upon us, a formidable column commanded by a Desaix had sprung from the ground, it is probable that the affair would have turned in our favour.

"If, therefore, Marshal Grouchy had appeared at this instant, he would in reality have performed the part of Desaix, and it is beyond a doubt that victory would have been ours. But he was at too great a distance from the scene of action, to have made so important a figure in it. This consideration is a further aggravation of the unaccountable errors of which Buonaparte was guilty at Mont St. Jean, as he was not, by any circumstances, compelled to attempt so abruptly an affair of such consequence; and as, instead of reducing this right wing to an absolute nullity, by neglecting to make good his communications with it, he might, without inconvenience, have waited until its junction had been effected.

"A single day, perhaps a few hours, would have been sufficient for the attainment of this essential object; every probability of success would have been in our favour. Nor, in this circumstance, can the occurrences which happened, be attributed to unforeseen misfortune; since it is evident, that, without the possession of any precise information concerning the march of Grouchy's corps, and of the difficulties it encountered, the measures adopted were such as would have been used, had it been ascertained that the whole Prussian army was fully occupied by that corps, or that it was impossible for any thing to prevent their co-operation, or to impede their movements.

"The battle of Mont St. Jean was one of the most sanguinary that was ever fought. The French army, composed of one hundred and twenty thousand men, after performing prodigies of valour, was almost entirely destroyed; two hundred pieces of cannon, all the caissons and carriages, fell into the hands of the enemy, as well as an immense number of prisoners. More than twenty thousand dead bodies of Frenchmen covered the field of battle, horribly mutilated by grape and musketry. The English likewise experienced a great loss, though less considerable than that of the French, on account of the advantageous position they occupied. The whole number of killed, however, in the allied armies, was computed at twenty thousand.

"Every circumstance induces us to believe, that, in the beginning, the two armies were of the same force; but the English army was in reality much the strongest, because they waited for us within their entrenchments; and they became still more so by the co-operation of the Prussians at the moment when the affair was just about to be decided.

"It was not difficult to foresee the consequences of this battle, and nobody doubted, but that, in a very short time, the allies would be in the capital of France. Nothing could, after this, stop or arrest their progress. The French army, though partly rallied near Laon and Rheims, was too much enfeebled to oppose their march; and they did not fail to arrive quickly under the walls

of Paris, where they met with some resistance, only in consequence of the arrival of the corps forming the right of the French army.

"This right wing, which was supposed to be lost, had retreated with great good fortune by the way of Namur, and, after marching eight days in the midst of the allies, and on a parallel with them, had effected, contrary to all probability, its junction with the rest of the army, without experiencing any material loss.

"Seventy thousand men were therefore concentrated before Paris, and threatened to defend that capital. But what was so small a force able to effect against the combined forces of all Europe, now rapidly advancing towards this central point? After a resistance of a few days, highly terrifying to the inhabitants, whose safety was greatly endangered by it, the obstinacy of the troops was overcome. They had resolved on holding out to the last extremity, and conceived themselves entitled to demand the greatest sacrifices.

"In gradually disposing them to accept a capitulation, and in thus extorting from them their consent to evacuate Paris, France gained in reality a signal victory, the advantages resulting from which are beyond calculation. It is this likewise, which in all probability preserved the capital from destruction.

"The battle of Mont St. Jean, by occasioning the occupation of Paris, and the re-establishment of legitimate authority in France, has been the mean of terminating the frightful struggle in which Buonaparte had involved us. Undoubtedly, the speedy destruction of so many thousands of men is a most horrible catastrophe; but if, on the other hand, it be considered as the prompt and unexpected issue of a dreadful war, to the ravages of which all France was about to be given up for an incalculable period of time, there is reason to believe, that it is in reality the least fatal occurrence which could possibly befal us, in the melancholy situation to which we were reduced.

"Supposing, however, that France had been unanimous in her efforts, it would have been impossible for her to resist the force of all Europe united against her. She must necessarily have fallen after a defence of greater or less length, more or less destructive, but, at all events, most disastrous to herself. The decisive results of the battle of Mont St. Jean, therefore, have spared her, if not all the evils, at least a great part of the horrors and calamities into which she would have been plunged, had she become the theatre of an active and sanguinary war."

Having thus laid before our readers *all* the official and well-authenticated accounts of that memorable battle, the result of which has been the *salvation of Europe*, we shall now subjoin some *anecdotes*, which could not have been previously introduced, without breaking the thread of our narration, but which are certainly too valuable and interesting to be passed over in silence.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

In the morning of the 16th of June, the Duke of Wellington and his staff had advanced, by ten o'clock, near Quatre Bras. Here they were soon recognised by the French, who immediately directed their artillery to the spot which they occupied. Such, however, was the undaunted bravery of the duke, that he would not quit his situation till he had completely reconnoitred the enemy. One of his aides-de-camp respectfully hinted that he exposed himself too much. "I am aware of it," replied the gallant hero, "but I must die, or see what they are about."

On the 17th, about three o'clock, his grace, accompanied by his staff, rode into a part of the field close to the village of Quatre Bras. He halted a few yards in front of the ninety-second regiment, exposed to a severe fire of round and grape-shot. His countenance was perfectly serene, though thoughtful, and he surveyed, with the most fixed attention, different parts of the field where "the arrows of death" were flying in all directions; repeatedly pulling out his watch, as if calculating on the arrival of his reinforcements. The shot, in the mean time, was bounding along and plunging into the ground on all sides of him; and one gentleman with whom he had just been conversing, lost his arm by a cannon-ball. The wounded officer was immediately removed, but this circumstance produced no change in the duke's position.

During the engagement, an officer of a battalion, which was close behind Lord Wellington, observing the sudden approach of a large column of French infantry, exclaimed, aloud, "There is a body of them!" His lordship gently turned his horse in the direction to which the officer pointed, and replied, "Yes, there *is* a considerable number, indeed." Then, without raising his voice, he said, "Colonel, you must charge." The charge was accordingly made, and happily proved successful, though the greatest part of this brave battalion were doomed to return no more.

In visiting different corps of his army, the duke was frequently received with shouts of impatience to be led on against the foe. The brave ninety-fifth regiment, seeing an immense body of French infantry approaching while their commander was at hand, eagerly exclaimed, "Let us at them, my lord; let us attack them." "Not yet," replied his grace, "not yet, my brave fellows; but you shall have at them very soon."

It has been justly observed by a contemporary historian, that "wherever danger was most imminent, there the Duke of Wellington was uniformly present;" charges that required unusual desperation were led on by himself; and no sooner did he perceive any of his squares begin to faulter, than he placed himself in the midst of them, and there awaited the enemy's attack.

"If such a trait," says Mr. Whitbread, "were recorded in history, as having occurred ten centuries ago, with what emotions of admiration and generous enthusiasm would it be read! To see a commander, of his eminence, throw himself into a hollow square of infantry as a secure refuge, till the rage and torrent of the attack was past; and that not once only, but twice or thrice in the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed not in any one particular corps, but in the whole British army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops. The Duke of Wellington knew he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them, could never be wrested from their hands."

While the veteran Blucher was engaged in the pursuit of the French, after the decisive victory of Mont St. Jean, the Duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The terrific noise which had so recently burst on the ear was heard no more; all was hushed, save when the groans of the wounded, or the shrieks of the dying interrupted the silence of the night. The moon, rising in peerless majesty, shed a pale and mournful light on the affecting scene. When the duke contemplated the piles of lifeless bodies which lay on every side, and thought, how many brave fellows had been sacrificed on this eventful day, and how many hearts even the news of his victory would sadden, the sternness of the soldier was forgotten in the feelings of the man, and he burst into a flood of tears.

"How different," says an interesting writer, "were the feelings which his opponent displayed on similar occasions! When a body of recruits joined the French army, the usual expression of Buonaparte was, 'Ah! there is *more food for the cannon.*' As he rode over the scene of contention, after one of his most sanguinary victories, while the dead and the dying were trampled on at every step, he betrayed not a single emotion of pity, but, turning to one of his officers, he said, with a smile, 'My faith! there is *a fine consumption!*' "

His visit to the field of battle after the victory of Prussian Eylau, is thus described by his confidential valet:

"It was piercingly cold. Some of the dying yet breathed. The immense heaps of dead bodies, and the black cavities which the blood had made in the snow, formed a dreadful contrast. The officers of the staff were deeply affected. The emperor alone contemplated this horrible scene without emotion. I pushed my horse some paces before his, as I felt anxious to observe him in a situation so interesting. You would have thought that he was devoid of all human affections. Not one transient glance of pity beamed from his cold and impenetrable countenance. He spoke of the events of the preceding evening with the utmost indifference. As he passed before a group of Russian grenadiers, who had fallen together in defending the position assigned to them, the horse of one of his aides-de-camp started. The emperor perceived it, and coolly remarked, 'That horse is a *coward.*' "

The following anecdote of his lordship's *discipline* is related by a Scotch gentleman, to whom the public are indebted for a work replete with interest:

Seeing some Highland soldiers lying asleep at Peronne, in the open air at midnight, our author asked one of them if it were not usual to receive billets on the inhabitants for quarters? 'Na, sir,' he replied, 'we seldom trouble them for billets. They ca' this *bivouacking*, you see.' 'It does not seem very agreeable, whatever they may call it.—How do the inhabitants of the country treat you?' 'Ow! gailies; particularly we that are Scotch: we ha' but to show our *petticoat*, as the English ca' it,—an' we're ay weel respected.' 'Were you in the battle of Waterloo?' 'Aye, 'deed was I, and in Quatre Bras beside. I got a skelp wi' a bit o' a shell at Waterloo.' 'And were all your comrades who are asleep also wounded?'—'Aye ware they,—some mare, some less.' Here's ane o' 'em wakening, wi' our speeking.'

A robust soldier rose slowly from his hard resting-place, shrugging his shoulders, and stretching his joints, as if his bones ached. He said not a word on seeing a stranger, but deliberately placed himself by the side of the first speaker. "I continued the conversation (says the narrator) for some time, and heard with interest the particulars of the death of a brave officer, for whose fate I had been much concerned, in consequence of knowing his closest connexions. This lamented person belonged to the regiment in which these men were privates;—they said he was the first who fell in their ranks on the 16th,—and, by two or three homely expressions, convinced me how highly he had been esteemed."

The Scotchmen, having but little incitement to return to their hard couch, became inclined to talk, particularly when they learned what part of Scotland our

author came from. 'The Duke,' they said, 'was'na to be blamed as a general; nor wou'd the men ha'e ony cause to complain, if he wou'd but gi' them a little mare liberty.' 'Liberty?' said the gentleman—'What sort of liberty do you mean?' 'Ow,—just liberty,—*freedom*, you see!' 'What,—do you mean leave of absence,—furloughs?' 'Na, na! De'il a bit: this has-'na been a time for furloughs. I mean the liberty that ither sogers get;—the Prussians and them.'

As our author still professed ignorance of their meaning, one of them gave him, in a sudden burst, a very pithy explanation of the sort of liberty which Lord Wellington was blamed for withholding. The other qualified it a little, by saying, 'Aye, aye, he means that when we've got the upper han' we shu'd employ it. There's nae use in our being mealy-mou'd, if the ithers are to tak' what they like. The Prussians ken better what they're about.' 'But you find that the Prussians are every where detested,—and you have just said that you Highlanders are every where respected.' 'Ow! aye, we're *praised* enuch. Ilka body *praises* us, but very few *gie* us ony thing.'

As this hint was more easy of interpretation than the last, the traveller immediately put into their hands a few francs to drink. The one who received the money looked at it very deliberately, and then, raising his head, said, 'Weel, sir, we certainly did'na expect this—did we, John?' 'Eh, na,' echoed John: 'the gentleman has our thanks, I'm sure.'

Our author now asked whether the Duke of Wellington took severe means of enforcing on his army that regard for the lives and property of the inhabitants of the seat of war, in maintaining which, he has evidently placed his ambition, not less than in defeating his armed adversaries. 'Na, sir, no here,'—was the reply,—'for the men ken him gailies now. But in Spain we aften had ugly jobs. He hung fifteen men in ae day, there—after he had been ordering about it, God knows how lang. And ance he gar the provost-marshal flog mare than a dizen of the *wimen*—for the wimen thought themselves safe, and so they were war' than the men. They got sax and therty lashes apiece on the bare doup, and it was lang afore it was forgotten on 'em. Ane o' 'em was Meg Donaldson, the best woman in our regiment,—for whatever she might tak', she did na keep it a' to hersel'.'

Perceiving that the diligence, in which he had taken a seat, was preparing to set off, our author was here obliged to take a hasty leave of these Scotch soldiers.

These instances of bravery, humanity, and discipline, may be considered as *prominent features* in the portrait of that unrivalled commander to whom Moore alludes in the following elegant and truly poetical lines:—

While History's Muse the memorial was keeping
Of all that the dark hand of Destiny weaves,
Beside her the Genius of Erin stood weeping,
For her's was the story that blotted the leaves,
But, O! how the tear in her eyelids grew bright,
When, after whole pages of sorrow and shame,
She saw History write
With a pencil of light,
That illum'd all the volume, her WELLINGTON's name.

"Hail, Star of my Isle," said the Spirit, all sparkling
With beams, such as break from her own dewy skies,
"Through ages of sorrow, deserted and darkling,
"I've watch'd for some glory like thine to arise.
"For though heroes I've number'd, unblest was their lot,
"And unhallow'd they sleep in the cross-ways of fame;
"But, O! there is not
"One dishonouring blot
"On the wreath that encircles my WELLINGTON's name!

"And still the last crown of thy toils is remaining—
"The grandest, the purest, e'en thou hast yet known:
"Tho' proud was thy task, other nations unchaining,
"Far prouder to heal the deep wounds of thy own.
"At the foot of that throne, for whose weal thou hast stood,
"Go plead for the land that first cradled thy fame—
"And bright o'er the flood,
"Of her tears and her blood,
"Let the rainbow of Hope be her WELLINGTON's name!"

The following anecdote of the *preservation* of this hero, by a *British tar*, is too interesting to be passed over in silence:

In the year 1806, the Duke of Wellington, (then Sir Arthur Wellesley,) after totally routing the Indian chief, Holkar, on the plains of Laswaree, took his passage for England, on board the Company's ship Lady Jane Dundas. When the anchor was dropped at St. Helena, two boats put off from the ship, as usual, crowded with passengers desirous of viewing the island. The boat which conveyed the illustrious warrior, when about a hundred yards from the shore, was upset by one of those sudden squalls blowing from the valleys, which are very common at St. Helena. Two men and a boy were instantly drowned: the rest, among whom was our hero, kept struggling with the waves. The moment the accident happened the boat in company made towards the scene of distress. Sir Arthur Wellesley, unable to swim, had been once or twice under water; a seaman instantly leaped into the sea, and swam towards the sinking hero, whom he bore in triumph to the shore on his left arm and shoulder. The generous tar was totally ignorant, at the time, of the rank of the person whom he thus saved; he merely selected him from the rest of the sufferers, because he thought his danger was the most imminent; the others, with the exception of the two men and the boy above mentioned, were picked up by the other boat. On landing his exhausted charge, Jack was rewarded by a cordial shake

of the hand from the illustrious hero, six bottles of rum, and a warm invitation to come and see him in England; a visit which the honest tar was too modest and unassuming to pay. The duke's deliverer has now retired from a sea-faring life, and settled in Rotherhithe. His friends banter him with the appellation of "the Saviour of Europe," which he takes in good part; but he never boasts of his achievement; indeed it is very rare that he can be induced to tell his own story, and, when it is wrung from him, it is adorned with all the graces of truth and modesty.

MARSHAL BLUCHER.

The Prussian troops under the command of this gallant veteran, who are inexpressibly attached to him, seldom call him by any other name than *Marshal Forwards*:—a more flattering tribute cannot be paid to a victorious general than in such a surname given to him by his brave soldiers. In the battle of Leipsig, it was proposed to the marshal to fire grenades into the city; but he rejected the advice with disdain. "We have but one Leipsig," said he: "its inhabitants are well-disposed towards us and the good cause; why, then, should we utterly destroy their city? We will take it, but without the assistance of grenades." On several subsequent occasions he has declared, that it was one of the most pleasing moments of his life to see the troops carrying Leipsig by assault, without shewing the smallest inclination to plunder. When his Prussian majesty promoted him to the rank of field-marshal, he accompanied the appointment with the following letter:—

"By your repeated victories, you increase your claims upon the state so fast, that I am unable to keep pace with the proofs of my gratitude. Accept a fresh token of it on the appointment of General Field-marshal; and may you very long enjoy that honour, to the gratification of your country, and as a model to that army which you have so often led to victory and glory.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"*Leipsig, Oct.* 20, 1813.

"To the general of cavalry, Von Blucher."

In the battle of Ligny, the Prussian cavalry, led on by the heroic Blucher, attacked the French cuirassiers, and were repulsed. In the retreat, the marshal's horse, which was presented to him by the Prince Regent when in England, received a mortal wound. He galloped some distance with wonderful speed, and then fell lifeless on the field. A serjeant, of the name of Friedland, seeing the fall of his commander, resolved to participate his fate, and dismounted to die by his side. On the approach of the French, this man pretended to be slain, and the enemy actually galloped on each side of the dead horse, covering the veteran. He then used every exertion to extricate the general in vain, when he saw the French cuirassiers returning at full gallop, repulsed in their turn, and flying from the pursuing Prussians. He again pretended to be dead, lying prostrate, with his arms extended, and, when he thought the French had passed, he rose up to call the Prussians: "*Here*," said he, "is your commander: he is not dead,—he is safe!" A general acclamation immediately resounded on every side, and it was truly affecting to see the gallant hero embracing the serjeant, who was willing to share his fate, whom he immediately presented with his belt, and advanced him in the army. "It was the loss of our commander," said one of the by-standers, "that inspired us with new courage, and made us repulse the cavalry of the enemy; and we were resolved to have gone forward in search of our beloved prince, and would have penetrated even to the spot where Buonaparte was stationed, or have perished in the attempt."

In passing through Belgium, in his way to the Prussian dominions, the marshal desired to see again the spot on which he was exposed to this imminent danger. After remaining there some time conversing with his aide-de-camp, he generously recompensed a miller who had assisted him in his critical situation. The grateful miller immediately addressed the following note to the editor of the *Brussels Oracle*:—"Prince Blucher, on his return, called at my house with his aides-de-camp; his modesty concealed his illustrious name, and I did not recollect him. He asked me several questions respecting my losses, and my present situation. Alas! it was easy for me to reply that I had saved nothing, either in my house, or on the lands which I farm, and that the war had reduced my family to such distress that I could not pay my contributions. He asked me the amount of these contributions, and, on my replying *eighty francs*, he immediately put them into my hand. He then departed, and, when he got to Namur, he sent me four pieces of forty francs each, and one of twenty francs. It was from this messenger, that I learnt the name of my benefactor; his generosity honours him; his modesty ennobles him; and my heart blesses him."

GENERAL MAITLAND.

This brave officer, with the first regiment of guards, was ordered by Lord Wellington to drive the French from a strong position in a wood, which they occupied in very considerable force. The general, instead of

attacking them in the regular way, ordered his men to advance rapidly, huzzaing with their caps in their hands. The enemy, not conceiving what this could mean, appeared to be panic-struck, and actually quitted the position without coming to an engagement. The gallantry of this *ruse de guerre* is equally honourable to the officer by whom it was planned, and the gallant troops by whom it was executed,

A HIGHLAND MAJOR,

In the battle of the 16th, a major of the forty-second Highland regiment choosing to fight on foot, in front of his troops, had given his horse into the care of a little drummer-boy. After an obstinate conflict with the French lancers and cuirassiers, and, after being repeatedly wounded, he fell from loss of blood near a private named Donald M'Intosh, who received a mortal wound at the same time. The drummer-lad had quitted the horse to assist Donald, and a French lancer immediately made a dash at the animal as a fair prize. The dying Highlander perceiving this movement, exclaimed, in his national brogue, "Hoot mon, ye manna tak that beast: it belangs to our captain here." The lancer, however, seized the reins, upon which Donald loaded his musket, and shot him dead,—and then fell back and expired.

An officer of the cuirassiers, at this time, rode up to the major, and, on perceiving him to be alive, stooped from his horse to despatch him with his sabre: the major, however, resolutely seized him by the leg, and, after a short struggle, dragged him from the saddle. Another lancer now galloped up, and endeavoured to relieve his officer by spearing the major. The latter, however, by a sudden jerk, placed the Frenchman exactly before him, so that he received the fatal thrust below his cuirass, and in this state remained lying upon his enemy, for nearly ten minutes, with his sabre in his hand. At length he raised himself with difficulty, staggered a few paces, and then dropped dead on the field.

A private of the forty-second regiment now came up, and asked his major what assistance he could render him. "None," he replied, "but that of loading your piece and despatching me." "But," said the private, "your eye seems lively, and, if you could be removed to the ninety-second, who are fighting at a short distance, I think you might yet recover." This proposal was agreed to, and the major was carried to the ninety-second, where his intimate friend, Colonel Cameron, immediately ordered him every assistance. While the men were placing him in a blanket, to carry him to the rear, the colonel exclaimed, "God bless you; I must be off:—the devils (the French lancers) are at us again, and I must oppose them in person. He did so, and soon received a wound, which stretched him lifeless on the bed of honour.

The reader will be gratified to learn that the gallant major recovered, and is still alive, bearing the marks of *sixteen* severe wounds received in this memorable battle, besides a serious wound previously received at the siege of Badajoz.

COLONEL HALKET.

One of the French generals was giving his orders to a numerous body of troops; and had come to their front unattended. Colonel Halket, perceiving this circumstance, made a dash at him at full gallop; and, holding a pistol to his breast, seized the reins of his horse, and brought him off from the very beards of his astonished soldiers!

LORD UXBRIDGE.

When the British army was retreating on the 17th, to keep up its correspondence with the Prussians under Marshal Blucher, that had been worsted by Buonaparte, Lord Uxbridge (now Marquis of Anglesea) was in the rear of the last troop of cavalry; when, looking behind him, he saw a French corps formed across the road to charge. He immediately turned round, and galloped back towards the enemy, waving his hat to his troops who had advanced some way on their retreat, and were at a considerable distance from him. Major Kelly, of the horse-guards, was the first person who joined his lordship, and these two heroes remained alone for about a minute in front of the French, who seemed overwhelmed with astonishment at the gallantry which they witnessed. The regiment soon came up, and dashed amongst the enemy, who were completely overthrown. It is said that his lordship was at one time so near Buonaparte, that he would have taken him prisoner, had not a cannon-ball taken off his leg at that instant.

After his return to England, his lordship travelled from his seat at Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, to Bradford, in Yorkshire, in one day, to make the preparatory arrangements for being supplied with an artificial leg, the ingenious invention of Mr. Mann, of that place. The noble warrior was received with every mark of joy by many of the most respectable inhabitants, and went through the Piece Hall, conversing familiarly with the manufacturers. He afterwards invited Colonel Kutusoff, a Russian officer, (under Mr. Mann's care at Bradford, having sustained a similar loss to his lordship,) to

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

Captain Kelly (now Major) of the Life Guards gallantly attacking a Cuirassier whom he slew.

London, Published by Thomas Kelly Paternoster Row Aug 17 1818.

dinner. The noble marquis returned into Staffordshire, but promised to be again at Bradford in a few days, having expressed a hope that he should soon be able to receive the Prince Regent *on his legs!*

SIR WILLIAM PONSONBY.

This hero being directed to lead his brigade against the Polish lancers, soon checked their destructive charges against the British infantry, and took nearly two thousand prisoners; but having pushed on at some distance from his troops, attended only by one aid-de-camp, he entered a newly-ploughed field, where the ground was so soft, that his horse sunk into it, and was unable to extricate himself. At this juncture, a body of lancers approached at full gallop. Sir William saw that his fate was inevitable. He therefore took out a picture and his watch, and was in the act of giving them to his aid-de-camp to deliver to his family, when the lancers came up, and killed them both on the spot. His body was found beside his horse, pierced with seven wounds. His death, however, was not unrevenged; as, before the day ended, the Polish lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces by the corps which this gallant officer had led against them.

HONOURABLE F. C. PONSONBY.

This officer, in heading the first charge of the twelfth dragoons in the morning of the 18th, was disabled in both arms by two successive wounds from a sabre. His sword immediately dropped from one hand, and his horse's reins from the other; and a violent blow on the head brought him to the ground. He remained for some time insensible, and, on recovering, the first object he saw was a French lancer, who, perceiving him to open his eyes, exclaimed "Aha! brigand, you shall die then!" and thrusting his lance twice through his body, retired, with the idea that he had despatched him. Two foreign soldiers now came up to plunder him, and, the weapon having penetrated his lungs, he was unable to speak, and could only utter some indistinct sounds, to shew that he was alive. The soldiers, however, pursued their object, and even robbed him of his cigars. After some time a French officer, who was severely wounded, at a short distance, perceived his situation, and, creeping towards him, humanely presented him with some spirits out of a phial. In this situation our hero remained with seven severe wounds till a late hour in the evening, when a British private of the fortieth regiment crept up to the spot where he lay. By this time he had sufficiently recovered his voice to beg that the soldier would continue with him till day-light, fearing that, if he attempted to leave him, he would be unable to find him again during the night. The private begged permission to look for a sword: "And then," said he, "the devil himself wont venture to come near your honour." He accordingly looked about till he found a French sabre, and then sat down till the morning dawned; when he went in quest of some men of the twelfth dragoons, who immediately removed their brave commander to a more comfortable situation.

COLONEL MUTTLEBURY.

On the arrival of some British regiments at the field of battle, on the morning of the 16th, they were assailed so suddenly by the cavalry and artillery of the French, that it was impossible for them to form, either into line or square. Among those who suffered most severely in this attack were the sixty-ninth, who had no other resource in this discomfiture than that of joining the regiment they could first reach. In this attempt Colonel Muttlebury was closely pursued by two French lancers towards two Hanoverian pieces of cannon, the only artillery on that spot. The colonel, with an admirable presence of mind, gave a sudden jerk to his horse, and let the lancers pass him; when a discharge of grape-shot from the Hanoverian cannon killed both of his pursuers, and he providentially escaped unhurt.

COLONEL COLQUIT.

This gallant officer, perceiving a shell that had just fallen in a square which he at that moment occupied, took it up with the most perfect composure, and threw it over the heads of the soldiers, down a declivous bank, by which the terrible effects of its explosion amidst the men were happily prevented.

CAPTAIN KELLY.

Captain, now Major, Kelly, in heading his regiment of life-guards against the Corsican's cuirassiers, was desperately attacked by one of them, and appeared to be in imminent danger: he not only defended himself, however, with complete success, but despatched his antagonist, by running him through the neck with his sword.

COLONEL MILLER.

In attention to his company, this officer was excelled by none. He was continually inquiring what could be done to make them more comfortable. "I do not care for the expense," he used to say; "money is no object to me." On the close of a day's march, his first care

was to see his men comfortable, and then he considered himself; and, after an absence of any time, his first inquiry was respecting their health and conduct. When opposed to the enemy, he was cool and deliberate, vigilant and brave, firm and resolute. On the 16th of June, in close action at the head of his company, while cheering his men, he received a wound in his breast, which proved mortal. As he passed to the rear, borne by four men, he said, "Let me see the colours." They were accordingly placed in Ensign Batty's hand, to pay him his funeral-honours, while living. He then said, "I thank you,—that will do;—I die satisfied."

LIEUTENANT TATHWELL.

In a gallant attack of the royal horse-guards blue, upon the cuirassiers, in the battle of Mont St. Jean, this officer rushed on the French standard-bearer, tore the eagle from his hands, and was carrying it off in triumph, when his horse unfortunately received a mortal wound, and the lieutenant was taken prisoner. He had the good fortune, however, to effect his escape, and the next morning rejoined his regiment.

LIFE-GUARDSMEN.

A private in the life-guards, who, from being bald, was jocularly styled, by his comrades, the Marquis of Granby, had his horse shot under him, and his helmet knocked off. Regardless of these circumstances, however, he boldly attacked and killed one of the cuirassiers, and rode off in triumph with his enemy's horse; his companions in arms exclaiming, "Well done, Marquis of Granby!"

Another life-guardsman was left upon the field, within the French lines, desperately wounded. Knowing that the enemy was particularly exasperated against the horse-guards, from whom they had suffered severely, he threw his helmet to a distance, and after a short time ventured to raise his head. Two French lancers, perceiving this motion, gallopped up to him, and plunged both their weapons into his side; still, however, he retained life, and shortly afterwards a plundering party approached from the enemy's position, and stripped him. They then sent him to the rear, and being unable to walk, he was dragged with his feet trailing along the ground for several miles; being repeatedly struck by those about him, to compel him to move his legs. Several of his fellow-prisoners were murdered in his sight. At length, however, the French being closely pursued by the Prussians, he was permitted to sink down on a dunghill near an inn, in one of the small towns through which his cruel foes were at the time passing. Here he lay, with his blood running about him, in a kind of doze; from which he was awakened by some one creeping down by his side: he turned his head, and saw a gallant comrade, named Shaw, who could scarcely crawl to the heap, being almost cut to pieces: "Ah, my dear fellow, I'm done for!" faintly whispered the latter:—but few words passed between them, and he soon dropped asleep. In the morning he awoke, and found that poor Shaw was indeed done for: he was lying dead, with his face leaning on his hand, as if he had breathed his last while in a state of insensibility. This brave man is said to have carried destruction to every Frenchman against whom he rode; and to have killed a number of the cuirassiers, sufficient to make a show against the list of slain furnished for any of Homer's heroes. His death was occasioned rather by the loss of blood from a variety of wounds, than the magnitude of any one; he had been riding about, fighting, a great part of the day, with his body streaming:—and at night he died, as has been related.

BELGIC HEROINE.

This female was the wife of a British officer, and was living with him in cantonments at Nivelles. The unexpected advance of the French called him at a moment's notice to Quatre Bras; but he left with his wife a servant, one horse, and the family baggage, which was packed upon a large ass. At this time a retreat was not anticipated; but being suddenly ordered on the Saturday morning, he contrived to send intelligence to his wife that she must make the best of her way, attended by her servant, to Brussels. The servant, who was a foreigner, had availed himself of the opportunity to take leave of his employers, and absconded with the horse, which had been left for the use of his mistress.

With a courage becoming the wife of a British officer, the lady commenced *her own retreat of twenty-five miles on foot*, leading the ass, and carefully preserving the baggage. No one presumed to molest so innocent a pilgrim, but no one offered her any assistance. She was soon in the midst of the columns of the retreating British army, and was equally retarded and endangered by the artillery. The rain descended in torrents; the thunder rolled fearfully over her head, and the flashes of lightning, which shot across her path, were truly awful. She, however, continued to advance, and got upon the great road from Charleroi to Brussels, at Waterloo, when the army, on the evening of the 17th, were taking up their line for the decisive conflict.

In so extensive a field, and among eighty thousand men, it was in vain to seek her husband; she knew

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

A dismounted Life Guards-man fighting a Cuirassier whom he slew and rode off with his horse.

Engraved by Thomas Wolf, Paternoster Row, [illegible]

that the sight of her *there* would only have embarrassed and distressed him; she therefore advanced slowly towards Brussels all the night; the way choaked with all sorts of conveyances, waggons, and horses; multitudes of native fugitives on the road, flying into the forest; and numbers of the wounded working their painful way, dropping at every step, and breathing their last. Many persons were actually killed by others, in the desperate efforts of the latter to remove impediments to their escape; and, to add to the horrors, the thunder and rain continued with unremitting fury. Twelve miles further this young woman marched, during the night, up to her knees in mud, her boots worn entirely off, so that she was bare-footed. Still, however, she was unhurt, and continued to advance; and, although thousands lost their baggage, and many their lives, she safely entered Brussels in the morning without the loss of a single article. In a few hours after her arrival, the roar of the artillery announced the commencement of that sanguinary contest, in which she knew her husband to be engaged: but, after a day and night of agonizing suspense, she was amply rewarded by finding herself in his arms on the 19th, he unhurt, and she nothing the worse.

DISAPPOINTED BELGIANS.

An opulent inhabitant of Brussels felt so confident that Buonaparte would ultimately prove victorious, that he actually prepared a splendid supper for him on the 18th, and similar preparations were made, by other persons, for his principal officers. It seems, also, that, in the papers found in the imperial carriage at Gemappe, there was a list of twenty inhabitants of Brussels, whose names were communicated to the French troops, as persons who were to be exempted from the general pillage. By the good providence of HIM, however, "who ruleth in the armies of Heaven, and among the nations of the earth," the hopes of these disloyal Belgians were frustrated, and the plans of the usurper were rendered abortive.

FRATERNAL AFFECTION.

A serjeant in the Coldstream Guards, near the close of the battle of Waterloo, earnestly solicited the officer commanding his company, for permission to retire from the ranks for a few minutes; the latter expressed some surprise at this request; but the serjeant said, "Your honour need not doubt of my *immediate* return." Having, at length, obtained permission, he flew to an adjoining barn, to which the enemy in their retreat had set fire, and from thence bore on his shoulders his *wounded brother*, who he knew lay in the midst of the flames. Having deposited him safely for the moment, under a hedge, he returned to his post in time to share in the complete discomfiture of the enemy.

It is said, that this brave fellow now enjoys a freehold estate of ten pounds per annum, given to him by the Rector of Framlingham, in Suffolk, for his truly heroic and affectionate conduct.

SINGULAR ENCOUNTER.

While the hostile armies were engaged in a series of desperate charges, a British officer, pressing on to keep up his men, felt a Frenchman throw his arms about his legs, earnestly imploring his protection. The person addressed, was too much occupied to pay immediate attention to the supplication; but the wounded man, entwining his grasp still more closely, and imploring mercy for the love of God, the officer put back the soldier who was about to plunge his bayonet into the breast of the unfortunate sufferer, who remained on the ground. In a short time, his preserver was in a situation of similar distress: he was struck by a grape-shot, and, when scarcely supporting himself to the rear, he again passed the Frenchman, who was then sitting up, gazing at the awful conflict: they exchanged silent looks, and parted, to remain in utter ignorance of each other's fate, though the one had been the object of a service rendered by the other, the most important that man can perform towards his fellow-creature.

THE ENSIGN'S COAT.

A serjeant of the third battalion of the First Guards, having mentioned, in a letter to his wife, his waving an officer's coat, and cheering the men in a critical moment of the battle, a gentleman made some inquiry respecting the circumstance; and the serjeant, in a subsequent letter, adds the following particulars:

"When the French hundred and fifth regiment advanced up the low ground, their cannon, at the same time, raked us with grape, canister, and horse-nails; and our line, at two different times, was so shattered, that I feared they would not be able to stand: in fact, I was for a moment afraid they must have given way; and, if they had, it would have gone hard with the whole line, as our third battalion and the rifle-battalion of the King's German Legion were the manœuvres of the day. Our officers exerted themselves to the very uttermost, as also the serjeants. Major-general Maitland, Colonel Lord Saltoun, Colonel Reeve, and Brigade-major Gunthorp, were in the front of the square, in the hottest part of the contest Our loss, at this

time, was tremendous. At this juncture, I picked up Ensign Pardo's coat, which was covered with his blood, lying on a horse. The ensign, who belonged to our battalion, was killed, and stripped by the plunderers during some of our manœuvres. I stepped about twenty-five paces before the line, and waved the coat, cheering the men, and telling them that while our officers bled, we should not reckon our lives dear. I did this a second time, when the Imperial guards came up against us, and I believe it had its desired effect. I thought if any thing would stimulate the men, this would be effective. An officer having just sacrificed his life for his country's safety—ours were pledged for the same. The men fought with all their might; and, in half an hour, as I mentioned, we cut the hundred and fifth regiment to pieces, and took one stand of colours. Had I known, however, that the coat would have been mentioned farther than to my wife, I should not have inserted it; but let that fact have been mentioned by others, as I do not like to commend myself."

THE FARMER'S WIFE OF MONT ST. JEAN.

All the inhabitants had fled from the village of Mont St. Jean previous to the action, and even Waterloo was deserted; but in a farm-house, at the end of the village, one woman remained during the whole of the day, shut up in a garret, from which she could see nothing, and without any means of gaining intelligence of what was passing, while the troops were fighting man to man, and sword to sword, at the very doors; while shells were bursting in at the windows, and while the cannon-balls were breaking through the wooden-gates into the farm-yard, and striking against the walls of the house. This woman was the farmer's wife: and, when asked what motive could induce her to adopt such extraordinary conduct, she replied with great simplicity, that she had a great many cows and calves, and poultry, and pigs—in fact, that all she had in the world was there; and that, if she left them, they would be destroyed.

THE SCOTCH GREYS.

The Scotch greys made several charges that were perfectly romantic: "Those brave fellows will be entirely cut to pieces," said some of the British generals, when viewing them; "a mere handful of men, plunging into vast solid masses of French cavalry!" It was observed by a French marshal to some distinguished officers at Paris, that the British were the only troops in the world that could be trusted in lines against columns; as they would stand or advance, two deep, against a mass some yards in thickness.

THE NINETY-SECOND HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

This gallant regiment, when reduced to little more than a hundred men, threw themselves over a hedge directly against a mass of the *imperial guard.* The latter stood till the Scotch came close up to them, when these terrible adversaries looked each other full in the face, while they coolly levelled their muskets. After some firing, the ninety-second made the final charge with the bayonet. The French guards stood still; but it was but for a moment: before the steel reached them, they had turned their backs,—but too late to avoid its effects. At this juncture the Scotch greys poured in upon the enemy; took fifteen hundred prisoners, and, as an eye-witness observes, "actually *walked over the French.*"

ARDOUR OF SOME SCOTCH OFFICERS.

One of the Scotch regiments was for some time unemployed by any column of the enemy, though exposed to a smart fire of round shot. The young officers, perceiving the forty-second and some other battalions to be warmly engaged in charging the French, contemplated their own inactivity with feelings of impatience. "It will be the same now," they exclaimed, "as it always has been! There will be a fine noise in the newspapers about the forty-second regiment, but the deuce a word respecting us!" Some of their seniors reminded them that they would probably have *enough* of it before the day was ended;—a remark which proved prophetic; as this regiment suffered most severely, and of those gallant youths who expressed this noble ardour, the greater part were stretched lifeless on the field before the evening.

THE TWELFTH LIGHT DRAGOONS.

This regiment, which was stationed near the Prince of Orange, made several gallant charges upon the enemy; and nothing enabled the French dragoons to resist them but their cuirasses. In the account of so much intrinsic valour without cover or artifice, against so much iron, it is easy to decide where honour would award the balance. Many brave men were sacrificed to the iron armour which shielded the French, and the taffeta flags which frightened the horses.

THE COWARDLY COLONEL.

A regiment of light-horse volunteers, belonging to a continental city, and peculiarly distinguished by their gay appearance, were ordered, in the battle of Mont St. Jean, to support a charge made by the British upon the enemy's cavalry. Their colonel, however, shewed

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

Shaw the Life Guards man's brave attack on the French Cuirassiers.

no alacrity in obeying this order; but, on the contrary, objected the numbers of the foe—the armour by which they were defended—and the consideration which he said had escaped the Duke of Wellington, that his regiment consisted entirely of *gentlemen*. On this curious answer being delivered to the duke, he despatched his aid-de-camp to say, that if the *gentlemen* would retire to a certain eminence in the rear, they would have a *fine view* of the engagement, and the time for them to charge should be left to their own discretion. The *gallant* colonel readily embraced this offer, and actually posted his men behind the hamlet of St. Jean; notwithstanding the reproaches of the aid-de-camp, who shook him by the collar, and loaded him with every epithet which is most opprobrious to the military character. Several of the officers and soldiers, however, immediately quitted their cowardly commander, and joined themselves to other bodies of cavalry, with whom they resolutely opposed the foe.

It appears by intelligence received from the continent, that a court-martial was held, to enquire into the conduct of this regiment and the colonel by whom it was commanded; and that the said court-martial condemned the colonel to be cashiered and degraded, but acquitted the regiment of the charge of having disordered the ranks of the army. A major, who was second in command, was severely reprimanded for not having attempted to prevent the retreat of his corps.

FRENCH CUIRASSIERS.

These men frequently came out singly from their ranks, and challenged individuals to the attack: some of the British troops wished to be allowed to accept the invitation, but were refused by their officers. If any of our men fired, they immediately rushed into that spot, and attempted to break the square. The forty-second regiment opened and permitted them to come in, and in the centre destroyed a considerable number. They rode round the squares, as if they were fortified towns, and on neither side did any one fire, until he was certain of his aim. Never was a battle fought with such desperation.

One of these cuirassiers fell wounded, a few yards before the bayonets of Lord Wellington's troops: a Scotchman went out in the fury of the moment to despatch him. The Frenchman, who was sitting on the ground, saw his enemy approaching with his bayonet extended towards him,—yet he did not change countenance, except to put on a smile of whimsical remonstrance: just as his enemy came up close, he shrugged up his shoulders, and extending his hands, exclaimed, in a tone of good-humoured appeal,—"*Ah, Monsieur Anglais!*" The highlander was softened. "Go to the rear, you ——," was the reply. The poor Frenchman made a shift to crawl where his conqueror directed, while his countenance expressed his gratitude.

Some of the cuirassiers made their way to the very rear of the British lines, and two or three galloped back shouting, and brandishing their swords. After receiving the whole fire of a battalion, one man still kept on his horse, and had the audacity to cut with his sabre at the infantry as he passed. A Hanoverian met him in combat, and wounded him: he would not give up his sword, however, but to an officer,—his enemy was on the point of putting him to death, when an officer interfered, and saved his life.

A FRENCH SKIRMISHER.

It is asserted that a French skirmisher took frequent advantage of the *body of a wounded British officer*, who had fallen considerably in advance during a charge made by his corps. The Frenchman loaded his musket, crouching down behind his fallen foe, and then went in front to discharge it, returning again to prepare for another fire. During the continuance of this process, a conversation went on between the parties. "You English will certainly be beaten by the Emperor,"—said the *tirailleur:* "You have no chance with us." This he repeated several times, as he returned to his old shelter; but, at last, the Frenchman came back with a whimsical smile, and, instead of stopping as before to load his piece, exclaimed:—"Ah! indeed, I believe you English will beat the Emperor: good morning, my friend."

ENTHUSIASM OF THE FRENCH TROOPS.

Two British officers of artillery were particularly noticed, who, being in a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the moment the cavalry retreated, loaded one of the deserted guns which stood near, and fired it upon the enemy's cavalry. A French officer, observing that this manœuvre cost his troop many lives, resolved, if possible, to prevent its repetition. Accordingly, at the next retreat of his squadron, he stationed himself by the gun, brandishing his sabre, as if defying the British officers again to approach it. He was instantly shot by a grenadier; but his self-devotion prevented a considerable loss among his men.

Other French officers and privates evinced the same zeal in the cause which they had so unhappily espoused. One officer of rank, after leading his men towards one of the squares of infantry, found himself deserted by them; regardless of this circumstance, however, he

continued to advance, even when the British fire opened, throwing open his arms, as if to welcome the bullet which should terminate his existence.

A French soldier, in one of the hospitals at Antwerp, tossed his amputated arm in the air, with a feeble exclamation of "*Vive l' Empereur!*" Another, during the preparations to take off his leg, declared, that he knew of something which would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the surgeon's trouble. When desired to explain himself, he said, "a sight of the emperor!" The amputation did not save him: he died under the operator's hands, and his last words were, that he would cheerfully shed every drop of blood in his veins for the great Napoleon!

Another man, from whose left side a ball was extracting, endured the operation with great steadiness, and, in the moment of his most severe agony, exclaimed, "Cut an inch deeper, and you will find the emperor!"

SUFFERINGS OF A WOUNDED OFFICER.

An officer, who was wounded on the 18th, walked to Brussels, in a state almost too dreadful to be described. The rain descended in torrents; the roads were deep and miry; he was in severe agony with his wound; he was unable to bear the motion of a carriage; and his strength scarcely sufficed for him to crawl along. He was repeatedly forced out of the road, to avoid being crushed to death, and compelled to proceed through the deep wet grass and entangling briers of the forest of Soignes. Once, a Brunswick soldier ran violently against his wounded arm, and gave him excruciating pain;—he threw off the man, who lifted his sabre to cut him down; but, on seeing his wound, the fellow showed signs of commiseration, and passed on.

HUMANITY TO THE WOUNDED.

To the humanity of the British soldiers, the French themselves have been constrained to bear the most honourable testimony.

Though, at the close of the battle on the 18th, Lord Wellington's troops were worn out with fatigue, and needed the refreshment of sleep, not a man indulged in the repose which nature so much required. They retrod the field of carnage. They sought for their wounded companions, eagerly afforded them every assistance in their power, and, having hastily dressed their wounds, sent them to the hospitals of Brussels and Antwerp. Nor was their humanity confined to their countrymen; even those who so lately thirsted for their blood, those by whom their ranks had been thinned, shared in their humane attentions. In the left wing alone, more than *five hundred* French were indebted for their lives to the compassion of the British soldiers. In every part of the field the troops were diligently employed in constructing litters, and carefully conveying both friends and foes to a place of refuge and comfort.

In many places a still more interesting scene was presented. The wounded British soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, were seen carefully and tenderly staunching the wounds of those whom, a few hours before, they had met in mortal combat. This was a spectacle which none but British troops would have exhibited.

At Brussels and Antwerp, the wounded received the kindest attentions; persons of the highest rank waited upon them day and night: and such had been the good conduct of the British army while quartered in Brussels, previously to the battle, that the inhabitants sought with the greatest anxiety among the wounded for their former guests, whom they took in to their houses as old friends. Carriages of all descriptions, in Brussels, were instantaneously sent to the field of battle, to bring home the wounded. And one inhabitant of Brussels, a strong healthy man, actually *walked* three times to the field of battle, a distance of nearly twelve miles, and brought home each time a wounded *Frenchman* on his back! The benevolent attentions of the citizens of Brussels were further aided by ample supplies of linen, flannel, &c. for the use of the wounded; which were poured in from England and Holland, as soon as it was known that the battle had taken place. The soldiers who could not first be taken into the houses, were laid along on straw in the streets, and the ladies of Brussels were seen, during the whole night and morning, stooping over these poor sufferers, supplying them with refreshments, and, in the absence of medical assistance, using every exertion to relieve their agony. One young lady, of a highly respectable family, persisted, even against advice, in dressing the wound of a veteran serjeant-major, after it had assumed the appearance of mortification, and was in a state equally dangerous and offensive. A slight puncture in the lady's finger admitted some of the poisonous matter, and her life nearly paid the forfeit of her humanity.

Another female, who had realized a little independence by selling lace, lodged and relieved a great many wounded soldiers. In short, the fair sex, indiscriminately, in high or low circumstances, were animated with the most solicitous attention.

The mayor of Brussels liberally gave *wine* and *beer*, when *water only* was required; and an inhabitant of the name of Troyaux made his whole establishment a

complete hospital, gratuitously supplying every possible comfort and subsistence for the unfortunate wounded.

PLUNDERERS IN THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

From the instances of humanity just related, we must now turn our attention to a scene revolting to every feeling of human nature. Scarcely had the news of the victory reached Brussels and its vicinity, when a number of hard-hearted wretches, both men and women, hastened to the field of battle. The groans of the dying, and the screams of the wounded, were heard on every side; and many, who but a few days before had possessed all the luxuries of life, were now literally perishing for a cup of cold water.

At this affecting moment, wretches were every where spread over the field, despatching those who were disabled, of all nations, not from a desire to terminate their sufferings, but to rob them of what they might have about them, and even to tear off the epaulets and lace from their clothes, and their decorations of honour smeared with blood.

The fields were made slippery with human gore; and here and there were seen wounded horses limping, and endeavouring to find a blade of uncontaminated grass, but in vain. The countenances of the prostrate troops smeared with sweat, dust, and blood, and with features still expressive of ferocity, were truly awful; and all the waters were tinged with blood, which added materially to the horror of the scene.

Fragments of guns, broken swords covered with blood and hair, and parts severed from the human body, lay scattered in all directions: here a headless carcase, there a body without an arm or a leg. All distinctions were here blended; the victors and the vanquished. Germans, Britons, Dutchmen, Hanoverians, Belgians, Prussians, and Frenchmen, all lay in promiscuous heaps.

The brave man and the coward were here stretched side by side; the implorer for mercy, and he who sternly refused it; the atheistical reprobate, and he who had uttered many a fervent ejaculation to his God and Saviour. Here also were many who, forgetting the weakness of their nature, were hunting over the dead, to obtain a last look of their slaughtered husbands, or, if possible, to bind up their wounds, and save them from destruction.

Several Belgian women had followed their husbands, mounted on horseback, and had encouraged them to the utmost exertions; and one heroine in particular, from Brussels, after attending to the wound of her husband, advanced again to the field of action, and was foremost in danger, until she received herself an honourable wound in the shoulder. After the battle, several were found dead; one in particular with a child at her breast, who had taken some refreshments to the field, and was killed by a cannon-shot, the child being found by her side.

WATERLOO CHILD.

A private of the twenty-seventh regiment, who was severely wounded, was carried off the field by his wife, then far advanced in pregnancy: she also was severely wounded by a shell, and both of them remained a considerable time in one of the hospitals at Antwerp in a hopeless state. The poor man had lost both his arms, the woman was extremely lame, and here gave birth to a daughter, to whom it is said the Duke of York has stood sponsor, and who has been baptized by the name of Frederica M'Mullen Waterloo.

WOUNDED HORSES.

The horses, when wounded in battle, stop short, tremble violently, and groan deeply, while their eyes express a wild astonishment. An officer's horse, which survived the battle of Waterloo, still retains a lively recollection of the wounds sustained on this occasion; the clamour and bustle of the engagement seem to have perpetuated themselves in his ears:—when any one approaches him in the stable, he puts himself on the alert for a charge, and starts, as if to avoid a sabre-cut. Some of the horses, as they lay on the field, having recovered from the first agony of their wounds, began eating the grass about them,—thus surrounding themselves with a circle of bare ground, the narrow extent of which demonstrated their weakness. Others of these interesting animals were observed quietly grazing in the middle of the field, between the two hostile lines, their riders having been previously shot off their backs.

CONFIDENCE IN THE ENGLISH.

Some gentlemen who visited the field of Waterloo soon after the battle, purchased of a poor Belgic woman a brace of beautiful pistols, which she had found in the cloak-case of a French general. On offering her *guineas* in payment, she refused to take them, alleging that, as she had never seen such coins before, she was ignorant of their value. The visitors assured her that she might immediately exchange them in Brussels for twenty-six francs each. Still she was unwilling to take them, and urged her indigence in the event of her sustaining a loss. Suddenly, however, she held out her hand for the money, exclaiming, "Ah, well! you are *English*, and *the English never deceive.*"

ALARM AT BRUSSELS AND ANTWERP.

An open town, like Brussels, within a few miles of a field of battle, is subject to perpetual alarms; and scarcely an hour passed, during the engagements of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, without some false reports occurring to spread general terror and confusion. Such was the alarm on the evening of the 17th, that one hundred napoleons were refused for a pair of horses to go to Antwerp, a distance of thirty miles; and great numbers of people set off on foot, and embarked in boats upon the canal. On the following day, the terror of the inhabitants was at its highest pitch. News arrived of the French having gained a complete victory, and it was generally credited. A panic had seized some of the men left in charge of the baggage, in the rear of the army, and they ran away with a rapidity that could not have been surpassed even by the French fugitives themselves. The road between Waterloo and Brussels, which lays through the forest of Soignes, was soon choaked up; those behind attempted to pass those before—officers' servants were seen struggling to secure their masters' baggage—while multitudes were attempting to force their way over every obstacle, with the desperation of terror,—and a scuffle ensued, in which numbers of horses were killed, and many lives were lost.

At Antwerp, though more remote from the scene of action, the consternation was nearly as great. The streets were lined with rows of carriages, and filled with fugitives, who could find no place of accommodation; and people of rank and fortune were glad to eat and sleep in the same miserable apartment, which, on any other occasion, they would have disdained to enter. So great was the universal anxiety, that, during the whole of Sunday, though the rain descended in torrents, the great Place de Maire was crowded with people, who stood from morning until night, under umbrellas, impatiently expecting the arrival of news from the army, and asking a thousand questions of every body who entered the town.

"Whether in Antwerp or Brussels," says an interesting writer, "the hearts of all were with the army. One common interest united all ranks and conditions of men. All other subjects and considerations were forgotten—all distinctions were laid aside—all common forms were neglected: ladies accosted men whom they had never seen before with eager questions; no preface—no apology was thought of—strangers conversed together like friends—all ranks of people addressed each other without hesitation—every body seeking information—and English reserve seemed no longer to exist.

"It is impossible to conceive the overpowering anxiety of being so near such eventful scenes, without being able to ascertain what is really passing. To know that, within a few miles, such an awful contest is deciding—to hear the distant voice of war—to think that, in the roar of cannon, your brave countrymen are falling, bleeding, and expiring—to dread that your friends, even those dearest to you, may be among the number of the victims—to endure the protracted suspense—the unremitting agitation—the varying reports—the constant alarms—the fluctuating hopes, and doubts, and fears—no—none but those who have *felt* what it is, can imagine or understand it.

"This state of suspense had continued three days. Vague and contradictory reports were brought in, during the whole of Sunday, which only served to increase the general anxiety. Between nine and ten in the evening, some wounded British officers arrived on horseback, bringing the dreadful intelligence that the battle was lost, and that the French were actually in possession of Brussels! This was corroborated by fugitives from that city, who affirmed they had seen the French; and one gentleman asserted that he had been pursued by them, half way to Malines. Some even asserted, that the French had entered Malines: later accounts tended to confirm these disastrous tidings, and Antwerp was filled with consternation. Many persons thinking Antwerp no longer safe, set out immediately for Holland.

"During the whole of the night, carriages filled with the wounded—waggons and carts loaded with military stores—trains of artillery and ammunition—and Hanseatic troops to garrison the town, in case of a siege, continued to arrive. At this awful juncture, however, when fear almost amounted to certainty, when suspense had terminated in despair, after a night of indescribable misery, the glorious news was brought—that the allies had gained a complete victory—that the French—defeated—routed and dispersed—had fled from the field of battle—pursued by the victorious confederates. No language can possibly describe the feelings of that moment—no eloquence can pourtray the transport which throbbed in every breast, and brought tears of joy into every eye.

"An express arrived at eight o'clock in the morning, bringing a bulletin to Lady Fitzroy Somerset, dated from Waterloo, the preceding night, merely containing a brief account of the victory. The tumultuous acclamations, the rejoicings which ensued—the voluble joy of the Belgians, the more silent heartfelt gratitude of the British, the contending feelings of triumph, pity, sorrow, anxiety, and admiration, may be *conceived*, but they cannot be *described*."

FLIGHT FROM BRUSSELS.

A lady and gentleman who quitted Brussels on the 18th, had the good fortune to reach Malines, about fifteen miles distant, in safety. They obtained a place in the track-boat on the canal; and, being close to the side of the road, had a full view of its horrors. Several horses were seen to fall, exhausted by fatigue, while their riders were crushed beneath the wheels of the waggons, and their baggage was carried off by the peasants, to be pillaged. Great sums of money were lost in this way; and clothes, and other articles, were spread over the fields. A British officer, who had lost a foot, and was carried on his servant's back, begged to be taken into the boat. At Malines, they found it very difficult to obtain admission into a house; but the next day they procured a carriage to Antwerp. Many of the wounded were travelling on the same road; some had lost a hand or an arm; thousands were on foot; and all sorts of carriages and horses crowded the road, and augmented the danger. The scene was terrible beyond description: but feelings of terror and self-preservation tended to diminish the concern for the sufferers. When the fugitives arrived at Antwerp, they saw a heart-rending spectacle. An officer's lady had just received intelligence that her husband's head had been shot off at Quatre Bras. The poor woman was running about the market-place, hysterical and delirious, with a little boy running after her, bathed in tears. In her distraction, she frequently repeated, "My husband is *not* dead, he is coming; his head is *not* shot off!"

LIST OF OFFICERS, KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING.

(Extracted from the London Gazette.)

BATTLE OF THE 16th.

KILLED.

First Guards—Ensign James Lord Hay, Aid-de-camp to General Maitland.

First Guards, second battalion—Lieutenant Thomas Brown (Captain); Ensign S. S. P. Barrington.

First Guards, third battalion—Lieutenant Edward Grose (Captain).

First Foot—Captain William Buckley; Lieutenants John Armstrong and J. E. O'Neill; Ensigns J. G. Kennedy, Charles Graham, and Alexander Robertson.

Thirty-second Foot—Captain Edward Whitty.

Thirty-third Foot—Captain John Haigh; Lieutenants John Boyce and Arthur Gore.

Forty-second Foot—Lieutenant Colonel Sir R. Macara, K. C. B. Lieutenant R. Gordon; Ensign W. Gerard.

Forty-fourth Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant William Tomkins; Ensign Peter Cooke.

Sixty-ninth Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant Edmund William Whitwick.

Seventy-ninth Foot, first battalion—Adjutant J. Kynock.

Ninety-second Foot—Captain William Little; Lieutenant J. J. Chisholm; Ensigns Abel Becher and John M. R. Macpherson; First Lieutenant William Lister.

WOUNDED.

General Staff—Captain H. G. Macleod, Thirty-fifth Foot; Deputy Assistant-Quarter-Master-General; Captain John Jessop (Major), Forty-fourth Foot, Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, severely; Captain Charles Smyth (Major), Ninety-fifth Foot, Brigade-Major, severely (since dead); Captain Langton, acting Aid-de-camp to Sir T. Picton, slightly; Lieutenant W. Havelock, Forty-third Foot, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Alten, slightly. Lieutenant William de Goebu, severely (since dead).

Royal Artillery. King's German Legion—Lieutenant Henry Hartmann, severely.

First Guards, second battalion—Major Henry Askew (Colonel), severely; Lieutenant James Simpson (Captain), severely; Ensigns George Fludyer and Thomas Elmsly Croft, severely.

First Guards, third battalion—Major the Honourable William Stewart (Colonel), severely; Captain Honourable Horace G. Townsend (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain William Miller (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely (since dead); Lieutenants Robert Adair and Thomas Streatfield (Captains), severely; Ensign William Barton, severely.

Royal Scots, third battalion—Captain L. Arquimbeau (Major), slightly; Captain Hugh Massey (Major), slightly; Robert Dudgeon, severely; Lieutenants William J. Rea, J. N. Ingram, and William Clarke, severely; Lieutenants R. H. Scott and Joseph Symes, slightly; Lieutenant James Mann, severely; Lieutenant George Stewart and James Alstone, slightly; Adjutant Allan Cameron, severely.

Twenty-eighth Foot—Captains William Irving (Major), and John Bowles, severely; Lieutenant William Irwin, severely; Lieutenant John Coen, slightly.

Thirtieth Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, severely; Lieutenant P. Lockwood, severely.

Thirty-second Foot—Captain William H. Toole, slightly; Captain Jacques Boyce, severely (since dead); Captains Thomas Cassan and John Crowe, severely; Captain Charles Wallet, slightly; Lieutenants H. W. Brookes, M. W. Meighen, S. H. Lawrence, slightly;

Lieutenants George Barr and John Boase, severely; Lieutenant Henry Butterworth, slightly; Lieutenants James Robinson, James Fitzgerald, Henry Quill, Edward Stephens, severely; Lieutenant Thomas Horan, slightly; Ensigns Henry Metcalfe and John Birtwhistle, slightly; Ensigns Charles Dallas and A. Stewart, severely; Adjutant David Davis, slightly.

Thirty-third Foot—Major Edward Parkinson, slightly; Captain William M'Intyre, slightly; Lieutenants James Markland, J. G. Ogle, and James Forlong, severely; Ensign John Alderson, severely (right arm amputated); Ensign James Howard, slightly.

Forty-second Foot—Major R. H. Dick (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captains A. Menzies, George Davison, Donald M'Donald, Daniel M'Intosh, and Robert Boyle, severely; Lieutenant Donald Chisholm, slightly; Lieutenant Duncan Stewart, severely; Lieutenants Donald M'Kenzie and Hugh A. Fraser, slightly; Lieutenants John Malcolm and A. Dunbar, severely; Ensign William Fraser, slightly; Adjutant James Young, slightly.

Forty-fourth Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Hamerton, slightly; Captains Adam Burgh, David Power, William Burney, and Mildmay Fane, severely; Lieutenants Robert Russel, Robert Grier, and W. B. Strong, severely; Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, slightly; Lieutenant W. M. Hern, severely; Lieutenant James Burke, slightly; Ensigns James Christie, B. Whitney, J. C. Webster, and A. Wilson, severely.

Sixty-ninth Foot, second battalion—Captain H. Linsey (Major), severely; Lieutenants Brook Pigott, John Stewart, and C. Busteed, severely.

Seventy-third Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant J. Acres, severely (since dead); Captain J. Lloyd, severely; Ensign Thomas Deacon, severely; Ensign R. Hesselridge, slightly.

Seventy-ninth Foot, first battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Neil Douglas, severely; Majors A. Brown and D. Cameron (Lieutenant-Colonels), severely; Captains T. Mylne and W. Marshall, severely; Captains M. Fraser and W. Bruce, severely; Captain John Sinclair, severely (since dead); Captain Neil Campbell, slightly; Lieutenant D. M'Phee, slightly; Lieutenants Thomas Brown, William Maddock, W. Leaper, James Fraser, and William A. Riach, severely; Ensign James Robertson, severely.

Ninety-second Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel John Cameron (Colonel), severely (since dead); Major James Mitchell (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captains George W. Holmes, Dugald Campbell, and William C. Grant, severely; Lieutenants Thomas Hobbs and Thomas M'Intosh, severely; Lieutenant Robert Winchester, slightly; Lieutenant Donald M'Donnell, severely; Lieutenant James Kerr Ross, slightly; Lieutenants George Logan, John M'Kinlay, George Mackie, Alexander M'Pherson, and Ewen Ross, severely; Lieutenant Hector M'Innes, slightly; Ensign Robert Logan, slightly; Ensign Angus M'Donald and Robert Hewett, severely; Assistant-Surgeon, John Stewart, slightly.

Ninety-fifth Foot, first battalion—First Lieutenants J. P. Gardiner and John G. Fitzmorris, severely; First Lieutenant Felix, slightly; Second Lieutenant W. Shenley, severely.

Seventy-ninth Foot, first battalion—Volunteer Cameron, severely.

MISSING.

Seventy-ninth Foot, first battalion—Captain R. M'Kay, severely wounded.

HANOVERIAN OFFICERS.

KILLED.

M. B. Verdon—Lieutenant Wegener.

M. B. Osterode—Lieutenant Janish.

WOUNDED.

M. B. Verdon—Captain Witzendorff; Lieutenant Hinuber.

M. B. Lunenberg—Captain Reicke; Lieutenant Dapue.

F. B. Bremen—Captain Bessalde, severely.

F. B. D. York—Lieutenant Mahrenhely, severely; Ensign Rabors, severely.

F. B. Grubenhagen—Lieutenant Westphal, severely; Ensign Ernest, severely; Lieutenant Marwedel, slightly; Ensign Bulow, slightly.

F. B. Lunenberg—Lieutenant Volger, severely.

F. B. Lunenberg—Ensigns De Weyne and Sachase, severely.

MISSING.

F. B. Lunenberg—Captain Corsier, severely.

M. B. Verdon—Ensigns State and Hotzebue.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS.
Lieut. Col. and A. A. G.

BATTLE OF THE 17th.

KILLED.

Seventy-third Foot, second battalion—Lieutenant William Strahan.

WOUNDED.

First Life-Guards—Captain John Whale, slightly.

Seventh Hussars—Lieutenant John Gordon, severely.

Eleventh Light Dragoons—James S. Moore, severely

MISSING.

General Staff—Captain A. Krauchenberg (retaken).

Seventh Hussars — Major E. Hodge, severely wounded; Captain J.D. Elphinstone, severely wounded (retaken); Adjutant Myers, severely.

HANOVERIAN OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Field B. Bremen—Captain Lapel, severely; Ensign Bruhl and Meyer, severely.

First Batt. Duke of York—Major Bulow, slightly.

(Signed) JOHN WATERS,
Lieutenant-Colonel, and A. A. G.

BATTLE OF THE 18th.

KILLED.

General Staff—Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, G. C. B.; Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, K. C. B.; Colonel Baron Charles Ompteda; Lieutenant-Colonel E. Currie, Ninetieth Foot, A. A. General.

Brigade Major Staff, K. G. L.—Captain Henry Weigman.

General Staff—Captain Honourable William Curzon, Sixty-ninth Foot, D. A. A. G.; Captain Walter Crofton, Fifty-Fourth Foot, Brigade-Major; Captain T. Reignolds (Major), Second R. N. B. Dragoons, Brigade-major; Captain Charles Eccles, Ninety-fifth Foot, Brigade-major, Captain de Cloudt, K. G. L.

First Life-Guards—Major Samuel Ferrior (Lieutenant-Colonel), and Captain M. Lind.

Second Life-Guards—Richard Fitzgerald (Lieutenant-Colonel).

Royal Regiment Horse-Guards Blue—Major Robert C. Pack.

First Dragoon Guards—Captain John D. Bringhurst (Major); Captain George Battersby; and Adjutant Thomas Shelver.

First Royal Dragoons—Captain E.C. Windsor; Lieutenant Charles Forster; Cornet J. C. Sykes; and Adjutant Thomas Shipley.

Second or R. N. B. Dragoons—Lieutenant-Colonel James J. Hamilton; Captain G. L. Barnard; Lieutenant Trotter; Cornets Edward Westly, F. C. Kinchant, and L. Shuldham.

Sixth Dragoons—Adjutant Michael Cluskey.

Tenth Hussars—Major Hon. F. Howard, and Lieutenant George Gunning.

Eleventh Light Dragoons—Lieutenant Edward Phillips.

Twelfth Light Dragoons—Lieutenant L. J. Bertie, and Cornet J. E. Lockhart.

Thirteenth Light Dragoons—Captain James Gubbins.

Fifteenth Hussars—Major Edward Griffith, and Lieutenant Isaac Sherwood.

Sixteenth Light Dragoons—Captain J. P. Buchanan, and Cornet Alexander Hay.

First Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Captain Frederick Peters; and Lieutenants C. F. Sevetsou and Otto Kuhlmann.

Second Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Captain F. B. Bulow, and Cornet H. Drangmeister.

Third Hussars, K. G. L.—Captains Augustus Kerssenbruh and George Jansen; Cornet William Deickmann; and Adjutant Henry Bruggemann.

Royal Artillery—Captains F. Ramsay, and R. M. Cairnes (Majors); Captains G. Beane and S. Bolton.

Royal Artillery, K. G. L.—Lieutenant Detlef de Schulzen.

First Guards, second battalion—Sir Francis D'Oyley (Lieutenant-Colonel).

First Guards, third battalion—Captains Edward Stables (Lieutenant-Colonel), and Charles Thomas (Lieutenant-Colonel); Ensign Edward Pardoe.

Coldstream Guards, second battalion—Lieutenant John Lucie Blackman.

Third Guards, second battalion—Lieutenants Honourable Hastings Forbes (Captain), Thomas Crawford (Captain), and John Ashton (Captain).

First Foot, third battalion—Lieutenant William Young, and Ensign William Anderson.

Twenty-third Foot, first battalion—Captains Joseph Hawtyn (Major), Charles Joliffe, and Thomas Farmer; Lieutenant G. Fensham.

Twenty-seventh Foot, first battalion—Captain George Holmes; Ensign Samuel Ireland.

Twenty-eighth Foot—Captain W. Meacham.

Thirtieth Foot, second battalion—Major J. W. Chambers; Captain Alexander M'Nabb; Lieutenants Henry Beere and Edward Prendergast; Ensigns John James and James Bullen.

Thirty-third Foot—Lieutenants R. H. Buck and James Hart.

Fortieth Foot, first battalion—Major A. R. Heyland; Captain W. Fisher.

Fifty-second Foot—Ensign W. Nettles.

Sixty-ninth Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Morice (Colonel); Captains Benjamin Hobhouse and R. Blackwood.

Seventy-first Foot—Ensign John Todd.

Seventy-third Foot—Captains Alexander Robertson and John Kennedy; Lieutenant Matthew Hollis; Ensigns Samuel Lowe and Charles Page.

Seventy-ninth Foot, first battalion—Lieutenants D. M'Pherson and E. Kennedy.

Ninety-fifth Foot, first battalion—First Lieutenant Edward Duncan Johnstone.

First Light Battalion, K. G. L.—Captains Philip Holzermann, Henry Marschalk, and Alexander Goeben; Lieutenant Anthony Albert.

Second Battalion, K. G. L.—Captains A. Boseweil (Major), and William Schaumann; Ensign Frederick Robertson.

First Line Battalion, K. G. L.—Captain Charles Holle.

Second Line Battalion, K. G. L.—Captain George Tibe.

Third Line Battalion, K. G. L.—Captain Frederick Didel.

Fourth Line Battalion, K. G. L.—Ensign Frederick Cronhelm.

Fifth Line Battalion—K. G. L.—Captain C. Wurmb, Adjutant Laves Schuck.

Eighth Line Battalion, K. G. L.—Captains William Voight and T. Westernhagen; Lieutenant William Mahrenholz.

WOUNDED.

General Staff—General His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, G. C. B. severely; Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. severely (right leg amputated); Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Alten, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Cooke, severely (left arm amputated); Major-General Sir E. Barnes, K.C.B. severely; Major-General Frederick Adam, severely; Major-General Sir James Kempt, K. C. B. slightly; Major-General Sir Charles Halket, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Sir William Doernberg, K. C. B. severely; Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K. C. B. slightly; Colonel Charles Duplat, severely (since dead); Colonel Sir John Elley, K. C. B. Royal Horse Guards (Blue), D. A. G. severely.

Permanent Staff—Colonel Sir William Delancey, K. C. B. Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, severely (since dead).

General Staff—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Bradford, K. C. B. First Guards, Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, severely; Lieutenant-Colonel Honourable Alexander Abercrombie, Coldstream Guards, Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, slightly.

Unattached—Lieutenant-Colonel John Waters, A.A.G. slightly.

General Staff—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Berkeley, K.C.B. Thirty-fifth Foot, A. A. G. severely; Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, K.C.B. Third Guards, Aid-de-camp to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead); Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Fox Canning, Aid-de-camp to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, severely (since dead); Major Honourable George Dawson, A. Q. M. G. slightly; Major Charles Beckwith, Ninety-fifth Foot, A. Q. M. G., severely; Major Andrew Hamilton, Fourth West-India Regiment Aid-de-camp to Major-General Sir E. Barnes, slightly; Major L'Estrange, Seventy-first Foot, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Sir D.Pack, severely (since dead); Captain Honourable E. S. Erskine, Sixtieth Foot, D.A.A.G. severely (left arm amputated); Captain Edward Fitzgerald, Twenty-fifth Foot, D.A.Q.M.G. slightly; Captain T. Hunter Blair (Major), Ninety-first Foot, Brigade-Major, severely; Captain G. de Eureur, Staff, K. G. L. severely; Captain T. Noel Harris, half-pay, severely (right arm amputated); Captain Henry Baines, Royal Artillery, slightly; Captain William Stothert, Third Guards, severely (since dead); Captain Orlando Bridgman, First Guards, Aid-de-camp to Lord Hill, slightly; Captain Henry Dumaresq, Ninth Foot, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Byng, severely; Captain William Morey, Extra Aid-de-camp to Major-General Grant, severely; Lieutenant Ralph Mansfield, Fifteenth Hussars, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Grant, slightly; Lieutenant James Rook, half-pay, extra Aid-de-camp to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, slightly; Lieutenant J. H. Hamilton Forty-sixth Foot D.A.A.G. slightly; Major William Thornhill, Seventh Hussars, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, severely; Captain Thomas Wildman, seventh hussars, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly; J. J. Fraser, seventh hussars, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly; Lieutenant Horace Seymour, eighteenth hussars, Aid-de-camp to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, slightly.

First Life Guards—Captain Edward Kelly; Cornets William Richardson and Samuel Cox, severely.

Royal Regiment Horse-Guards (Blue)—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert C. Hill, severely; Lieutenant-Colonel Clement Hill, slightly; Lieutenants William Cunliffe Shawe and Everard William Bouverie, slightly.

First Dragoon Guards—Captain Michael Turner, severely; Captain J. F. Naylor, slightly; Captain J. P. Sweney, severely; Lieutenant W. D. Irvine, slightly.

First (Royal) Dragoons—Captain C. E. Radcliffe (M.) severely; Captain A. R. Clarke; Lieutenants G. Gunning and Sig. Trafford, slightly; T. R. Kelly, severely; Sam. Wyndowe, slightly; C. Ommany, S. Goodenough, and Charles Blois, severely.

Second (R.N.B.) Dragoons—Majors J. B. Clarke, (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; J. P. Hankin (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Captains James Poole (Major) and Richard Vernon, severely; Lieutenant John Mills,

slightly; Francis Stupart, James Carruthers, severely (since dead); and Charles Wyndham, severely.

Sixth Dragoons—Lieutenant-Colonel Muter (Colonel), slightly; Major F. S. Miller (Lieutenant-Colonel); Captains W. F. Brown and Honourable S. Douglas; Lieutenant Alexander Hassard, severely.

Seventh Hussars—Captains Thomas William Robins, William Vernor, and P. A. Heyliger; Lieutenants R. Douglas, Edward Peters, and Robert Beattie, severely.

Tenth Hussars—Lieutenant-Colonel George Quentin (Colonel), severely; Captain John Grey, slightly; Captains John Gurwood and Charles Wood; Lieutenants Robert Arnold and Anthony Bacon, severely.

Eleventh Light Dragoons—Captain J. A. Schreiber, slightly; Lieutenants Frederick Wood, severely; Richard Coles, slightly; and Robert Milligan, severely.

Twelfth Light Dragoons—Lieutenant-Colonel Honourable F. C. Ponsonby (Colonel), and Captain Edwin Sandys, severely; Lieutenant W. H. Dowbeggen, slightly.

Thirteenth Light Dragoons—Lieutenant-Colonel S. Boyce; Captains Joseph Doherty, George Doherty, and Charles Bowers, slightly; Lieutenant John Gale, severely (since dead); Lieutenant John Pym, severely (since dead); Lieutenants John H. H. Irwin, James Mill, and George H. Pack, slightly.

Fifteenth Hussars—Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton Dalrymple, severely (leg amputated); Captain Joseph Thackwell, severely (arm amputated); Captain John R. Whiteford, and Lieutenant William Byam, severely; Lieutenants Edward Byam and George A. Dawkins, slightly; Lieutenant Henry Buckley, severely (since dead).

Sixteenth Light Dragoons—Lieutenant-Colonel James Hay, severely; Captain Richard Weyland, and Lieutenant William Osten, slightly; Lieutenant N. D. Crichton, severely.

Eighteenth Hussars—Lieutenant Charles Hesse, and Adjutant H. Duperiere, severely.

Twenty-third Light Dragoons—Major J. M. Cutliffe, severely; Captain C. Webb Dance, slightly; Captain Thomas Gerrard (Major), and Lieutenant Thomas B. Wall, severely; Lieutenant Brabasin Disney, slightly.

First Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Lieutenant-Colonel John Bulow, severely; Major A. Reitzenstein, slightly; Captain B. Bothmer, severely; Captains P. Sichart and G. Hattorf, slightly; Lieutenant O. Hammerstein, severely; Lieutenants W. Mackenzie and Henry Bosse, slightly; Cornets S. H. Vanne and Tritton, severely; Adjutant W. Tricke, slightly.

Second Light Dragoons, K. G. L.—Lieutenant-Colonels C. de Jonquires and C. Maydell, slightly; Captain T. Harling, severely; Lieutenant H. H. C. Ritter, severely; Cornet F. Loveny, severely.

First Hussars, K. G. L.—Lieutenant George Baring, slightly.

Third Hussars, K. G. L.—Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Meyer, severely; Captains Quintus Goeben and William Schuchen, slightly; Lieutenants Herman True and Christopher Oehlkers, severely; Cornet Frederick Floyer, slightly; Cornets Conrad Dassel and Hans Hodenberg, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—Major William Lloyd, severely; Captain Charles Napier, severely; Captain John Parker (Major), severely (left leg amputated); Captain Robert Bull (Major), slightly; Captains E. C. Whinyates, C. C. Dansey, R. Macdonald, and W. Webber, slightly.

Royal Artillery, King's German Legion—Captain Augustus Sympher, slightly; Captain William Brann, severely.

Royal Artillery, British—T. F. Strangeways, slightly; Lieutenant W. L. Brereton, severely; W. L. Robe, severely (since dead); Lieutenant William Smith, slightly; Lieutenant M. Cromie, severely (both legs amputated); Lieutenant Henry Foster, severely; Lieutenants D. Crawford and J. Day, slightly; Lieutenant C. Spearman, severely; Lieutenant F. Manners, severely (since dead); Lieutenant T. Harvey, severely (right arm amputated); Lieutenant William Poole, severely.

Royal Artillery, King's German Legion—Lieutenants Lewis Erythropel and Lewis Heise, severely.

Royal Engineers—Lieutenant J. W. Pringle, slightly.

Royal Staff Corps—Captain Thomas Wright, slightly; Lieutenant George D. Hall, severely.

First Guards, second battalion—Captain Richard Henry Cooke (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; and W. H. Milnes, (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely (since dead); Lieutenants, Francis Luttrel (Captain), and Somerville W. Burgess (Captain), severely; Ensign Henry Lascelles, slightly.

First Guards, third battalion—Captain Henry D'Oyley (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain George Feed (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Lieutenant Honourable Robert Clements (Captain), severely; Lieutenant Charles Parker Ellis (Captain), slightly; Ensign Robert Batty, slightly; Ensign Robert Bruce, severely.

Coldstream Guards, second battalion—Captain Daniel M'Kinnon (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Captain Henry Wyndham (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Lieutenants Edward Sumner (Captain), and Honourable Robert Moore (Captain), severely; Ensign Henry Frederick Griffiths, severely; Ensign John Montague, slightly; Ensign Henry Vane, severely.

Third Guards, second battalion—Captain Charles

Dashwood (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captains Edward Bowater (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Charles West (Lieutenant-Colonel); Lieutenant Robert Bamford Hesketh (Captain), slightly; Lieutenant George Evelyn (Captain), severely; Lieutenant Hugh Montgomerie; Ensigns Charles Lake and David Baird; Charles Simpson, severely (since dead).

First Foot, third battalion—Major Colin Campbell (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain L. Arquimbeau (Major), slightly; Captains Robert M'Donald and Hugh Massey (Majors), severely; Lieutenants Archibald Morrison, George Lane, J. F. Miller, and William Dobbs, severely; Lieutenants Robert H. Scott and J. L. Black, slightly; Ensigns Thomas Stevens and Joseph M'Kay, slightly; Ensign Leond. M. Cooper, severely; Quarter-Master Thomas Griffiths, slightly.

Fourth Foot, first battalion—Captains G. D. Wilson and James C. Edgill, slightly; Lieutenants John Brown, George Smith, Halkett Boyd, and William Squires, severely; Lieutenant Robert Gerrard, slightly; Ensign W. M. Matthews, slightly; Adjutant W. M. Richardson, severely.

Fourteenth Foot, third battalion—Ensign Alfred Cooper, slightly.

Twenty-third Foot, first battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. W. Ellis, K. C. B. (Colonel), severely (since dead); Major J. H. E. Hill (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain Henry Johnson, slightly; Lieutenants W. A. Griffiths, severely; John Clyde, and R. D. Sidley, slightly.

Twenty-seventh Foot, first battalion—Captain John Hare (Major), slightly; Captain John Tucker, severely; Lieutenants G. M'Donald, W. Henderson, R. Handcock, W. F. Fortescue, T. Craddock, E. W. Drew, C. Manly, and John Millar, severely; Ensign Thomas Smith, severely; Ensign John Ditmas, slightly; Ensign T. Handcock, severely.

Twenty-eighth Foot—Major R. Nixon (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain Richard Llewellyn (Major), severely; Captain Richard Kelly, slightly; Captains T. English, W. F. Wilkinson, Roger P. Gilbert, Henry Hillyard, Charles B. Carruthers, John T. Clarke, severely; Captains John Willington Shelton, and John Dares, slightly; Captain G. Ingram, severely (since dead); Ensign J. Mountsteven, severely; Adjutant Thomas Bridgland, slightly.

Thirtieth Foot—Majors William Bailey (Lieutenant-Colonel), and C. A. Vigoureux (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain A. Gore, slightly; Lieutenant R. C. Elliot, slightly; Lieutenants John Numby and John Pratt, severely; Lieutenants R. Hughes, T. Moneypenny, R. Daniel, John Roe (second), slightly; Lieutenant W. O. Warren, severely; Adjutant M. Andrews, slightly.

Thirty-second Foot—Captain Hugh Harrison, severely; Lieutenants Thomas Rosslewin and James Colthurst, slightly; Lieutenants Horan and Jonathan Jagoe, severely; Ensigns J. M'Conchy, John Birtwhistle, and William Bennett, severely; Adjutant David Davis, severely.

Thirty-third Foot—Captains Charles Knight and J. Harty, slightly; Lieutenants Thomas Reid, R. Westmore, and Samuel Pagan severely; Lieutenants Thomas Haight and John Cameron, severely (since dead); Ensigns W. Bain and — Drury, severely; Adjutant W. Thain, slightly.

Fortieth Foot—Captains C. Ellis and J. H. Barnett, severely; Lieutenants R. Moore, J. Mill, and J. Anthony, severely; Lieutenant J. Campbell, slightly; Honourable M. Brown, severely; Lieutenant J. Robb, slightly; Ensigns F. Ford and J. Clarke, severely.

Forty-second Foot—Captain Mungo M'Pherson, slightly; Lieutenants John Orr and John Gunn Munro, severely; Lieutenants Hugh A. Fraser and James Brander, slightly; Quarter-master Donald M'Intosh, slightly.

Forty-fourth Foot—Major George O'Mealy (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Lieutenant James Burke, severely; Adjutant Thomas M'Can, severely.

Fifty-first Foot—Captain Samuel Beardesley, severely; Lieutenant Charles W. Tyndale, slightly.

Fifty-second Foot—Major Charles Rowan (Lieutenant-Colonel), slightly; Captain Charles Diggle, severely; Captain James Frederic Love (Major), severely; Lieutenant Charles Dawson, severely; Lieutenant Matthew Anderson, severely (left leg amputated); Lieutenants George Campbell and Thomas Cottingham, severely; Adjutant John Winterbottom, severely.

Sixty-ninth Foot—Captain Lewis Watson (Major), severely; Ensigns Henry Anderson and Edward Hodder, severely.

Seventy-first Foot, first battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reynell (Colonel), slightly; Major Arthur Jones (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain Donald Campbell, slightly; Captains William A. Grant and James Henderson, severely; Captain Chas. Johnson, (Major), slightly; Lieutenant Joseph Barralier, slightly; Lieutenant John Raleigh Elwes, severely (since dead); Lieutenants Robert Lind and Robert Lawe, severely Lieutenants Carique Lewin, John Roberts, and John Coote, slightly; Adjutant W. Anderson, slightly.

Seventy-third Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Harris (Colonel), severely; Major Archibald M'Lean, severely; Captains Henry Coane, William Wharton and John Garland, severely; Lieutenants John M'Connel and Thomas Reynolds, severely; Lieutenant Donald Browne, severely, (left arm amputated); Ensign William M'Bean, severely; Ensign Charles Eastwood,

slightly; Ensign George Bridge, severely; Adjutant Patrick Hay, severely.

Seventy-ninth Foot—Captains James Campbell, Neil Campbell, severely; Captain John Cameron, severely (since dead); Lieutenants John Powling, D. Cameron, and Ewen Cameron, severely; Lieutenants A. Cameron, C. M'Arthur, and A. Forbes; Ensigns John Nash and A. S. Crawford, slightly.

Ninety-second Foot—Captains Peter Wilkie and Archibald Ferrier, slightly; Lieutenants Robert Winchester and Donald M'Donald, severely; Lieutenant James Kerr Ross, slightly; Lieutenant James Hope, severely.

Ninety-fifth Foot, first battalion—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir A. F. Bernard, K. C. B. (Colonel), slightly; Major Alexander Cameron (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captains Edward Chawner and William Johnstone; First Lieutenants John Malloy, John Gardiner, George Simmons, and John Stillwell, severely (since dead); Second Lieutenants Allen Stewart, James Wright, and James Church, severely.

Ninety-fifth Foot, second battalion—Majors Amos Godsoll Norcott (Lieutenant-Colonel), and George Wilkins (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain George Miller (Major), severely; Captain John M'Culloch, severely (left arm amputated); Lieutenants William Humble and Edward Coxon, severely; Lieutenants Donald Cameron, Robert Cochrane, John Fry, slightly; Lieutenants John Ridgway, Joseph Lynam, Richard Eyre, Joseph Walsh, severely; Lieutenant Vera Webb, slightly.

Ninety-fifth Foot, third battalion—Major John Ross (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain James Fullerton (Major), severely; First Lieutenants J. T. Worsley and G. H. Shenley, severely.

First Light Battalion, King's German Legion—Major Hans Bussche, severely (right arm amputated); Captain Fred. Gilsa, severely; Lieutenants Christian Heise and Ker Wolrabe, severely; Lieutenant Adolphus Koster, slightly; Lieutenant H. Leonhart, severely; Ensign A. Gentzkoow, slightly; Ensigns Charles Behne and A. Heise, severely.

Second Light Battalion, King's German Legion—Lieutenant F. Kessler, severely; Lieutenant G. Meyer, slightly; Lieutenants O. Luidam and B. Riefkugel, severely; Lieutenants M. Jobin and T. Carrey, slightly; Lieutenant G. D. Grame, Ensign George Franck, Adjutant D. Timmann, severely.

First Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Major William Robertson, severely; Captains Gerlach and Schlutter, severely; Lieutenants A. Muller and H. Wilding, severely; Ensign H. Lucken, severely; Adjutant F. Schnath, severely.

Second Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Captain F. Purgold, severely; Lieutenant Clare Decken, severely.

Third Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Major Anthony Boden, severely; Lieutenants Frederick Jansen and F. Leschen, severely; Lieutenants A. Kuckuck and E. Kuckuck, slightly.

Fourth Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Major G. Chuden, severely (since dead); Captain F. Heise, slightly; Lieutenants C. Both and A. Langworth, slightly; Lieutenant W. L. De la Farque, severely; Ensign Arnold Oppuhn, slightly; Adjutant A. Hartwig, severely.

Fifth Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Captain F. Sander, severely; Lieutenant C. Berger, severely; Lieutenant G. Klingsohr, severely.

Eighth Line Battalion, King's German Legion—Captain C. Rougemont, severely; Lieutenant C. Sadler, slightly; Ensign W. Mareau, severely; Adjutant T. Brinmann, severely.

Third Battalion, Royal Scots—Volunteer Richard Blacklin, slightly.

Ninety-fifth Foot, first battalion—Volunteer Charles Smith, slightly.

MISSING.

Staff, King's German Legion—Captain C. D. Boberts, Br. Major.

General Staff—Lieutenant E. Gerstlacher, third hussars, King's German Legion, D. A. A. G. wounded.

Second Life-Guards—Lieutenant Samuel Weymouth.

Royal Horse-Guards (Blue)—Captain John Thoyst.

First Dragoon Guards—Lieutenant-Colonel William Fuller (Colonel), severely wounded; Captain Henry Graham, Lieutenant Francis Brooke, severely wounded; Cornet Honourable H. B. Bernard.

First Dragoons—Cornet Richard Magniac.

Sixth Dragoons—Lieutenant P. Ruffo.

Twenty-third Light Dragoons—Lieutenant Stephen Coxen.

Second Light Battalion, King's German Legion—Captain Ernest Holzermann, wounded.

HANOVERIAN OFFICERS.

KILLED.

General Staff—Captain M. Hanbury (Brigade Major).

Second Battalion Duke of York—Lieutenant Uffel; Ensign Berghoff.

Field Battalion Grunbenhagen—Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Wurmb.

First Lunenburgh Battalion—Captain Bobart; Ensign de Plato.

Bremenvorde Battalion—Ensign Thomas Holt.
Osterode Battalion—Ensign Schautz.

WOUNDED.

Field Jagers—Captain de Reden, slightly; Lieutenant Grote, slightly; Lieutenant Schultze, severely.

Second Battalion Duke of York—Major Baron Gudirig Munster; Captain F. Gotthard, severely; Captain C. Quentin, slightly; Lieutenants G. Winkler and W. Roichers, slightly; Ensigns Ludewig Nieuheuke and George Meyer, severely.

Field Battalion Grubenhagen—Captain de Bauer, slightly.

Field Battalion Bremen—Lieutenant-Colonel Langrehre, severely (since dead); Major Muller, slightly; Lieutenants De Quistorff (1st), and De Quistorff (2d), slightly; Adjutant Wehuer, slightly.

Field Battalion Lunenburgh—Lieutenant-Colonel Klencke, severely.

Field Battalion Verden—Major Schopp, slightly; Captain Jacoby, slightly; Lieutenant Selig, slightly; Lieutenant Brandis (2d), severely; Lieutenants Brandis (1st), and Suffeuplan, slightly; Ensign Planz, slightly; Adjutant Gerhard, slightly.

Militia Battalion Bremenvorde—Lieutenant Leoper, severely (since dead); Lieutenants Weneke and Edward Meyer, severely; Ensigns Edward Wilhew and Ernest Holthausen, slightly.

First Battalion Duke of York—Captain de Pavel, severely; Lieutenant Shol, severely; Ensign Muller, slightly.

Third Battalion Duke of York—Major Clamor Buscke, severely.

Salzgitter—Captain Charles Hammerstein, slightly; Lieutenant Charles Spangenberg, severely.

Militia Battalion Handelu—Major Strube, slightly; Captain Blankhart, slightly; Lieutenant Kohle, severely; Lieutenant Kistner, slightly.

Militia Battalion Hildesham—Major Reden, severely.

Militia Battalion Peina—Captain Bertram, severely; Ensign Kohler, slightly; Lieutenant Helmrick: Seventh Line Battalion King's German Legion attached, severely.

Griffhorn Battalion—Major Hammerstein; Major Leue, Fourth Battalion King's German Legion attached, severely (since dead); Captain Wredenfield, slightly; Lieutenant Schmidt, severely.

Lunenburg—Captain Kampt; Ensigns Dornaur and Meyer.

Verden Battalion—Lieutenants Hartzig, Wiencoken; Ensign Ziegener.

Osterode Battalion—Major Reden; Captains Papet and Ingersleben; Lieutenants Groebe and Sambrecht.

Munder Battalion—Captain Harstein; Lieutenants Brisberg, Brennieg, and Schwencke; Ensigns Murray and Oppermann.

MISSING.

Field Battalion Lunenburg—Major Dackenhausen, wounded:—Staff Surgeon Karster, Assistant-Surgeon Schmutser.

Bremenvorde—Second Quarter-Master Rees; First Quarter-Master W. Ehlers.

Saltzgitter—Ensign Schrader Assistant-Surgeons John Deneske and Rhomeyer.

JOHN WATERS,
Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A. G.

A VIEW OF THE FIELD OF WATERLOO,

A FEW WEEKS AFTER THE ENGAGEMENT.

In the month of July, 1815, three English gentlemen set out from Brussels, to explore the celebrated field of Waterloo. The distance from Brussels to this village is about ten miles, and the prospect on leaving the city is very pleasing. The forest of Soignies soon appears in view, and it has a deep gloomy aspect, which adds considerably to the interest of the landscape. This forest occupies an immense tract of country from east to west, but is only about seven miles broad, where the road passes through it to Waterloo. The visitors naturally contrasted the quiet of their journey,—a few Flemish peasants going to their labour,—with its terrific appearance on the day of the retreat of the baggage and wounded of the army; the numbers who fell through weakness or loss of blood; the hundreds who were crushed to death; the hurry, the noise, the confusion, the shrieks, and agonizing groans, of that heart-rending scene.

The carriage kept the paved centre of the road; the two sides being deep and muddy, as they were on the day of battle. The whole breadth of the road, including the sides, appeared to be about fifty feet. The trees by which it is bounded on both sides are tall, and kept trimmed like a high hedge; and beyond these commences the wood, in all the irregularity of nature. Here the wounded had crawled, to find a *last* resting-place, and hither the entire population of the country had fled for safety. Several mounds marked the spots where men and horses had been buried. These were rendered peculiarly affecting by the frequent appearance of hoofs, limbs, and bayonet-scabbards, which had not been sufficiently covered; and the sides of the road presented innumerable shoes, caps, and fragments of cloth, which were now hardly distinguishable from the mud.

The village and church of Waterloo were now in sight, embosomed in a recess of the wood. The road was quite out of the forest; which, however, covered the whole country to the east and west as far as the eye could reach. Our travellers proceeded a mile forward to the hamlet of Mont St. Jean, by a gradual ascent of the road; on the right and left of which, the British army bivouacked on the night preceding the battle.

The inhabitants of this hamlet issued from their houses, at every fresh arrival of visitors, and offered for sale some relics of the battle. Entire cuirasses, elegant carbines, costly sabres, and beautiful pistols, were shewn in succession; together with letters, bibles, pamphlets, songs, remnants of military habiliments, and even the *buttons* torn from the jackets of the dead.

Here, as the strangers looked around, and contemplated the numerous graves that presented themselves on every side, they felt that these mounds of earth were more awfully impressive than the view of thousands of lifeless bodies. "These hillocks, which frequently tripped the step on crossing a hedge-row, clearing a fence, or winding along among the grass that overhung a secluded path," generally lay in thick clusters and long ranks; betwixt which a black circle demonstrated that fire had been employed to consume as worthless refuse, what had been cherished by parents, esteemed by friends, and fondly loved by angelic woman.

The passing gale that shook the branches of the trees, brought with it a dreadful stench; and the foot that startled the bird from its repose amidst the clover, disturbed at the same time some poor remnant of a human being.

> "Some marks of wreck were scatter'd all around,
> As shoe, and belt, and broken bandoleer,
> And hats which bore the mark of mortal wound;
> Gun-flints and balls for those who closelier peer;
> And sometimes did the breeze upon its breath
> Bear from ill-cover'd graves a taint of death."
>
> SOUTHEY.

From St. Jean, the road ascends up the back of the ridge, on the height and in the front of which, the Duke of Wellington's infantry was formed in line. The cavalry, at the commencement of the battle, were posted on the St. Jean side of the eminence. The ascent is easy; and, on reaching the summit, the whole field of battle is at once before the eye.

The point whence this complete view of the scene first presents itself, is truly interesting. It is the summit of the ridge close to the road, overhung by an old picturesque tree, with a few straggling branches projecting from its venerable trunk.

The British position extended on the right and left of the road, for the extent of two miles, along the summit of a continued line of gentle eminences, confronted by similar heights, distant from half to three quarters of a mile, along which the French army was posted to an extent of nearly three miles. The intervening plain, and the ascent of the ridge of St. Jean, form the field of battle.

The tree, already noticed, as overhanging the bank above the high road from Brussels to Charleroi, marks the centre of the British position; and, the Duke of Wellington having remained near it the greater part of the day, it has obtained the appellation of "*Wellington tree.*" Its branches and trunk were much splintered by balls; yet its vitality seems uninjured, and it will probably remain for many years a standing monument of the victory of Waterloo.

At a short distance from this tree, near the road, our travellers saw the farm of *La Haye Sainte*. The garden exhibited an awful scene of devastation: the hedges were levelled, and the walls broken down. The door was perforated with all sorts of shot, and furnished a dreadful proof of the fury of the attack, and the determination of the defence. This post, after a most heroic resistance by the party to whom it was entrusted, was forced by the French, and every person within the building was put to death. On entering into the court-yard, the appearance was still more wretched and fearful. The roofs of the dwelling-house and offices were knocked into large holes by bombs and cannon-balls; the windows were dreadful wrecks, the glass shattered to pieces, the frames broken, and the fragments hanging in a most forlorn state.

The visitors next proceeded to the memorable post of *Hougoumont*, so gallantly defended by the first, second, and third, regiments of British foot-guards, with a detachment of Brunswickers, against the desperate and persevering attacks of thirty thousand of the enemy.

Hougoumont was a country-seat, with gardens neatly laid out in the Dutch taste, and extensive offices. A small wood was on the outside, a short distance from the garden-wall, which is of brick, perforated in two tiers for musketry, and much shattered with the enemy's cannon-balls. The light companies of the three regiments of guards were stationed in this wood, and were thence driven into the house.

When walking in the garden, where the fruit-trees and shrubberies appeared blighted, and the neat alleys of holly and yew were sadly lacerated and deranged, our travellers saw the gardener, who had remained in his garden the whole time of the battle; because, as he candidly confessed, after hostilities had commenced, he could not venture out of it.

We have already stated, in our account of the battle,

that it was an object of importance to the enemy to gain this post, as, from its situation, it commanded a considerable part of the British position; and accordingly it was furiously and incessantly assailed, but gallantly and successfully defended to the last. Buonaparte himself directed the charge of the French imperial guards against it; but even though fighting under the eye of their chief, they were broken and repulsed by the British guards. Thirty pieces of artillery played continually over this wood, to assist its defence, while the French directed against it their hottest fire.

All the trees in the wood of Hougoumont were pierced with balls, and, in some instances, upwards of twenty had lodged in a single trunk. The strokes, however, which were so fatal to human life, had done but little injury here. Though the trunks were filled with balls, and the branches broken and destroyed, their verdure still remained. Wild flowers were still blooming, and wild raspberries ripening beneath their shade; while huge offensive piles of human ashes were all that now remained of the heroes who fought and fell upon this fatal spot.

The chateau, upon which the attack was first made by the French, is immediately behind the wood, by the road leading to Nivelles. It was the country-seat of a Belgic gentleman, and was set on fire by shells, during the battle, which completed the destruction occasioned by the cannonade. In the garden behind the house, the orange-trees, roses, and geraniums in full flower, presented a striking contrast to the mouldering piles of the ruined house, and the surrounding scene of desolation.

Our poet-laureate, who visited the field of battle in the autumn of 1815, has thus described the garden of Hougoumont,

"The pears had ripen'd on the garden-wall;
Those leaves which on the autumnal earth were spread,
The trees, though pierc'd and scarr'd with many a ball,
Had only in their natural season shed:
Flowers were in seed, whose buds to swell began
When such wild havoc here was made of man;

"Throughout the garden, fruits and herbs and flowers
You saw in growth, or ripeness, or decay;
The green and well-trimm'd dial mark'd the hours
With gliding shadow as they pass'd away;
Who would have thought, to see this garden fair,
Such horrors had so late been acted there?"

Our travellers now crossed over to *La Belle Alliance*, which proved to be a hovel of the meanest kind, consisting of four rooms, a passage, and some wretched holes up stairs. There are also some ruinous outhouses, and a well, into which several dead bodies had been thrown. On the gable of the house, the proprietor has painted in large and rude black letters, on a white-wash ground, "*Hotel de la Belle Alliance.*" Near this spot Wellington and Blucher met; and the people show a straw-bottomed chair, on which it is said the former sat down:—at all events it was the head-quarters of Buonaparte during the battle.

The walls of the front rooms in this public-house were completely scribbled over with names, inscriptions, poetry, and drawings: and the whimsical humour that distinguishes the public character of the English, had not been repressed by the awful circumstances of the situation. A variety of persons had recorded that they "came to the field of battle at Waterloo," in the month of "July, 1815." A Mr. Thomas Jackson had merely left his *name* for the admiration of posterity: but some other person had appended the remark, that "he was hanged at the last assizes for sheep-stealing!" The portrait of one of the life-guards had been delineated by some friendly hand, in coal-outline: immediately beneath which some fastidious critic in the fine arts, jealous probably of the honour thus paid, had written the words "ugly *theef!*"

A considerable breadth along the road was pointed out as the station of the reserve of the cavalry of Napoleon's old guard; with which a final effort was made to retrieve the battle. The marks of the horses' feet in the miry ground, hardened again at the time of this visit, afforded a tolerably correct idea of the immensity of the force which had stood there.

"Aye, look again—that line—so black
And trampled—marks the bivouack,
Yon deep-grav'd ruts the artillery's track,
So often lost and won;

And close beside, the harden'd mud
Still shows where, fetlock deep in blood,
The fierce dragoon, through battle's flood,
Dash'd the hot war-horse on."

W. Scott.

Returning by Belle Alliance, the visitors advanced about a hundred and fifty yards to the rising ground, on the left side of the road looking to the British army, from which Buonaparte had a complete view of the field of battle.

The spot on which the old guard were finally defeated, was said to be the burial-place of a thousand Frenchmen: and the holsters, standard-holders, pieces of bridles, straps, girths, &c., which still lay scattered about, denoted a tremendous conflict of cavalry. The well-known caps of the grenadiers of the French guard, lay yet in considerable numbers; with rags of their uniforms. There were also some more affecting remains, pieces of tartan and of ostrich feathers, the plaids and plumes of Scotland.

Our travellers now retired from this truly interesting scene, exclaiming, with the poet,

"Farewell, sad Field! whose blighted face
Wears desolation's withering trace:
Long shall my memory retain
Thy shatter'd huts and trampled grain,
With every mark of martial wrong,
That scathe thy towers, fair Hougoumont
Yet though thy garden's green arcade
The marksman's fatal post was made,
Though on thy shatter'd beeches fell
The blended rage of shot and shell,
Though from thy blacken'd portals torn
Their fall thy blighted fruit-trees mourn,
Has not such havoc bought a name
Immortal in the rolls of fame?
Yes—Agincourt may be forgot,
And Cressy be an unknown spot,
And Blenheim's name be new;
But still in story and in song,
For many an age remember'd long,
Shall live the towers of Hougoumont,
And fields of Waterloo."

The following particulars relative to the history and geography of Belgium, will enable the reader more clearly to understand the allusions which have been occasionally made to particular places and situations connected with the grand contest, and will, no doubt, be perused with interest.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF BELGIUM.

When Julius Cæsar subjugated this country, the empire of the Gauls was divided into three parts, viz. Celtic Gaul; or, as the Romans called it, Gaul Proper; Acquitain Gaul, comprehending the whole of Gascony; and Belgic Gaul, whence the Celtic frontier extended to the ocean, and the mouth of the Rhine.

At the same period that Cæsar crossed the Alps, with a design of conquering the Gauls, the Helvetians, having conceived a similar project, had left their country, and resolved to return no more. The superior tactics of the Roman general, however, and the excellent discipline of his troops, annihilated the hopes of the Helvetians, and forced them to implore his clemency. The chieftain of the Celts, having afterwards invoked the assistance of Cæsar against Arovistus, his most formidable enemy, the ambitious Roman resolved to avail himself of the opportunity, and, in the course of two campaigns, he deprived the Gauls of all their country as far as the frontiers of Belgium.

After the Romans had been driven from this country by the Vandals, the province, since called the Brabant, sent forth Clodion to establish himself in Gaul; and Belgium remained under the dominion of France, till the death of Charlemagne; but, under the feeble descendants of that illustrious prince, the successive governors gradually appropriated to themselves different parts of the country.

In the ninth century, the sons of Louis, surnamed the Pious, having divided the dominions of their father, who possessed Germany, France, and Italy, a new kingdom was erected, comprising Germany, France, and part of the Netherlands. This kingdom, called *Lotharia*, did not long subsist; but was soon divided into two; viz. the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia. The latter of these was divided into seventeen provinces, which still depended on the empire of Germany, and were, collectively, called Lower Germany. In process of time, the house of Burgundy purchased many of them, and was about to form them, with Burgundy, into a kingdom; but Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, being killed by the Swiss in 1477, his part of the Netherlands devolved on Mary, his only child; by whose marriage with the Emperor Maximilian, the Netherlands came into the possession of the house of Austria.

Charles V. king of Spain, and emperor of Germany, abdicated the sovereignty of the Netherlands in 1555, and, soon after, the Spanish crown, in favour of his son Philip.

At this period, the Netherlands were in a most flourishing condition. In this small tract were reckoned no fewer than three hundred and fifty large cities inclosed with walls, and six thousand three hundred considerable towns, all become opulent by their application to the arts and to commerce. At the same time, the love of liberty was very prevalent among the inhabitants, and they were jealous of every invasion of their privileges. The arbitrary government of Philip was, therefore, very disagreeable to his subjects in the Netherlands, and his cruel bigotry alienated their affections altogether. The doctrines of the reformation had been received with avidity in the Netherlands. A cruel persecution of the reformed had been commenced by Charles V., insomuch that he is said to have destroyed no fewer than one hundred thousand persons on account of religion. This cruelty only served to increase the number of protestants; which being observed by Mary, Queen of Hungary, sister to the emperor, she invited him to the Low Countries, that he might personally behold the bad effects of his conduct. On this the emperor granted a toleration; but Philip was altogether inflexible. In order to proceed more effectually against the reformed, a court of inquisition was instituted; and, under pretence that the three bishoprics, which at that time comprehended the whole country, were too large, seventeen of these dignitaries were erected, three with the title of archbishops. To afford sufficient revenues for these, it became necessary to suppress several ab-

beys, which of itself produced great discontent. But what gave the finishing stroke to the whole was, Philip's announcing his intention of residing constantly in Spain; his appointing the Duchess of Parma, his natural sister, to be regent of the Netherlands; and giving her for a counsellor Cardinal Granvele, a cruel persecutor of the reformed; at the same time that the provinces were oppressed by the violence of foreign troops, for the payment of whom they were also burdened with taxes. Three councils were established at Brussels; one to preside over the laws and courts of justice; a second to direct every thing respecting peace or war; and the third to manage the revenues: but still the Duchess of Parma was ordered to consult Granvele in every matter, and make him at all times her chief confidant.

The duchess assumed the government of the Netherlands in the year 1560; but had no sooner arrived at Brussels, than complaints poured in from all quarters against the inquisition, Cardinal Granvele, and the new bishoprics. The duchess endeavoured to allay the ferment, but in vain. At the head of the malcontents were the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn, who strenuously insisted on calling an assembly of the states-general, and laying before them the grievances by which the country was oppressed. The event was, that, in 1564, the cardinal was obliged to resign his dignity; which, however, did not produce any good effect, as he was succeeded by two of his creatures, Barlaimont and Viglius, who trod exactly in his footsteps. They pushed on the inquisition to fresh executions; stigmatized the principal nobility as heretics; and, on all occasions, shewed such violent zeal for the Catholic religion, that one of Philip's ministers represented to him the danger there was of a total revolt of the provinces, unless the rigours of persecution were relaxed. Philip no sooner received this intelligence, than he replied, "that he had rather be without subjects, than be a king of heretics." Accordingly, all the obnoxious decrees were rigorously enforced, upon which the state of affairs became so alarming, that it was thought necessary to send Count Egmont into Spain, in order to have a personal interview with the king on the subject. Philip, accustomed to deceit, gave an evasive answer, abated the rigour of his decrees, and ordered the governante sometimes to consult with the Prince of Orange. Thus tranquillity was for a time restored; but, in the year 1566, it being discovered that a scheme for the total extirpation of the Protestants had been concerted by the Queen-mother of France, her son, Charles IX., and Isabella Queen of Spain, in a conference at Bayonne, matters became worse than ever.—That the information received concerning this detestable combination was true, very soon appeared, from Philip's disclaiming all the favourable interpretations which had been put upon his answer to Count Egmont, and from his ordering the inquisition to proceed with more fury than ever. The consequence was, a general association against this abominable tribunal, which was subscribed by all orders and degrees, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. The confederates, headed by Henry de Brodenrode, a descendant of the ancient earls of Holland, waited on the Duchess of Parma, in such a formidable body, that she was obliged to dismiss them with an assurance that their demands should be granted.—These demands were, that the inquisition should be abolished, and the edicts against liberty of conscience recalled; and for this she immediately interposed all her interest with Philip, but in vain.

Before the confederates proceeded to extremities, they found means of representing the true state of affairs to the king, and of informing him that the disturbances proceeded from the detestation in which the inquisition was every where held in the Netherlands. Their representations produced no other effect than an equivocal promise, which was never intended to be kept. The governante received orders to proceed against heretics with the utmost severity; upon which the people broke out into open rebellion. In several towns in Flanders, the churches were destroyed, the images pulled down, and all those acts of violence committed which are the usual operations of a lawless mob. The principal inhabitants, however, still remained quiet, and even did all in their power to restrain the violence of the commonalty; so that, had Philip made any reasonable concession, the public tranquillity might have been restored. Instead of this, however, a new oath of allegiance was administered by the governante, and all persons were obliged to swear that they would regard as traitors and enemies to their country all whom the king should think proper to proscribe. This extraordinary proceeding was followed by a most cruel persecution; at the same time that the Duke of Alva was sent into the Netherlands with an army of ten thousand veteran troops, finally to complete the misery of the people, and fully to establish the despotism of the court. Counts Horn and Egmont took the above-mentioned oath; but the Prince of Orange could by no means be induced to it, and therefore retired into Germany, with Counts Brodenrode and Heogstrate. Their example was followed by great numbers of all ranks and conditions; and, after the arrival of the army commanded by the Duke of Alva, such multitudes continued to emigrate, that the Duchess of Parma informed the king, that, within a few days, one hundred

thousand families had left his dominions; that in a short time the country must be depopulated, in which case there would be no occasion for a governante; she therefore begged leave to resign, before she should have the mortification and disgrace of being left completely alone.

Philip complied with the request of the princess, and the Duke of Alva was appointed to succeed her in the government. It may easily be imagined that the miseries of the people would now become intolerable. The king was a proud and unfeeling tyrant, set at too great a distance from his subjects to be thoroughly sensible of their calamities, and totally destitute of compassion, had he known them ever so well. The disposition of the new governor was exactly similar; and the army he commanded was fierce, rapacious, and cruel, desiring nothing more than to enrich themselves at the expense of the inhabitants.—The whole country was filled with blood and horror; Counts Egmont and Horn were ignominiously executed, and the estate of the Prince of Orange was confiscated. These last proceedings drove the people into despair; and they invited the prince to return, in order to rescue the country from such insufferable tyranny.

The Prince of Orange, and his brother, Louis of Nassau, had, in the mean time, been labouring to form alliances for the defence of the liberties of their country. They had represented matters in such a light to the Emperor Maximilian, that his imperial majesty sent an ambassador to Philip, exhorting him to treat his subjects in the Netherlands with less rigour. This embassy was haughtily received; Philip continued his persecutions, and the Prince of Orange carried on his preparations for entering the Netherlands. His first efforts, however, were unsuccessful. A detachment of Germans in the service of the prince attempted to penetrate into Brabant, and surprise Ruremond; but were defeated by a detachment from the Duke of Alva's army. Another party, consisting chiefly of French, attempted to penetrate into Artois by way of Picardy; but their officers were arrested by order of Charles IX. Louis of Nassau, however, defeated a body of Spaniards, and killed six hundred of them on the spot; but the vigilance of his enemies prevented him from drawing any important advantages from his victory.

The Duke of Alva was so much chagrined at the defeat sustained by his party, that he instantly assembled his troops from all quarters. His army then appeared too formidable to be opposed, and the Prince of Nassau, with Count Hoogstrate, retired towards the river Ems. But being hard pushed by the Duke of Alva, and mutinies arising among their troops for want of pay, they were soon brought to an action, and totally defeated. The infantry were entirely cut in pieces; the cavalry were saved; but all the baggage and artillery were taken by the enemy. The Prince of Orange, in the mean time, was hastening to the relief of his distressed allies with an army of twenty-eight thousand men, but having the misfortune of being defeated, and Count Hoogstrate being also killed in the action, his soldiers deserted in such numbers, that he was at last obliged to disband his army, and return to Germany.

The Duke of Alva now entered Brussels in triumph; and took ample vengeance on all who had assisted the Prince of Orange. All the prisoners taken in the last campaign were put to death: and, not contented with this barbarity, the cruel governor projected nothing less than the total extirpation of the reformed religion, by the destruction of every one who professed it; and of rendering himself despotic, by erecting citadels in all the considerable towns, which were to be garrisoned by his soldiers. He began with Amsterdam, in which he laid the foundations of a strong citadel. The people complained of this as an infringement of their rights, but the duke was deaf to their complaints. At Antwerp, he caused his statue to be erected; and here he was represented treading on the necks of two smaller statues, which represented the two estates of the Netherlands. This piece of insolent vanity exasperated the people to a great degree; and they were still farther provoked by a demand of the hundredth part of every man's estate, to be paid immediately, for the support of the army; besides the tenth of all the merchandise, and the twentieth of all immoveables, to be annually levied as a standing revenue. The provinces remonstrated, and refused to submit to such intolerable exactions. The governor was inflexible; and being incensed at their resistance, he sent the regiment of Lombardy to live at free quarters in the province of Utrecht.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time was employed in laying plans for the deliverance of his distressed country; but, in 1571, the Duke of Alva, growing impatient, ordered the edict concerning the new taxes to be published at Brussels. The city was instantly filled with confusion; the soldiers seized on the goods of the inhabitants by force; tradesmen shut up their shops; and the peasants refused to bring provisions to the market. The states offered to pay a subsidy of two millions of florins annually in lieu of the intended tax; but their offer was rejected. The drum beat to arms, and orders were issued to hang all who refused to comply. The soldiers were preparing to obey, when news arrived of the surrender of Briel in the island of Voorn, at the entrance of the Meuse, to a squadron of ships of war that had been fitted out by the Prince of Orange

Lumey, who commanded the squadron, made a descent on the island from forty ships, destroyed the churches, broke the images, and executed the priests, but offered no violence to the other inhabitants.

This circumstance alarmed the Duke of Alva, and produced the greatest rejoicings in Brussels. The duke, regarding it as the harbinger of further opposition, dropped his taxes and executions for the present, and applied himself to suppress the growing spirit of rebellion. He withdrew the garrison from Brussels, and detached it, under the command of Maximilian Hermin Bossu, against the ships of war which were called Gueux. This officer, endeavouring to force Briel, was defeated by the Orange faction, and forced to retire with loss to the island of Beyerland. This victory served to animate the depressed spirits of the enemies to the government. The Prince of Orange, sensible of the advantage of possessing this island, exhorted the nobility of his party to fortify and garrison it: his orders were obeyed, by which means he soon became master of Delfshaben, a town situated on the opposite bank of the Meuse. It appeared in Bossu's retreat how unpopular the Duke of Alva was in every part of the country. Dordrecht shut its gates against him; Rotterdam refused to admit his troops; but Bossu, obtaining permission that they should pass through in separate small divisions, seized the gates, and began a general massacre of the inhabitants. Four hundred perished by the sword, the town was pillaged, and every possible act of barbarity committed. Retribution was soon made by the enemy. Alva had detached Ossorio d'Angulo with a body of forces to secure Flushing, a considerable port in Zealand, and to erect a citadel. The inhabitants denied Ossorio admittance, shut their gates, and seized Pacanco, a famous engineer, who had come to measure the ground where the citadel was to be erected. Apprehending that attempts would be made to force them to submission, they petitioned Lumey, admiral of the Gueux, for assistance; and he furnished them with two hundred men, under the command of Captain Treslong. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the Spanish engineer was hanged, and an unsuccessful attempt made to surprise Middleburg, the capital of the island of Walcheren. Not dispirited by this disappointment, the Zealanders assiduously prosecuted their cruises upon the Spaniards, and obtained as much wealth as purchased a large store of arms and ammunition at Antwerp. Joined by great numbers of English and Scotch adventurers, they resolved to attack the Duke of Medina Celi, sent with a strong squadron to succeed the Duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. The duke was completely defeated, a great number of his ships were taken, and a booty, amounting to nearly one million of livres, was carried off by the Zealanders.

The Duke of Alva now ordered a squadron of ships to be equipped at Amsterdam, to check the insolence of Lumey and the Zealanders, while he busied himself in raising an army to oppose the Prince of Orange and Louis de Nassau, who were making great preparations in Germany and France. To augment the army in the field, he had draughted most of the garrisons. By this means the prince's friends gained possession of North Holland; and Louis de Nassau was projecting a scheme to surprise Mons, with the inhabitants of which he held a secret correspondence. The success of this design emboldened most of the cities and towns in Holland to declare against the government. The Count de Bergues gained over several cities in Overyssel, Guelderland, and Friesland. In short, the revolt became so general, that the Duke of Alva soon found he could not long resist the torrent. Accordingly, he published an edict to appease the people, setting forth, that he would consent to remit the most oppressive taxes, if the states could suggest any other means of raising the necessary supplies. He convoked the states-general to meet at the Hague, but his orders were now disregarded; and the states, in contempt of his authority, assembled at Dordrecht, inviting deputies from the Prince of Orange, the nobility, and the towns that had declared against the governor. Here money was raised to enable the Prince of Orange to begin his march. His forces amounted to fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse. He had promised to advance three months pay; and was enabled to perform his engagements by the liberality and public spirit of the states-general and the cities. He soon shewed with what address he could manage and direct the people; and, without the regal title, he possessed a sovereign authority over the provinces under his government. He presided at all military operations by sea and land; disposed of offices at pleasure; assembled the states; and published all ordonnances and regulations without control. However, he conducted matters with the utmost delicacy, and used his power with great moderation, to avoid giving offence to the free spirit of the Hollanders. The popish religion was excluded from the churches; and persons of that persuasion were, with great caution, admitted into public employments. Not only the king's revenue and church-tithes were appropriated to the public service, but the estates of those who remained firm in their loyalty. In short, the most vigorous measures were taken for resisting the tyranny of Spain.

While the states-general were employed in raising supplies to maintain an army, the Prince of Orange

advanced to Ruremonde, which he took by assault, on the refusal of the city to supply him with necessaries. From thence he marched to Brabant, and raised heavy contributions. He took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and could not restrain the excesses of the soldiers, who pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, and committed many other barbarities. He then approached to Mons, besieged by the Duke of Alva, in order to induce him to give battle. The duke, however, baffled all his endeavours to force him, and carried Mons by capitulation.

While the fate of Mons was depending, the states of Holland met at Haarlem, to deliberate on the defence of the province and the prosecution of the war. Amsterdam was in the enemy's hands, which greatly obstructed all their measures. It was, therefore, determined to besiege it; and the enterprise was committed to Lumey, chief of the Gueux. After putting the states to considerable expense, the project miscarried through Lumey's misconduct. Water was his element, but his vanity led him to display his abilities as a land-officer. He made regular approaches, and in every attempt proved unsuccessful.

The reduction of Mons, and the depression of spirit consequent on the massacre of the Protestants at Paris, obliged the Prince of Orange to retire to Holland, and encouraged Alva to invest Dendermonde, Oudenarde, and Mechlin. The latter, being in no condition to resist, opened its gates; but the Spanish soldiers chose to scale the walls, to countenance their horrid barbarities. Protestants and Catholics were massacred without distinction. The town was pillaged, and the booty estimated at four hundred thousand florins. All the other towns were evacuated by the garrisons, and loaded with heavy impositions by Alva. As to the prince, he had now removed the seat of war into the province of Holland. Only this province and Zealand remained firm to their engagements; the rest, overwhelmed with consternation, capitulated on the best terms they could procure from the government. However, the country being strong by its situation, and defended by a fierce and sturdy people, proud of their ancient fame, and implacable enemies of Spanish tyranny, it was determined to make the most vigorous resistance. Frederic de Toledo was despatched by Alva to begin the operations in Holland. He had already reduced Zutphen and Guelderland; and, flushed with success, appeared before Waerden, which he summoned to admit a garrison. The burghers replied, that they were intrusted by the king with the defence of the place, and could not receive a military force without violence to their engagements. They soon had reason to repent their reply: the town was taken by surprise; and all the burghers, assembled in the great church to take the oaths of fidelity to the king, were wantonly butchered. Infants, old men, helpless women, and sick persons, were put to the sword, without remorse.

Having completed this sanguinary work, Frederic went to Amsterdam, to deliberate with the officers of the army about the siege of Haarlem. Here it was determined, that the city of Amsterdam should write to the magistrates, exhorting them, in the most pathetic terms, to submit, rather than incur the punishment inflicted on Waerden. The council of Haarlem met to take this letter into consideration. Some were for soliciting an immediate reinforcement from the Prince of Orange; and others, who apprehended the prince was too weak to afford the necessary relief, were for making the best terms possible with the king. Those of the latter opinion were the magistrates. Accordingly, without consulting the burghers, deputies were despatched to Frederic, to stipulate conditions. In their absence, Ripperda, a gentleman of Friesland, strongly attached to the Prince of Orange and the cause of liberty, assembled the chief burghers; and so animated them against the Spaniards, that they resolved to stand a siege, and suffer all the horrors of war, rather than submit. They sent to the Prince of Orange, to acquaint him with their determination, and to implore assistance. Four companies of Germans were detached to reinforce the garrison of Haarlem; and the deputies, on their return, were seized as traitors to their country, sent to the Prince of Orange, and, by his order, beheaded. Frederic was preparing to compel the burghers to submission. On the 19th of December, he invested the town, after carrying Sparendem fort by assault, with great loss and slaughter of his soldiers. A variety of errors were committed in the attack, in the defence, and manner of succouring Haarlem. The assailants and defendants had equally shewn themselves ignorant of the art of war, and implacable in their resentment. The Prince of Orange used every expedient to relieve the town; but all his attempts were frustrated by untoward accidents, and the vigilance of the Spaniards. At last, spent with fatigue, despairing of relief, and totally exhausted of provisions and ammunition, the burghers surrendered upon more favourable terms than they had expected.

Soon after the reduction of Haarlem, Alva, perceiving that his severity answered no other purpose than irritating the people against the Spanish government, published a proclamation, couched in the most soothing terms: but the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a king and a governor, who had shewn themselves so implacable and perfidious. They now

expected the worst that could happen, and bade defiance to fortune. The Spaniards were preparing to invest Alcmar, and the Hollanders put every means in practice to resist them. Frederic of Toledo, with sixteen thousand men, sat down before a town fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burghers, and eight hundred soldiers, in extreme want of provisions, and without the prospect of relief. Sonoi, the governor, despairing of being able to sustain a siege, wrote to the Prince of Orange, that a place destitute of troops, provisions, ammunition, money, and every necessary, ought to be evacuated, and the few soldiers in garrison, and the burghers, saved from falling into the hands of the enemy. But the prince so animated them by a letter, that the townsmen, governor, and soldiers, determined to sacrifice their lives rather than surrender. Frederic pushed the siege with great vigour. He ordered the inhabitants of Haarlem to work in the trenches, and sustain the first fire of their friends and countrymen. On the 18th of September, a battery of twenty pieces of heavy cannon began to play; a breach was soon effected; the assault was given, and repulsed with vigour, though sustained by the bulk of the Spanish army. From a Spanish officer taken, the garrison were informed, that Alva had given orders to retire, in case they failed in the third assault; but, if he succeeded, to put all to the sword. Their courage was reanimated by this account, and preparations were cheerfully made for withstanding the utmost efforts. Frederic was foiled in every attempt; the assailants were driven from the breach with prodigious slaughter, and the Spanish soldiers refused to mount the walls; in a word, the siege was raised, and the town relieved.

This advantage was attended with another, which, though less important, equally served to inspirit the Hollanders. The Duke of Alva's grand fleet, equipped with great labour and expense, was defeated by the Zealanders. Though the action did not prove decisive, it greatly chagrined the duke, as Bossu, one of his best officers, was taken prisoner, and his fleet afterwards dreaded to face the enemy.

Notwithstanding this success, the affairs of the states were yet in a very precarious situation. The Duke of Alva had resigned the government, and his successor, Don Louis Requesnes, had orders to prosecute the war with vigour, while his antagonists prepared for the most obstinate resistance. The first advantage appeared on the side of the Prince of Orange, by the surrender of Middleburg. But this was soon balanced by the defeat and death of Prince Louis of Nassau. The Spaniards, however, were prevented from pursuing the advantage they had gained, by a mutiny among their troops. The distresses of the Spaniards on account of this tumult were likewise augmented by a naval victory gained by the Zealanders; when almost forty of the Spanish ships were taken or destroyed. Philip then perceiving that numberless difficulties would attend the reduction of the provinces by force, published an act of grace; but, in such a limited manner, that it was unanimously rejected. Requesnes then determining to close the campaign with some remarkable exploit, laid siege to Leyden. The city was reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions; the whole country was inundated; and they could receive no relief except what was obtained by boats forcing themselves through the enemy to the city. In short, they were reduced to the brink of destruction, when a violent south-west wind drove the inundation against the works of the besiegers with such violence, that they were obliged to relinquish the enterprise for fear of being entirely swallowed up. In their retreat they were attacked by the garrison, and five hundred of them destroyed. This disappointment so provoked the Spanish soldiery, that they deposed Valdes, the commander whom they had chosen for themselves, and proclaimed their old one; a second mutiny ensued, and they marched in a tumultuous manner to Utrecht. Here, however, they met with a very unfavourable reception. Barlaimont, the governor, declared them rebels; and gave free liberty to every one to massacre them wherever they could be found. The mutineers attempted to set fire to the gates; but, being repulsed, and their leader slain, they capitulated, and were sent into winter-quarters.

Some negotiations for peace were set on foot, early in 1575; but these proving ineffectual, the war was renewed with redoubled fury. Fortune now declared in favour of the Spaniards; and the States were reduced to such despair, that they began seriously to think of making an offer of the provinces to some Protestant power, who might be able to defend them against the tyranny of the Spaniards. This offer was made to Queen Elizabeth of England; but she declined it, for political reasons. A negotiation was even set on foot for this purpose with France, in favour of the Duke of Anjou; but it ended in nothing besides the advantage of establishing a mart at Calais for the disposal of the prizes made by the Gueux. Philip, however, notwithstanding his power, had the utmost difficulty in supporting the expense of the war.—He had already borrowed more than forty millions of crowns from the Spanish and Genoese merchants, and the interest still unpaid now amounted to as much as the capital. The war had besides cost a greater sum in specie from Spain and the Indies, which, with the immense losses occasioned by the stagnation of trade in the Netherlands,

had completely exhausted the treasury.—Large arrears were due to the troops; they were every day mutinying, and some broke out into actual rebellion. To remedy these evils, Requesnes demanded a supply of the provinces; and they answered him, by requiring restitution of their privileges, and dismission of the Spanish troops. Flanders, in particular, paid the desired subsidy, by balancing it against half the damages the province had sustained from the misconduct of the governors, and the wars wantonly and unnecessarily excited. While this affair was in agitation, Requesnes died of a fever: the council of state assumed the administration, and the Prince of Orange took the opportunity of the confusion that ensued to lay the first foundation of the pacification of Ghent, by which his affairs were considerably retrieved, and the greatest blow given to the court of Spain she had yet sustained. All now was anarchy in the Netherlands. The garrison of Ziriczee mutinied for want of pay; and, to appease them, the council of state sent one hundred thousand livres, which the Walloon regiments under Madragon seized upon, after expelling the Spanish soldiers, and wounding and murdering their officers. This did not unite the Spanish mutineers among themselves; they turned out the few remaining officers, and made new appointments. Joining with the garrison of Lillo, they marched, to the number of two thousand men, towards the capital; committed horrible outrages; overwhelmed the inhabitants of Brussels with consternation; and, upon the 26th of July, seized upon Alost, confined the principal burghers, and hanged a king's officer. The most favourable conditions were offered by the council of state, in order to appease the tumult, and provisions were sent to the mutineers. This created suspicion in the inhabitants of Brussels, that the mutiny was excited by the connivance of the council, with a view of ruining the provinces, without incurring the odium consequent on any appearance of legal oppression. They arrested the council, declared the Spaniards rebels, and took measures in concert with the other cities and provinces for expelling foreigners out of the Netherlands. A confederacy to this purpose was formed between the provinces of Hainault, Artois, and Flanders, to which all the rest, except Luxembourg, acceded; and Don John of Austria, who had entered the Netherlands as successor to Requesnes, was obliged to remain in obscurity in Luxembourg until the storm should subside.

The Prince of Orange, in the mean time, was profiting by these commotions. He had long laboured to have the states-general convoked; and he now saw them not only assembled, but preparing to make head against the Spaniards. Every measure was taken for reducing the citadels of Ghent, Antwerp, and Maestricht, the chief places in the hands of the Spaniards, and what must principally contribute to their expulsion. The citadel of Ghent was taken on the 27th of November, by the assistance of a strong reinforcement of troops and artillery sent by the Prince of Orange. At Antwerp, the states of Brabant were less successful. The citadel was vigorously attacked; but the mutineers at Alost entering the citadel to assist their countrymen, a sally was made, the besiegers were driven from their trenches, great part of the town was consumed by fire, and the rest pillaged for three days with every kind of insolence and brutality, at a time when Antwerp was the most flourishing and populous city in the Netherlands. This calamity united Papists and Protestants in a confederacy, and, co-operated with the measures of the Prince of Orange to form the pacification of Ghent: which was a confederacy of all the provinces to expel foreign soldiers; to restore the ancient form of government; to refer matters of religion to the several states of the provinces; to unite the other fifteen provinces in the same common interest with Holland and Zealand; to renew the commerce and amity between them; to assemble the states in the manner practised under the house of Burgundy and Charles V.; to suspend all the rigorous edicts of the Duke of Alva on the subject of religion, until the states-general should take the matter into consideration; to release all the natives made prisoners, mutually, without ransom; and to restore all things upon the same footing as before the war.

The states-general began with soliciting aid from the Queen of England. Their ambassador had a gracious reception, and Elizabeth advanced them twenty thousand pounds sterling, on condition that the French should not be invited into the Netherlands, that they would accept of reasonable terms of accommodation if offered, and that the loan should be repaid the ensuing year. A cessation of hostilities was then agreed upon with Don John, upon his assurances that every reasonable request of the provinces should be granted. On the 27th of December, deputies were sent with proposals to Don John to disband the foreign troops: but he desired to know what security the states would give for their allegiance after the departure of the Spanish forces; and remonstrated against the unreasonableness of disarming the king, while his subjects were in arms, and ready to seize the first opportunity of deserting their obedience. He likewise demanded security with respect to religion; and insisted so warmly on this head, that it was obvious he had no inclination to part with the Spanish army before the provinces of Zealand and Holland embraced the Catholic religion. After

much altercation, necessity at length obliged Don John to grant all that was required, to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and dismiss the Spanish army. The treaty was proclaimed at Brussels and Antwerp on the 17th of February; and Don John was immediately acknowledged as the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands.

It must be observed, however, that when this edict was signed, the provinces of Holland and Zealand, by the advice of the Prince of Orange, made the following objections, viz. that the states-general had not established the right of assembling this sovereign tribunal in the persons originally invested with that power by the constitution; that in some particular instances they had suffered an infraction of their privileges; that the Spanish troops were allowed to carry off the immense wealth they had acquired in the Netherlands, and by the destruction of the city of Antwerp in particular; that no stipulation was made in favour of those dispossessed of their estates, &c. For these reasons, the states and the prince refused to sign the edict, though they consented to all the articles that did not contradict those specified. This raised a contention, by which the public peace was soon broken. Don John was strenuous in recommending violent measures against the prince and his party. To this purpose he wrote a letter in ciphers to the king; but this letter fell into the hands of Henry IV. of France, who transmitted it to the Prince of Orange. Escovedo, secretary to Don John, was next sent into Spain with a message to the same purpose; but the governor, becoming impatient for his return, left the country himself, under the pretence of complimenting Margaret, Queen of Navarre, on her journey to Spa. In this expedition, he seized on the citadel of Namur; but attempted to justify his conduct to the states, by representing that he was under the necessity of retiring to a place of safety, while he saw the flames of war and rebellion ready to break out all around him; and concluded with desiring the states to disarm the burghers of Brussels, who were attached to the Prince of Orange. This letter was answered by an invitation from the states to return; promising, at the same time, that they would, to the utmost of their power, bring to punishment all those who should form any designs against him. This, however, was not only refused, but the whole tenor of his conduct afterwards shewed that he was resolved to commence hostilities, and that he was encouraged to do so by Philip. The event was, that Don John was deposed from his dignity, the Archduke Matthias was appointed governor-general, and preparations were made for a new and vigorous war. The Spanish troops were ordered to assemble in Naples and Milan; levies were made in Burgundy and Luxembourg; and a resolution was taken of supporting Don John with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy. To oppose this formidable power, the states, in 1578, entered into a new treaty with the Queen of England; by which that princess agreed to advance them one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and to assist the provinces with five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry; on condition that the loan should be repaid with interest in eight months; that certain towns should be ceded to her in security; and that the states should defray the expense of transporting their troops, and take them into pay, while they acted in their service. Elizabeth, however, afterwards departed from these conditions, under pretence that the French would suspect her having some designs on the Netherlands, and would for that reason unite their forces with those of Spain against her. Instead of the English troops, she now proposed to send John Casimir, Count Palatine, with three thousand foot and three thousand horse; refusing at the same time to pay the money stipulated, until the states had consented to this alteration.

Before this treaty was concluded, Don John was joined by an army of sixteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, all chosen veterans, commanded by the Duke of Parma, the best officer in the Spanish service. Being thus superior to the Prince of Orange, the Spaniards gained several advantages; which, however, were more than balanced by the loss of the city of Amsterdam. This place had been closely blockaded for several months by sea and land, and at last concluded a treaty with the friends of the Prince of Orange, by which it was stipulated that the Protestants should hold their religious meetings without the walls, and have a burying-place within; that the garrison should be disbanded, and six hundred men, commanded by the burghers, levied for the defence of the city; that all persons banished on account of religion should be recalled; that Amsterdam should enjoy all its ancient privileges, and that all vacancies in public employments should be filled without distinction of party. This capitulation, however, was soon broken; the Catholic magistrates were driven out of the city, together with the popish clergy of all ranks; the images were pulled down, and only the reformed clergy suffered to preach publicly. Some ineffectual negotiations next took place; after which, the states, sensible that the misfortunes and losses in winter arose from the irresolution of the provincial states, vested the archduke, the council of state, and the Prince of Orange, with a power of levying what number of troops they should think necessary, and disposing of them as they thought proper, without referring to the states in every particular.

About this time a revolution, greatly beneficial to the common cause, was effected in Guelderland. John of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, had been appointed governor of this province: Upon entering on the administration, he perceived that the whole conduct of affairs was in the hands of persons strongly affected to King Philip and the Catholic religion; most of the cities professed popery; and the count, who had sworn to the pacification of Ghent, was restrained from attempting any change in religion. The face of affairs, however, took a sudden turn; John acquired great popularity, and soon discovered that foreigners were the leading persons. By his artifice and policy, he stimulated the people against them; they were deprived of their seats in the provincial states, and turned out of their offices in the government of the cities. Thus Nassau obtained the chief direction, and was able to co-operate with the measures planned by his brother. Another revolution happened in Groningen, of which the Sieur de Billy was governor. This person was by birth a Portuguese, by religion a Catholic, and consequently a dependant on the court of Spain: he refused to accede to the union of the provinces, and the states-general found it necessary to send to him Francis Martin Stella, with proposals for signing the pacification of Ghent. Billy, suspecting that the deputy's real design was to excite a revolt in the province, put him to the torture, to extort confession; after having first wounded him with his own hand. The deputy bore the most excruciating tortures with firmness; and, having a surgeon to dress his wound, to enable him to undergo a second trial, he communicated something in the Greek language, which the surgeon soon made public: in consequence, the mob assembled, rescued Stella, declared for the pacification of Ghent, and obliged Billy to resign his government. The change of councils in these two provinces was of the utmost service to the confederacy; and would have enabled the province to have encountered the whole power of Spain, had not their affairs been distracted by intestine dissensions.

At last, the Prince of Orange, perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by political maxims and private interests, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with those more contiguous, in which the Protestant interest prevailed.

On the 23d of January, 1579, deputies from the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland, met at Utrecht, and signed the alliance ever since known by the name of the Union of Utrecht, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned by the appellation of the United Provinces. This treaty of alliance was founded upon the infraction of the pacification of Ghent, solemnly acceded to by Philip, and the late invasion of certain towns in Guelderland. It was not hereby intended to divide the seven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of Ghent; its sole object was to preserve the liberty stipulated in that pacification, by more vigorous operations and united councils.

This alliance was so universally approved, that, in a short time, the cities of Ghent, Nimeguen, Arnheim, Leuwarden, Venlo, Ypres, Antwerp, Breda, and Bruges, with several other towns, embraced and signed the union. Thus the foundation of a commonwealth was laid, but in a fluctuating state of affairs, when men were actuated by different passions, views, and interests; intimidated by the great strength of the Spanish monarchy, and supported chiefly by a zealous adherence to liberty, and a firm resolution to perish in defence of freedom.

It was expected that the important object of this alliance would have attracted the attention of the Walloons, and indeed of all the Catholic inhabitants of the Netherlands: in fact, it did so, but in a different manner from what was imagined. The Walloons not only refused to accede to the union, but they made the strongest remonstrances to the states-general upon the impropriety and illegality of such a confederacy. Their intrigues seem to have been headed by the Duke of Parma, who stimulated their measures, inspiring them with a jealousy of the Protestant designs on the Catholic religion. In the end, he contracted an alliance with them; and thereby confirmed by his own example the necessity of the union of Utrecht. They accordingly began levying an army; but still kept up appearances with the confederated provinces, though it was evident that hostilities must soon commence. To prevent an effusion of blood, the emperor, as mediator, set on foot another negotiation; but Philip would allow no reasonable terms of accommodation, and would give no security for liberty of religion. He even endeavoured, by many splendid offers, to detach the Prince of Orange from the union; but William was too wise to rely on the promises of a king who had shewn himself so perfidious.

While the Prince of Orange was employed in forming alliances, and strengthening the union, the Duke of Parma was taking measures to disconcert his projects, and reduce the provinces to the king's obedience. He despatched Gonzaga and Mondragon, with eight thousand men, to lay siege to Marsien. The town was taken by assault, the governor hanged, and forty-five of the chief inhabitants were tortured to death, for having valiantly defended themselves. After some

other advantages obtained in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, the king's army insulted Antwerp, where the archduke and the Prince of Orange then resided. The army of the states was intrenched near Borgerhont, a post attacked without success by the Duke of Parma, after a brisk skirmishing of two hours between the armies. La Noue, however, the general of the army of the States, not choosing to expose himself to continual alarms from the enemy's cavalry, retired under the cannon of Antwerp.

On La Noue's retreat, the Duke of Parma invested Maestricht. The siege began on the 8th of March, and continued without intermission till the 29th of June. This defence was deemed very extraordinary, as the fortifications were in bad order, the garrison slender, and the place but indifferently provided with the necessaries of a siege. One Sebastian Tappin, a Protestant engineer, and a brave soldier, by his indefatigable vigilance raised continual obstructions to the duke's approaches. The garrison had sustained frequent assaults, and made several desperate sallies, by which they were so much fatigued, that during a parley the town was surprised, and a great many soldiers were put to the sword; but Tappin was saved by favour of the Duke of Parma, who gave strict orders that he should have quarter. For three days, Maestricht was a scene of the utmost desolation and horror, the Spanish soldiers committing every excess, in despite of all the endeavours of the general to restrain their licentiousness. With such diligence did the duke apply himself to this siege, that, unable to support the fatigue, he was seized with a fever, which had nearly proved fatal. His situation inspired the enemy with fresh courage. They again took the field; reduced Alost and some other places of little consequence; but could not prevent the loss of Menin, which was taken by assault, though it was soon after retaken by the Prince of Orange. In Brabant, the states likewise obtained some advantages, though of too unimportant a nature to merit attention. The truth is, all the united provinces were in a deplorable situation; and their trifling successes were owing to accident or the Duke of Parma's indisposition. Several provinces contributed nothing to the common cause; others furnished but a small proportion of the taxes agreed upon at the union. The army had large arrears due, and lived at discretion. The people clamoured against the states; they threw the blame on the officers for relaxing in the point of discipline; and the officers recriminated, alleging that the fault was in the states, who failed in performing their engagements to the army. All was in confusion; but, as no person would acknowledge his error, there appeared little hopes of amendment. In a word, nothing besides the same distress in the Spanish army could have prevented the Duke of Parma from reducing the revolted provinces to accept any terms he should think fit to prescribe. He was equally in want of money; and his late treaty with the Walloons required that he should dismiss all his foreign troops in the space of six weeks after the publication of the treaty. His situation indeed was so deplorable, that he requested leave to resign his command, and retire with the foreign soldiers to Italy; but the court of Spain had too much confidence in his ability to entrust so important a charge to another. In this state of affairs, the animosity of the parties remained, without the power of shewing their resentment. The states were resolute, but unable to defend their liberties. Philip was determined, but too weak to be despotic; and both were obliged to content themselves with publishing bitter remonstrances against each other.

At length, the Prince of Orange renewed the treaty with the Duke of Anjou. The Queen of England was again offered the sovereignty, but she declined it. The Duke of Anjou was, however, opposed by a great number of the reformed, on account of the share his mother had taken in the horrid massacre of the Protestants at Paris. All arguments to remove their prejudices were in vain. Anjou was a Roman Catholic, and that alone was sufficient to render him detestable. The Prince of Orange urged the necessity of receiving the prince. Theologians and civilians allowed that it was lawful to have recourse, in extremity, to a Papist; but the people continued obstinate. This determined the Prince of Orange to have recourse to the states-general, to whom he sent a long remonstrance, pointing out the causes why the confederacy did not produce the intended effect; and exhorting them to re-consider the affair respecting the Duke of Anjou. The states-general referred the prince's remonstrance to the provincial states and cities; and, after several warm debates, it was at length determined, in 1580, to call in the Duke of Anjou, as the only resource in so great a calamity. Accordingly, the year began with a solemn treaty, by which the United Provinces renounced their allegiance to Philip, and acknowledged the Duke of Alencon and Anjou for their sovereign. Deputies were sent to the duke, to explain the articles, and congratulate him on his accession. The Archduke Matthias, finding himself unsupported by the empire, and the numerous friends whom he expected would have joined him on his elevation, expressed no resentment at the conduct of the provinces, which he candidly attributed to necessity. He only demanded to know their intention with respect to his own person; and the states made their apology, by representing the situation of their affairs, assuring him of their esteem, permitting him to reside in the Nether-

ands as long as he thought convenient, and highly applauding the equity of his conduct during his administration. The provinces of Holland and Zealand were left wholly in the hands of the Prince of Orange, whose power as stadtholder was in no respect limited by the duke's sovereignty.

When the King of Spain was informed of this defection of the provinces, he attributed the whole to the Prince of Orange, and immediately proceeded to proscribe him; he confiscated his estate, upbraided him with ingratitude, and attempted to stain his character with ignominy. He even promised a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns to whoever should bring him the Prince of Orange, dead or alive; the same to his heirs, in case the person perished in the enterprise; and he declared all those proscribed, their estates confiscated, and their honours and dignities abolished, who adhered to William a month after the publication of this edict.

The Prince of Orange did not silently pass over this proscription. He employed one Villiers, a Frenchman, to refute the edict: his answer was well received, and is recorded by historians as a proof of the spirit, the prudence, and the moderation of the prince. However, when it was proposed to the states for their opinion, with a request that they would publish it in their own name, they declined it; assigning for a reason, that it contained some facts too little known to be credited, and perhaps too much acrimony against a prince whose power they still dreaded.

The following year, the states, after long deliberations at the Hague, published an edict, excluding Philip from any sovereignty or authority over the Netherlands. This writing appeared on the 26th of July, 1581, under the title of "The abdication of Philip King of Spain." It was extremely well drawn up; stated in the strongest manner the mutual privileges of the king and people; proved that the allegiance of the latter was annulled by the breach of contract on the side of the former; enumerated the oppressive and tyrannical acts of his government; set aside his authority for the most cogent reasons; forbad money to be coined in his name; and took every other step towards independence. It was in vain for Philip to remonstrate: he knew the states were to be convinced only by the sword; to this therefore he appealed. The Duke of Parma blocked up Cambray so closely, that the garrison were reduced to the extremity of living upon horses, dogs, and cats; though they still refused to capitulate, in hopes of being succoured. At length the Duke of Anjou assembled a body of ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, and approached Cambray. The Viscount de Turrene and Count Voulandois undertook to force their way with a body of men into the town; but they were surrounded and taken prisoners by the Spaniards. This disappointment did not discourage the Duke of Anjou; he still pressed forward to attack the Spanish lines. but the Duke of Parma, not wishing to hazard a battle, deserted his works, and retired to Bouchain. As soon as the Duke of Anjou entered the city, he took an oath to govern it agreeably to its ancient laws, and to preserve the citizens in the full possession of all their liberties. He was now pressed by the states and the Prince of Orange to march directly into Flanders; he endeavoured to comply; but his army, composed chiefly of volunteers, was so weakened by desertion that the design was laid aside.

The beginning of the year 1582 exhibited a spectacle very unusual in the Netherlands, the public entry of a sovereign elected by the people. The Duke of Anjou, setting sail from England on the 8th day of February, arrived on the 10th at Flushing, where he was received by the Princes of Orange and D'Espinoi. Next day they set out for Antwerp with a magnificent retinue, and went up the Scheldt, attended by fifty barges. His reception at Antwerp was extremely splendid; it even exceeded the preparations made for Philip himself on his being appointed to the government of the Netherlands by his father. A theatre was erected before the walls of the citadel, in which was placed a chair of state, covered with cloth of gold. There the duke was seated, and the conditions were read to him, upon which he was received as Duke of Brabant. When he had sworn to observe the articles, he was clothed with the ducal robe, and his head adorned with the ducal coronet, by the Prince of Orange; who said, "I will pin it in such a manner that it will not be easily shaken;" an expression which at that time was taken for a happy omen, though it soon proved fallacious.

While the states of Brabant were employed in festivity, a Biscayan merchant, named Gaspar Amastra, had contrived a project to redeem his shattered fortune by the death of the Prince of Orange. He corrupted one of his domestics, by the promise of half the reward, to strike the blow. This assassin entered the citadel; and, as the prince was passing after dinner into another room, discharged a pistol, and dangerously wounded him behind the ear. The prince was stunned with the force of the ball, and before he recovered, the assassin was killed by his attendants; which prevented for a time the complete discovery of the plot. It was afterwards traced that he had confessed the secret to a Dominican, named Antonio Tunmernon, receiving from the wicked priest absolution, and a promise of eternal reward. Tunmernon was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his limbs being fixed upon the walls of Antwerp. But though for this time the prince escaped the danger, he

was, in 1584, assassinated at Delft, by one Balthazar Guion, a person who had before served his highness with fidelity and zeal. He was at that very time employed by the prince to carry letters into France, and had received money to bear his expenses, with which he purchased pistols to murder his benefactor. At the criminal's examination, it appeared that he had long meditated this horrid action, and was confirmed in his resolution by the Jesuits and Catholic priests: he even affirmed on the rack, that the Duke of Parma was privy to the design, who promised he should have the reward.

The United Provinces were now in a most deplorable situation. The Duke of Anjou had been totally unable to resist the Duke of Parma; in consequence of which many towns had been taken, and in other respects the states had sustained immense losses. The Duke of Anjou, chagrined and disappointed, had retired to France, where he died. But the death of the Prince of Orange seemed to give the finishing stroke to the affairs of the states; and confusion and anarchy now reigned in their councils. The provinces of Zealand and Holland alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and show their gratitude to William by electing his son, Maurice, their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. Maurice was at that time only eighteen years of age; but appeared in every respect worthy of the high dignity which had been conferred upon him. The first step taken by the confederates was a solemn renewal of the treaty of Utrecht; after which the most vigorous preparations were made for the defence of the country. But before any thing of consequence could be done, the Duke of Parma had reduced Liskenshouk, Dendermonde, Vilvorde, Ghent, and Antwerp; which struck the states with such terror, that they again offered the sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth. This was once more refused; though that princess engaged, by a new treaty, to assist the states both with men and money. An army was accordingly sent into the Netherlands, under the command of the Earl of Leicester: but it does not appear that this was of any essential service to the cause; for the conduct of that officer was so improper, that he drew upon himself a general odium. It is probable, indeed, that the states could not long have supported themselves in such circumstances, had not the defeat of the Spanish armada, in 1588, given such a blow to the power of Spain, as totally disabled them from carrying on the war in the Netherlands. Instead of sending the proper assistance to the Duke of Parma, that general received orders to hasten to the aid of the Duke of Mayence, who had been defeated by Henry IV. The duke was obliged to comply with this order, though he was sensible the loss of the United Provinces must be the consequence. Prince Maurice now carried every thing before him; and, by the end of the year 1591, the Dutch saw their frontiers extended, the whole country secured by rivers, and covered by fortified towns, with the greatest probability of driving the Spaniards out of Friesland in another campaign.

The remainder of the history of this war is only a detail of the losses and misfortunes of the Spaniards which now ensued. Their affairs were at last totally ruined by a decisive victory gained by Prince Maurice, in the year 1600, over the Archduke Albert, who had been appointed the Spanish governor of the Netherlands. King Philip II. died in 1598, leaving the affairs of his kingdom in the most distressed situation; notwithstanding which, his successor, Philip III., was too haughty to consent to peace, or to acknowledge the independence of the states, though he was altogether unable to keep them in subjection. At last, in 1607, a suspension of hostilities took place, and, in 1609, a treaty was concluded.

In 1621, war was renewed with Spain; and, in 1628, the Spaniards met with a dreadful blow by the capture of their flotilla from Mexico. This was the greatest prize the Hollanders had ever met with; being valued at no less than fifteen millions of livres. From this time the Spaniards were defeated and baffled in almost every enterprise they undertook; nevertheless, they carried on the war with an obstinacy hardly to be equalled, for twenty years longer. At last, in 1648, a treaty was concluded, by which his Catholic majesty renounced all right and sovereignty over the states-general of the United Provinces, who were henceforth declared a free and independent republic.

After the independency of the Seven United Provinces was acknowledged, the other ten provinces, or, as they are generally called, the Netherlands, remained subject to the crown of Spain, until the Duke of Marlborough, as general of the allies, gained the memorable victory of Ramilies, in the year 1706; after which, Brussels, the capital, and great part of these provinces, acknowledged Charles VI., afterwards emperor of Germany, for their sovereign. His daughter, Maria Theresa, remained in possession of them until the war of 1741, when the French reduced them, with the exception of part of the province of Luxembourg; and would have retained them from that time, but for the exertions of the Dutch and the English, in favour of the house of Austria; which remained in undisturbed possession of that part of the Netherlands secured to it by the peace of 1748, till the disputes which took place between these provinces and the Emperor Joseph, in the years 1788 and 1789.

This quarrel originated concerning the prerogatives

assumed by the emperor, which were more extensive than his subjects would allow; and, as the emperor resolved to make use of force in asserting his claims, many of the discontented Brabanters sought a refuge in the United States. The measures adopted by his imperial majesty in respect of the insurgents, were marked by severity. Count Trautmansdorff, the governor of Brussels, issued a proclamation, stating, that no quarter should be given them, and that the villages in which they concealed themselves should be set on fire. General Dalton also marched with seven thousand men, to retake the forts which had been occupied by the malcontents, avowing his design of taking them by assault, and putting every individual within them to the sword.

Notwithstanding these measures, the public discontent continued to increase, and almost every town in the Austrian Netherlands resolved to oppose the emperor. A formidable army was soon raised, which, after some successful skirmishes, made themselves masters of Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Malines, and Ostend; so that General Dalton was compelled to retire to Brussels. A battle was fought before the city of Ghent, in which the patriots proved victorious, though they sustained a loss of one thousand men, besides women and children. It reflected indelible disgrace on the commanders of the imperial troops, that they committed the most inhuman cruelties on all the unfortunate objects who fell into their hands. The soldiers were expressly *ordered* to plunder and destroy, whenever they could obtain any booty, and the unrelenting savages not only killed the men, but barbarously murdered unprotected females and sucking infants. By these cruelties they fanned the flame of disaffection; and, in a short time, the whole of Brabant, Flanders, and Malines, declared themselves independent, and for ever released from the yoke of the house of Austria.

Convinced of the bad effects of the measures which had been adopted, the emperor now assumed more pacific language, and published proclamations of indemnity, &c. These, however, were treated with the most ineffable contempt by the patriots; who pursued their conquests with such success, that, before the conclusion of the year, they were in possession of every place in the Netherlands, except Antwerp and Luxembourg.

Notwithstanding they thus appeared to be finally separated from the house of Austria, the death of the Emperor Joseph, which happened soon after, produced such a change in the conduct of government, as gave an unexpected turn to the situation of affairs; and the mild disposition of Leopold, who succeeded his brother, the conciliatory measures which he adopted, and the mediation of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, induced the Belgic provinces to re-unite themselves under the Austrian crown.

These provinces were seized, soon after the French revolution, by those republican armies which effected such astonishing changes in Europe; and, by the treaty of Campo Formio and the subsequent peace of Luneville, the possession of them was confirmed to France. But, on the overthrow of Buonaparte in 1814, they were transferred to the illustrious house of Orange;—and though great apprehension was excited for their safety, in consequence of the Corsican's second ursurpation, the glorious victory of WATERLOO has sealed their security and prosperity, under the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands.

Belgium is a flat country, containing no mountains, and but few hills. "The rural scene," says Mr. Shaw, "presents here pleasing prospects on all sides: fields crowned with fruitful crops, meadows covered with numerous herds, neat and commodious farm-houses, set singly or in groups, cheerful and extended villages, embowered among trees, and divided from each other by small intervals; while through such fair landscapes wind the rivers, and extend the clear canals, of Flanders and Brabant." In the duchy of Luxembourg, the country is less cultivated, and presents a less lively scene.

The air of Brabant, and upon the coast of Flanders, is bad; that in the interior parts is more healthful, and the seasons more settled, both in winter and summer, than they are in England. The soil and its produce are rich, especially in corn and fruits. Pasturage is abundant, and Flanders has been reckoned the granary of France and Germany, and sometimes of England. Even those parts which are too barren to yield corn, rear far more profitable crops of flax, which is here cultivated to great perfection.

The agriculture of the Netherlands has been celebrated for many centuries, ever since their commerce and manufactures became eminent; and they still so far excel in the art, that they never allow the land to lie fallow, regarding the destruction of weeds as the sole advantage of this practice, which may be equally accomplished by crops of turnips, rape, beans, and clover, that not only destroy the weeds, but enrich the soil. The inhabitants of the Netherlands commonly use to their ploughs four horses, without a driver, the ploughman holding the reins, and being equipped with a long whip stuck into a socket.

The vegetable productions do not differ much from those of Great Britain: all the plants that are natives there may be met with in the sandy and marshy districts of the south-east of England, except the gentiania cruciata. The marsh-ragwort is common in the shallow

ditches; the field-eringo is found in great plenty by the sides of the road; and the fringed water-lily adorns the canals and other deep streams. Great quantities of corn, flax, and madder, are grown here, and the pasturage for cattle is particularly abundant. The animals are the same as those in the neighbouring countries, but the horses and black cattle are of a superior size.

Among the curiosities of this country is a stone-quarry, under a hill near Maestricht, which is worked into a sort of subterranean palace, supported by pillars twenty feet high.

This quarry has several vent-holes cut in it, as also some small reservoirs of water, and, in time of war, it is a safe retreat for the country-people, who, being acquainted with all its meanderings, secure their cattle and valuable effects in this subterranean repository, which affords convenient room for forty thousand men. Ellis, who went into the quarry, says it is more wonderful than has been described; it is nine miles in length, and three miles broad; and capable of sheltering one hundred thousand men; that its excessive coldness cost him a fit of the ague, and that the stone dug from it is like our kettling-stone. A stranger who should visit it without an experienced guide, would be in danger not only of bewildering himself, or of stumbling against the corners of the pillars, but likewise of being suddenly shot by villains lurking in it.

In the year 1607, one thousand six hundred gold pieces were found in Dendermond, and proved to be a collection of ancient medals of Antoninus Pius, and Lucius Verus. Some Roman highways are yet entire, and ruins of temples and other buildings are found in many parts.

The vernacular language of this country is the Flemish, a dialect of the Dutch, but it is now nearly superseded by the French; except among the lower classes of the people. These provinces boast of early literature, and can recount various chronicles and biographies of the saints so long back as the seventh century, the period at which they date the conversion of their ancestors to Christianity. But in modern times they have rarely produced writers of great talents.

There is nothing in this country that will interest the intelligent traveller or the connoisseur, more than the admirable productions of the Flemish painters. Unfortunately, the paintings of the most distinguished masters, viz. Rubens, Van Dyck, Van Balen, Gonzales, Teniers, Jordaans, De Champaigne, &c. are become extremely scarce; particularly as many of them have been carried out of the country during the late war. Some individuals, however, are still possessed of very fine collections; and in consequence of the restoration of the works of art transported from the Netherlands to Paris by Buonaparte, the churches of Antwerp, Brussels, &c. now abound with the *chefs d'œuvres* of the first masters.

The established religion of the Netherlands is the Roman Catholic, but all other sects are tolerated; and the protestant is in no danger of persecution on account of his religious sentiments.

The manufactures and commerce of the Netherlands were, for many ages, superior to any in the west of Europe; but of late years they have suffered an almost total decline, owing partly to the other powers entering into competition, and partly to the establishment of freedom in the United Provinces, when Amsterdam arose on the ruins of Antwerp. In consequence of the treaty of Munster, in 1648, it had become almost null; but it began to revive when the Netherlands became a part of France. It is said that, in the year 1800, sixty-one vessels arrived from Embden, Altona, and Hamburgh: and, in 1802, the commercial connexions of the Netherlands began to be more extensive, and ships arrived from the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and even from the West-Indies; the chief imports being coffee, sugar, cotton, and cotton-cloths, hides, dyeing woods, tea, indigo, &c.; and, in 1805, previously to the end of July, there had arrived no less than three hundred and fifty-four, two being from Canton, and one from Batavia: the number of those under the Prussian flag was the greatest, and these were followed by the Americans. Cambray is renowned for cambrics, which thence derived their name. At Bruges there are manufactures of baize, woollen cloths, &c.: the manufactures of broad cloths, druggets, shalloons, and stockings, are conducted at St. Omers: but the chief manufactures are those of tapestry, fine linen, and laces, at Mechlin, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and Louvain; which enrich the country, and induce the farmers to cultivate flax, even on the poorest soils.

BRUSSELS.

This city, the capital of Belgium, is pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill, and watered by the little river Senner; and is allowed by all travellers to be the most delightful residence in the Netherlands. So early as the year 900, it had a market and a castle: and in the year 1340, it was surrounded with a wall of freestone, the ruins of which are yet visible. Between the years 1357 and 1370, it was considerably enlarged, and is now said to be nearly seven miles in circumference.

In this city are some vestiges of the ancient predilection for the number *seven*; as there are seven principal streets that enter into the great market; seven stately houses for the residence of the corporation; seven pa-

rish-churches; seven noble families, eminent for their antiquity and great privileges; and seven public gates, of Doric work, remarkable for leading to so many places of pleasure, or different exercises; one to fowling, a second to fishing, a third to hunting, a fourth to pleasant fields, a fifth to pasture-grounds, a sixth to springs and vine-yards, and a seventh to gardens.

From Brussels a canal is cut to the river Rupple, a little beyond the village of Willebroeck, by means of which there is a daily communication in barges with Antwerp: this canal was begun the 11th of June, 1550, and made fit for navigation, on the 11th of October, 1561, under the direction of the celebrated architect George Rinaldi; the elevation of the ground is fifty feet, and regulated by means of five sluices; the length of the canal is about seven leagues, and is said to have cost eighteen hundred thousand florins: by this means both the ocean and the Scheldt are open to Brussels, to the great convenience of the commerce of the city.

The Hotel de Ville, situated in the great square, is one of the finest Gothic buildings in the Netherlands. The tower, three hundred and sixty-four feet in height, is an admirable piece of workmanship; it is entirely constructed of stone, and its summit is crowned by a gigantic statue of St. Michael, of gilt copper. It is singular, that the architect should have neglected to place this tower in the centre of the edifice; but a degree of irregularity has also been remarked in the doors, windows, &c. of the building, presenting a *tout ensemble* altogether original.

The great market-place is one of the most singular in Europe, being a regular parallelogram, the four sides of which, though ornamented with buildings of different forms and orders of architecture, is nevertheless consistent with the general plan. Among the numerous ornaments that embellish this structure, there were some that held the first rank among the finest pieces of sculpture; but these were destroyed in the revolution.

M. Dumis, a French author, has thus described the architecture of the Netherlands in a few words. "It is peculiar to itself, being a compound of the Gothic and the Morisco, equally as astonishing for its lightness and its boldness, as for the beauty of its forms, and the harmony of its proportion." This style of architecture was introduced into the Netherlands by the Spaniards, who borrowed it from the Moorish edifices in Spain.

The church of St. Gudule contains a number of fine marble tombs, with the remains of many nobles, princes, and governors of the Netherlands. In the nave of this church is a pulpit, or *chair de verite*, constructed of oak, enriched with a beautiful piece of sculpture bv Henry Verbruggen, of Antwerp.

The subject is the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. They are standing under the tree of Knowledge, the branches of which, loaded with apples, are also occupied near Eve by such birds and animals as the peacock, the parrot, and the ape, designed to represent the frailties of the female sex: over Adam is seen the eagle, the ostrich, &c. which characterize the qualities of the man.

The canopy over this piece of sculpture is supported by two angels, and by the branches of the tree, and crowned by a beautiful statue of the Virgin Mary, holding the divine infant in her arms. There are several angels at her feet, and with a cross, which she holds in her hand, she bruises the head of the serpent. This church has two towers, upon each of which a telegraph was placed by the French government. A grand stair-case of blue marble, which led to the principal entrance, was decorated by a ballustrade; but, being thrown down in some popular commotion, it has been subsequently removed.

In the choir of this church there is a tomb of black marble, surmounted by the figure of a lion on copper, which is said to weigh more than six thousand pounds. This mausoleum contains the ashes of John II. Duke of Brabant, who died in 1312, and those of his wife, Margaret, daughter of Edward, King of England, who died in 1318. Philip II. is also interred here; he died in 1480.

In the nave are fourteen very fine statues, which are greatly admired by connoisseurs; they represent the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles. In one of the chapels in which service is performed, the superb mausoleums of the families of Spinola and Jean Brueghel, a celebrated painter, attract great attention.

Most of the streets in Brussels are commodious, and have fine openings;—the architecture of the houses is grand, being ornamented with Ionic pilasters, and the fronts painted with oil-colours: the prevailing colours are white, a nankeen yellow, and light green. The dates of the buildings are nearly all equal, being subsequent to the bombardment of the city by Marshal Villeroy, in the autumn of 1695. The style in which the houses were rebuilt, after that calamity, is a sufficient indication of the opulence of the inhabitants of Brussels, even at that period. Most of the houses built in the time of the Spaniards, have their gable ends towards the street.

St. Michael's Square, in the neighbourhood of the new street De La Loi, is a long square, formed by magnificent buildings of the same architecture, ornamented with pilasters of the Doric order. This has been a promenade for some years past; and to increase the

pleasure of walking here, the pavement was after some time taken up, to give place to a number of lime-trees, which are enclosed within railing. The new corn-market is very handsome, but the architecture of the houses that surround it is of different kinds.

The park at Brussels is superior to most of the public promenades in Europe. It is intersected by broad and handsome walks, the lofty trees on each side affording their shade to these and the beautiful lawns which continually relieve the eye, and give particular effect to a number of marble statues of excellent workmanship. A fine basin in the centre, plentifully stocked with gold and silver fish, adds to the attractions of this delightful spot. On each side of the principal walk, two valleys, shaded with high trees and bushes, offer a retreat from the scorching rays of the sun.

The magnificence of the buildings which surround the park, cannot be easily surpassed, particularly the extensive façade occupying the whole length of the street De La Loi, in the centre of which stands the palace, lately the seat of the Imperial Court of Appeal. The pediment exhibits a group of allegorical figures, which does honour to the art of sculpture.

Besides the theatre in the park, there are an assembly-room and a coffee-house, with billiard-tables, and other games. An excellent traiteur is also established here.

The regularity and beautiful architecture of the buildings in the grand square, called the Place Royale, particularly the superb portico of the new church of Condenberg, the pediment of which is supported by six columns, produces a very striking effect. This square was formerly embellished with the statue of Prince Charles of Lorraine, which cost a very great sum, but was thrown down when General Dumourier entered Brussels. It was replaced when the Austrians regained possession; but, during the war, it was a second time verthrown, and carried to Paris.

The noble palace of Schonenberg, commonly called Lacken, was built by the late Archduchess Maria Christiana, and was occupied for some time by the usurper Buonaparte. The gardens overlook the road to Antwerp; and these contain the subterranean grotto, the temples of Amity, and that of the Sun. The celebrated Chinese Pagoda has been unfortunately destroyed.

ANTWERP.

Antwerp is situate in a low marshy ground on the Scheldt, twenty-four miles north of Brussels: the citadel is one of the strongest in Europe, and, under the direction of Carnot, during the last struggle between Buonaparte and the allies, it seemed to have been rendered impregnable by land and water.

The commerce of this city, rather more than two centuries ago, was superior to that of any other state in Europe, two thousand five hundred vessels arriving in its ports in one year; and it is recorded, as a proof of the opulence of its merchants, that a certain individual, named John Daens, having lent the Emperor Charles V. a million of gold, invited him to dinner; when, after a royal entertainment, he threw the emperor's bond into a fire made of cinnamon.

When the United Provinces threw off the yoke of Spain, having got possession of the entrance of the Scheldt, they built forts on the sides, and sunk obstructions in the channel to prevent a free navigation; in consequence of which the commerce of Antwerp has been completely ruined. Still, however, it is a large and handsome city, and an episcopal see. The streets are, in general, wide and straight, and surrounded by a wall and regular fortifications: the citadel, of a pentagonal form, was built by order of the Duke of Alva, on a rising ground, to overawe the citizens. The work was conducted by Pachiotti, a famous engineer and architect, who gave the design, and by Colonel Cerbellon, who employed in the works not only the pioneers, but the soldiers of the duke's army. In this citadel was placed the famous statue of the Duke of Alva, made of the cannon taken at the battle of Jemminghe, in Friesland. The duke was represented standing erect, and armed at all points, on a square pedestal of blue marble. In one hand he held a commander's baton; the other hand pointed towards the city, to signify that he had procured its peace. Under his feet lay a monster with two heads and six hands, to represent the nobility and people whom he had vanquished; one hand held a flambeau, the other held a broken hammer, an axe, a leaf of paper, and a purse; beneath the monster lay a visor, a club, serpents, &c. On the side of the pedestal, towards the city, was an inscription in French, to the following effect:

> "To the honour of Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva, and governor of the Netherlands, the faithful minister of the excellent King of Spain, Philip II. who succeeded in appeasing the sedition, chasing the rebels, re-establishing the religion, and confirming the peace of these provinces."

This statue was so offensive to the inhabitants of Antwerp, that they threw it down with a design to break it to pieces; and although it was removed by Don Lewis de Requesne, the Duke of Alva's successor, to a place less public; yet nothing could prevent its being treated with every mark of ignominy that an enraged populace

could bestow on the representation of a man, who had rendered himself so universally detested.

The most remarkable public edifices in this city are the bourse, or exchange, the town-house, the cathedral, the Jesuit's church, and that of St. James. The bourse is ninety feet in length, and seventy in depth, including the portico by which it is surrounded; it was first built in 1531, and is said to have taken its name from a house that stood in the same place, on the front of which was an escutcheon with three bourses or purses on it. The plan of the Royal Exchange, in London, as first built by Sir Thomas Gresham, was taken from this. The town-house is a fine old building, ninety-seven feet long, and sixty-five feet deep. The cathedral-church of Nôtre Dame is a magnificent structure, with a steeple four hundred and twenty feet in height. The interior contains many altars and little chapels, adorned with exquisite sculptures and paintings: the ascension of the Virgin, the taking down from the cross, the salutation, and the circumcision, by Rubens, are particularly esteemed. The portico is decorated with marble statues, and is extremely fine. The Jesuits' church is another noble structure; the model of its interior being not unlike that of St. Clement's, in London, something longer, but hardly so broad; the pillars are of the finest marble, the walls and roof are wainscoted with pannels painted by Rubens, and other great masters; the great altar is of the finest marble, lofty and noble, with a grand picture of the ascension of the Virgin, by Rubens. That celebrated artist was buried in St. James's church, in a small chapel erected by himself, and adorned with a beautiful altar-piece of his own painting.

Near the cathedral was formerly shown the iron railing of a well, with ornamental foliages, the workmanship of Quintin Marsys, then a blacksmith, but afterwards a painter. He was a native of Antwerp, and fell in love with a painter's daughter; but, as the lady's father determined to give her only to one of his own profession, Marsys went to Italy, where he studied the art, and returned to Antwerp with such proofs of his ability in the pictorial art, that the old man readily gave his consent to a marriage with his daughter. Antwerp possesses many of his pieces, and the famous picture of the Misers, in Windsor Castle, is of this master's painting. At the entrance of the cathedral his head is carved, with this inscription:

"Connublalis amor de Mulcibre fecit Apellem:"

which is merely saying, in English, that connubial love made an Apelles of a blacksmith.

Among other famous men whom Antwerp has produced, are Ortelius, the celebrated geographer, Gramaye, the historiographer of the Netherlands, Vandyke, the two Teniers, father and son, painters, whose works are universally known and valued, Schelstraete, librarian at the Vatican, &c. &c.

Near the citadel is a large prison, containing one thousand convicts. This place and its inhabitants have been thus described by a recent visitor. "I had observed, on the outside of the citadel, several parties of men dressed in red jackets, working at different sorts of labour, chained two and two by the legs. The first party were attending two carts with a water-cask on each; and their march made a dreadful rattling. They were the convicts, sent to Antwerp from all parts of the country, for a certain term of years, and many for life. Each party had a superintendant with it, and those who are allowed to work out of doors, are the better-behaved, and those whose time is nearly expiring. Accompanied by an under-keeper, I went into their great prison, within the citadel: it consists of large wards, divided into stalls, placed head to head along the middle range, so as to leave the walls free on both sides to pass along, as in a stable. A man on the outside unlocked an iron grated door, and, in a moment, I found myself among some hundreds of desperate criminals.

"I had often heard that a visit to the felons of Newgate is neither safe nor pleasant; but it seemed much worse to be surrounded by foreign ruffians of all descriptions. To my surprise, however, as we passed along, the poor creatures, many of whom had left their stalls to go over to the opposite side, ran into their kennels, that we might not have to step over their chains; and one and all stood silent, and pulled off their caps as we passed. The governor told me, that this was not owing to my being accompanied by an overseer; but that they would have done the same had I been alone.

"The prison is well aired, and there were very few of the prisoners sick. Their submission results from the hopelessness of their situation, and the severe *regime* under which they are placed. To prevent even the thought of mutiny, loaded cannon are pointed to both sides of the building."

GHENT.

This celebrated city is situate at the conflux of four navigable rivers, the Scheldt, the Lys, the Lieve, and the Moere, which run through it, and divide it into twenty-six little isles, over which there are three hundred bridges. One of these is remarkable for a statue in brass of a young man who was condemned to cut off his father's head; but, as he was going to strike, the blade flew into the air, and the hilt remained in his

hand, upon which they were both pardoned. This event occurred in the year 1371, and a painting of the story is still preserved in the town-house. Ghent is surrounded with walls and other fortifications, and is tolerably strong for a place of its circumference. But all the ground within the walls is not built upon. The streets are large and well-paved, the market-places are spacious, and the houses built with brick: but the Friday's market-place is the largest, and is remarkable for a statue of Charles V., which stands upon a pedestal, in the imperial habit. That of Cortere is remarkable for a fine walk under several rows of trees. In 1737, a fine opera-house was built here, and a guard-house for the garrison. Near the town is a very high tower, with a handsome clock and chimes. The great bell weighs eleven thousand pounds. This town is famous for the pacification signed here in 1526, for settling the tranquillity of the seventeen provinces, which was afterwards confirmed by the King of Spain. It was taken by Louis XIV. in 1678, who afterwards restored it. The French took possession of it again after the death of Charles II. of Spain. In 1706, it was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, and by the French in 1708; but it was retaken the same year. The French took it by surprise after the battle of Fontenoy; but, at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, it was restored. It was again taken by the French in 1794, and in 1815 it was the temporary residence of Louis XVIII., during the second usurpation of Buonaparte. John, the third son of Edward III. king of England, was born in this city, and thence called John of Gaunt. It is very well seated for trade, on account of its rivers and canals. It carries on a great commerce in corn; and has linen, woollen, and silk, manufactures. The population is computed at seventy thousand.

BRUGES.

Bruges is pleasantly situated, and surrounded by canals, which are navigable for vessels of five hundred tons burthen. The quays, also, are extremely commodious; but commerce has here suffered so considerably, that, in several parts of this city, grass was lately growing to the water's edge.

The houses are generally large and ancient, exhibiting the remains of former grandeur and opulence, but were, till lately, mostly shut up, or only a room or two inhabited by the remains of a family, or an old servant sufficient to retain possession; some of the houses have forty or fifty windows in front. Many of the religious houses are now in ruins, and parts of their once stately chapels are occupied by private families.

The steeple at the top of the Grand Market, is reckoned one of the most beautiful of the kind in Europe; it has five hundred and thirty-three steps in height, and is furnished with an excellent set of chimes, which play every quarter of an hour. There are several good churches at Bruges; the cathedral, dedicated to St. Donat, is most superbly decorated with sculpture, and paintings of the first Flemish masters.

Bruges contains many monuments, which remind the spectator of the period when it served as a central point for the merchants of the Hans Towns, and those of Venice, Genoa, and other cities in the Mediterranean. In fact, it was at that time the only depôt of the commerce of Europe, from whence they drew a sufficient supply for surrounding nations. Bruges being also the residence of the powerful Counts of Flanders, was at the height of its prosperity, when the court of Philip the Good displayed an unparalleled degree of splendour, and when his power rendered him formidable to all his neighbours. His court was an asylum for every unfortunate sovereign. This Count of Flanders, who at one time protected kings, and at others made them tremble, immortalized his name, not only by his great qualities and his brilliant actions, but by his establishment of the order of the Golden Fleece, in 1430, on the day of his marriage with Isabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal.

The following observations of Mr. Southey on this city are peculiarly apposite:

"The season of her splendour is gone by,
  Yet every where its monuments remain;
Temples which rear their stately heads on high,
  Canals that intersect the fertile plain,
Wide streets and squares, with many a court and hall
Spacious and undefac'd, but ancient all.

Time hath not wrong'd her, nor hath Ruin sought
  Rudely her splendid structures to destroy,
Save in those recent days with evil fraught,
  When Mutability, in drunken joy
Triumphant, and from all restraint releas'd,
Let loose the fierce and many-headed beast.

But for the scars in that unhappy rage
  Inflicted, firm she stands and undecay'd;
Like our first sires', a beautiful old age
  Is hers, in venerable years array'd;
And yet to her benignant stars may bring,
What fate denies to man,—a second spring.

When I may read of tilts in days of old,
  And tourneys grac'd by chieftains of renown,
Fair dames, grave citizens, and warriors bold,
  If Fancy would pourtray some stately town,
Which for such pomp fit theatre should be,
Fair Bruges, I shall then remember thee."

The church of Nôtre Dame is a beautiful edifice; but the interior presents nothing striking, excepting two monuments, constructed of *pierre de touche*, and

gilt copper. The gilding alone cost twenty-four thousand Dutch ducats. These superb memorials were saved from the fury of the revolutionists by the beadle of the church. Buonaparte, being informed of this circumstance when he was at Bruges, ordered the beadle a reward for his services, and gave one thousand francs for the embellishment of the chapel which contains these monuments; the first of which was erected to the memory of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, killed before Nancy, in 1477. It was erected in 1550, by *Marie D'Autriche*, sister of Charles the Fifth, with the following inscription:—"Here lies the most high, most powerful, and magnanimous Prince Charles, Duke of Bourg, Lothricke, Brabant, Limbourg, Luxembourg, and Gueldres; Count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy; Palatine of Hanau, of Holland, of Zealand, of Namur, and Zutphen; Marquis of the Holy Empire; Lord of Friesland, Salines, and Malines; who, being highly endowed with courage, constancy, and magnanimity, was for a long time fortunate in his arduous enterprises, battles, and victories, at Monthelri, in Normandy, in Artois, and at Liege; till fortune, turning her back upon him, overwhelmed him on the night of the Twelfth Day, 1476, before Nancy. His body, deposited at Nancy, was afterwards, by order of the most high, most puissant, and most victorious Prince Charles, Emperor of the Romans, the fifth of this name, his nephew, and the inheritor of his name, his victories, and his lordships, removed to Bruges, where King Philip of Castile, Leon, Arragon, and Navarre, and son of the same Emperor Charles, caused it to be deposited in this tomb, by the side of his daughter and sole heiress, Mary, the wife of the most high and most puissant Prince Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, and afterwards King and Emperor of the Romans."

The other tomb contains the remains of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of this prince, the wife of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, who died in the twenty-fifth year of her age, on the 28th of March, 1481.

From Bruges to Ghent, as in many other parts of the Netherlands, the usual conveyance is by a canal in a boat, which sets out every morning at nine o'clock; another sets out at the same time from Ghent, and arrives at four o'clock in the afternoon. These boats are extremely commodious, capable of containing two hundred persons. The state-cabin is handsomely decorated with damask furniture, over which is the quarter-deck, having seats for fine weather, and covered with a canopy, like the Egyptian gondolas. The passage affords a most delightful view of the country, passing through the most fertile part of Flanders, intersected with gentlemen's seats and small villages; the banks of the canal are ornamented with uniform rows of trees; by the side of the canal is also the paved way, for cabriolets or other carriages.

The vessel is divided into three separate cabins, according to price; for the first cabin, and dinner at the first table, the expence is five francs. For the second table and cabin, the price is only three francs; and for poor travellers, who carry their own dinner, or who have no dinner, the expence is but one franc.

A convenient kitchen is fitted up on board, with a regular man-cook; and the dinner, at one o'clock, is served up in an excellent style.

There is also a neat little bar, from which the passengers may have any occasional refreshment, as coffee, tea, liquors, &c. When the expence of the journey is collected by the master of the vessel, the waiter follows with a strong iron box, on which is written, *Charity for the poor;* and here you are thought to behave very generously, if you put in a few centimes, being the fractional hundredth part of a penny. The contents of this chest are divided, in equal proportions, between the poor of the town and the waiters on board.

The scenery on the banks of the canal between Ghent and Bruges is highly interesting; as will appear from the following descriptive stanzas:

"No nappier landscape may on earth be seen,
Rich gardens all around and fruitful groves,
White dwellings trim reliev'd with lively green,
The pollard that the Flemish painter loves,
With aspins tall and poplars fair to view,
Casting o'er all the land a grey and willowy hue.

Europe can boast no richer, goodlier scene,
Than that thro' which our pleasant passage lay,
By fertile fields and fruitful gardens green,
The journey of a short autumnal day;
Sleek well-fed steeds our steady vessel drew,
The heavens were fair, and Mirth was of our crew.

Along the smooth canal's unbending line,
Beguiling time with light discourse, we went,
Nor wanting savoury food nor generous wine.
Ashore, too, there was feast and merriment;
The jovial peasants at some village-fair
Were dancing, drinking, smoking, gambling, there."

MALINES.

Malines, or *Mechlin*, is situated upon the river Dyle, and contains six parish-churches; one of which, dedicated to St. Rombaut, is a very large and handsome edifice, built about the year 1451.

In the year 1491, a chapter of the order of the Golden Fleece was held here, by Philip le Bel, Duke of Burgundy, when fourteen new knights were created. Besides the churches, there are a considerable number of religious houses, both for men and women. St. Rombaut, the patron of Malines, is said to have been

a younger son of a petty king of Ireland, and elected to the bishopric of Dublin; but, conceiving himself too young to support the dignity of the office, he quitted it, and travelled to Rome, to visit the tombs of the Christian martyrs. In his return he stopped at Malines, where a great number of infidels were converted by his ministry. He was assassinated on the 24th of June, 775, by two men; one of whom was induced by avarice, in hopes of finding some treasures; the other by revenge, for having been reproved for an adulterous connexion. An annual fete, in honour of this saint, was appointed by Pope Alexander IV. to be observed on the first of July, that it might not interfere with the festival of St. John Baptist, on the 24th of June. Malines was anciently under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Liege; and subsequently under that of Cambray, in which state it continued till the year 1559, when Pope Paul IV., at the solicitation of Philip II., King of Spain, erected it into an archbishopric, with the title of Primate of the Netherlands.

The suffragans of this metropolitan were the Bishops of Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Ruremond, Ypres, and Bois-le-Duc, the latter of which was dissolved at the revolution of the states. After the erection of the archbishopric, several provincial councils were held, at which all the suffragans assisted; the first was held at Malines in the year 1570, at which the Bishop of Ypres presided, in the absence of the Archbishop Cardinal Granvelle, who was in Spain; the second was held in the year 1574, at Louvain, where the same bishop presided; a third was held at Malines in the year 1607, under Archbishop Hovius, who published the synodal ordinances two years after.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, a college was founded here for poor students, which was enlarged by Archbishop Hovius. This foundation owed its origin to John Standonck, a native of Malines, who also founded colleges of a similar kind at Louvain, Cambray, Valenciennes, and Paris, at which last place he died in the year 1604.

The 7th of August, 1546, was truly disastrous to this city. A magazine, containing two thousand quintals of gunpowder, being ignited by lightning, blew up, and destroyed three hundred houses, killed two hundred persons, and maimed six hundred others. The explosion was so great, that it was distinctly heard at Brussels and Antwerp.

Though the manufactures of tapestry and gilt leather, for which Malines was once renowned, are now entirely decayed, the city has still a population of twenty thousand persons, who are principally employed in the tanneries and in the manufacture of rugs. Hats made here are equal to those of Brussels, or any other part of the Netherlands; and though the lace of Malines is inferior in beauty to that of Brussels, it is more durable. Malines, however, is not confined to its own manufactures, but carries on a considerable trade in grain and other produce in its environs. The brown beer of Malines is excellent, and the meat is of the very best quality, as the butchers are prohibited from killing cows, nor can any individual butcher kill more than one ox per week. On this account, they are always careful only to purchase the finest. The bacon, hams, &c. of this place are so well cured, that they might be introduced to the best tables for delicacy and flavour: even the feet and the ears of the pig, as prepared here, are well known throughout Belgium as forming a dish, distinguished by the name *le dejeuner de Malines.* A French traveller observes, that it would be useless to seek for a place where there is better eating than at Malines; and that the low price of eatables, and that of house-rent, is a strong recommendation; though it arises from the difficulty of letting the houses, since the town has been deprived of its grand council, and the number of advocates, pleaders, and other persons dependent upon the government.

LOUVAIN.

This city was founded, according to some historians, by Julius Cæsar; according to others, by one Lupus who lived a long time before him. It is certain, however, that it was known in the year 885, when Godfrey, Duke of Normandy, having ravaged the country, encamped near the Dye, on the plain of Louvain. About this time, the Emperor Arnulph, to defend the country against the Normans, erected a castle, which was called Loven, and afterwards Cæsar's Castle, and was a long time the residence of the dukes of Brabant. This edifice, which is now in ruins, was the scene of the assassination of Henry I., in 1038; of the imprisonment of Thierry, Count of Holland, in 1200; and of the education of the Emperor Charles V. and his sisters, till the year 1510. Here, also, the assembly of the states was formerly held. The city was first surrounded with walls in the year 1165, and was much enlarged, in the fourteenth century, by Wenceslaus and John, dukes of Brabant.

About this time, four thousand houses were inhabited by clothiers, and other manufactories employed above one hundred and fifty thousand workmen. And it is related that, when the crowd of weavers left work, they were compelled to ring a large bell, that the women might keep their children within doors, lest they should be thrown down and trampled to death.

In the year 1382, the weavers and other tradesmen revolted against Wenceslaus, duke of Brabant, and

threw seventeen of the magistrates out of the town-house windows; took arms against their prince, and began to revenge the province; but, being besieged, they implored mercy, and obtained pardon at the entreaty of Arnold de Hornes, bishop of Liege, only the most culpable being punished. The weavers, who were the authors of the insurrection, were banished from the Netherlands, and retired for the most part to England, where they were well received. Louvain being thus nearly deprived of commerce and inhabitants, John IV., duke of Brabant, with the consent of Pope Martin V., in the year 1426, founded an university. This university, the chief ornament of Louvain, was destroyed after the French revolution. But, under the present government of Belgium, it is expected to be re-established in all its former splendour.

In the year 1542, Martin Rossem, general of the Gueldrians, attempted the reduction of this city in vain; and, in 1572, William, Prince of Orange, was obliged to raise the siege, by the vigorous resistance of the citizens and students. On the first Sunday of July, they have an annual fete, in memory of their deliverance from the Dutch and the French, in 1635, who were compelled by famine to retire. And, on the 5th of August, 1710, the French, under the partisan Du Moulin, attempted to surprise the city, but were repulsed by the citizens, and compelled to retire in confusion; this bravery was rewarded by a present of a golden key, sent them by Charles III., king of Spain, as an acknowledgment of their fidelity, which is carefully preserved in the town-house as a memorial of his majesty's good-will. In the year 1746, however, Louvain was taken by the French, and again by the republican troops under Dumourier, in their hasty progress through Brabant, but was evacuated on the 22d of March, 1793; and, indeed, it is but ill-adapted for defence, the walls being three leagues in circumference, though not a third part of the inclosed ground is built on; the remainder being laid out in gardens and vineyards.

The houses of the different colleges afforded a gratuitous habitation to many of the students. Several of these buildings, being connected, recently formed a magnificent hotel, occupied by invalids of the French army. The Clothiers' Hall is still a fine building; this had been converted into accommodations for public schools of law, physic, and divinity, for the use of which a magnificent library had been added.

Next to the colleges, the Maison de Ville attracts a visitor's attention. It is a Gothic building, on which no expence seems to have been spared; the numerous embossed figures, even upon the exterior, are of the most exquisite workmanship. The church of St. Peter, opposite, had a fine tower, upwards of five hundred feet high, which fell without any apparent cause in the year 1606. The ci-devant college of the Jesuits, lately converted into a parish-church, affords an additional proof of the costliness of the buildings that once belonged to this order.

The present population does not exceed forty thousand souls; and the principal article of trade is beer, of which great quantities are sent to Antwerp, Liege, Thirlemont, and other cities.

MONS.

This city, which the Flemings call *Bergen*, is situate on a hill, and watered by the river Trouille, which runs through the town, and forms a junction with the Haisne. It had an ancient castle, said to have been built by Julius Cæsar, who made it a depôt of arms: it is also related that Ambiorix, King of the Eburons, assisted the Nervii in besieging Quintus Cicero, brother of the celebrated orator, who commanded a Roman legion in this place, and was defeated by Cæsar fifty years before the Christian era. In the year 1618, this castle was demolished, and the materials were used in the erection of the choir of the church of St. Elizabeth.

The streets of this town are generally broad, and the great market-place is very spacious, in which are the town-house, the palace of the government, and that of the council of the province. These three edifices, which are the principal ornaments of the city, are richly adorned with sculpture and paintings. The great church is a fine building, the side-altars and chapel are all of marble and jasper; and some of the tombs and statues are highly esteemed.

Mons has been repeatedly exposed to the calamities of war. In the year 1572, Louis, Count of Nassau, brother of William, Prince of Orange, surprised the city, by sending in some soldiers disguised as dealers in wine, who seized the gates, and admitted the count, on the 24th of May, at four o'clock in the morning. It was besieged by the Duke of Alva's son the 23d of July following, and submitted on the 19th of September, notwithstanding the vigorous defence made by the Count of Nassau, and the efforts which the Prince of Orange made to succour it.

Mons was blockaded by the French army, under the command of the Marshal de Humieres, in 1677; and the blockade was continued to the following year, when the citizens began to suffer a famine. The Prince of Orange advanced with an army of thirty thousand men to succour the besieged; the Duke of Luxembourg, who then commanded the French army, was so confident of the good situation he was in, that he sent word to the Marshal D'Estrades, one of the French plenipotentiaries of Nimeguen, that he was so posted, that, if

he had but ten thousand men, and the Prince of Orange four times that number; he was certain he could not be forced, much less while his army was superior to that of the enemy; however, the prince resolved to break through all obstacles, and began his march to attack the French, who were encamped near the abbey of St. Denis, to cover the army engaged in the blockade. The attack commenced on the 14th of August, at two o'clock in the afternoon, while the Duke of Luxembourg, depending on the treaty then carrying on at Nimeguen, was at dinner, and had made no provision for an engagement; the battle was obstinate and sanguinary, and the French were driven from the field, leaving the greater part of their wounded, and a considerable quantity of tents, baggage, and warlike stores: the siege of Mons was immediately raised, and the next day it was publicly known that the peace had been concluded at Nimeguen, of which the prince was made acquainted the day before. In the spring of 1691, Mons was again besieged by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, and the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, under the command of the Prince of Bergue; but the besiegers carried on their works with great rapidity; and the burghers, seeing their town in danger of being destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, threatened to introduce the besiegers, unless the governor consented to capitulate; so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions.

In 1709, the allies having resolved to attempt the siege of Mons, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough detached the Prince of Hesse with four thousand men, and the rest of the army followed; but the French army being encamped at Blangy, to obstruct their progress, the allies attacked them, and brought on the battle of Malplaquet, after which the siege commenced; the trenches were opened on the 26th, and the city surrendered by capitulation on the 20th of October. The Marquis de Ceva Grimaldi, lieutenant-general of the army of Spain, marched out with the garrison on the 23d; the French were conducted to Maubeuge, and the Spaniards to Namur. The military government of the place remained in the hands of the Dutch till the year 1716, when they resigned it to the troops of the emperor, in virtue of the barrier-treaty concluded at the latter end of the year 1715.

In 1746, Marshal Saxe invested Mons with a large train of artillery, and made his approaches with such impetuosity, that, after a gallant resistance of twenty-eight days, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the 27th of June. While it remained in the hands of the French, the fortifications were demolished, and in this state it was restored to the emperor by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Immediately after the battle of Gemappe, Dumourier summoned the city of Mons, which surrendered the following morning, and was taken possession of by General Bournonville.

Mons formerly contained a number of religious houses and convents, and two colleges, and was a very strong place; its principal commerce arises from the neighbouring coal-mines and marble-quarries, and also horned cattle, sheep, and manufactures of cotton. The population is estimated at eighteen thousand souls.

LUXEMBOURG.

Luxembourg, the capital of the duchy of that name, is divided into the Upper or Old Town, and the Lower or New Town. The former is surrounded by rocks, and the latter contains two suburbs. Here are a strong castle, and regular fortifications.

The city is governed by a richter, or judge, and seven eschevines, or aldermen, who judge both in civil and criminal matters. The richter is chosen every year, on the eve of St. Andrew's festival; that office is held alternately by a citizen, and by one of the aldermen.

The principal church here is that of St. Nicholas, a parochial one, but not very considerable: so that when there is any public act of devotion to be performed, it is always done either in the church which formerly belonged to the Jesuits, or in that of the Recollects. There are three other parishes in this city, one of which belongs to the abbey of Munster, of the Benedictine order, founded by Conrad I., Count of Luxembourg, in the year 1083.

BERGEN-OP-ZOOM.

This city, which is one of the strongest places in the Netherlands, was regularly fortified in the year 1629, and rendered nearly impregnable. Towards Antwerp is a grand half-moon, extending to a fort, furnished with four redoubts, and well mounted with cannon; between the town and the sea are eleven forts, well supplied, with a number of redoubts and pallisadoes; and, towards Steenberg, the outworks are very strong, with a number of redoubts and intrenchments. Succours may, also, be easily thrown into the place, during a siege, by means of a canal which communicates with the Scheldt.

Bergen-op-Zoom appears to have had its particular lords so early as the year 1212. After the death of John de Glimes, whom the Duchess of Parma sent into Spain, and who died in prison in 1567, the marquisate came into the possession of Eitel Frederick, Prince of Hohenzollern, of the house of Brandenburg, by a marriage with Elizabeth de Berg, heiress of the

deceased marquis. With their daughter it was received as a marriage-portion by Maurice de la Tour D'Auvergne, governor and senechal of Limosin. This prince died in 1707, leaving his son Constantine, who quitted the service of France, and retired to Holland, where he was appointed lieutenant-general of the Dutch forces. In 1707, he married Mary Anne, daughter of Philip, Duke of Aremberg and Arschot, by whom he had one only daughter, Mary Henrietta, and died in 1710, at Douay, in the prime of his age. The commander, Don Louis de Requesnes, governor of the Netherlands, was defeated near this city, on the 29th of January, 1574.

In 1588, the Prince of Parma attempted to take it, but without success; and, in 1622, the Marquis of Spinola laid siege to it again, but the besieged defended themselves so gallantly, and the Prince of Orange took such precautions for throwing in succours, that the marquis was obliged to raise the siege on the 2d of October, after having lost upwards of ten thousand men, from the 18th of July, when he began his approach. In 1746, Marshal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached Count Lowendahl with thirty-six thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, and well furnished with magazines, artillery, and ammunition. The enemy appeared before it on the 12th of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. At the same time, the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled; and the Baron Constrom, whom the stadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison.

The besiegers carried on their operations with great vigour, and the troops in the town defended themselves with equal resolution. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Comte Lowendahl received various reinforcements, and a numerous body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzenburg, to cooperate with the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The French general lost a considerable number of men by the well-directed and constant fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, that the defences began to give way.

From the 16th of July to the 15th of September, the siege produced a continued scene of horror and destruction; many desperate sallies were made, and mines were sprung with the most awful effect; the works began to be shattered, great part of the town was laid in ashes, and the trenches were filled with carnage. But still the damage fell principally upon the besiegers, who were slain in heaps, while the garrison suffered comparatively little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines.

At length some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though the veteran Constrom believed they were impracticable; and did not suppose that the enemy would attempt an assault. Lowendahl, however, resolved to hazard the attack, before preparations should be made for his reception; and, at four o'clock in the morning, on the 16th of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place almost without resistance. In fact, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Constrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the States-general, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every foot of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed upon the spot. They then carried off the governor, abandoning the town to the enemy; the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation; all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. Bergen-op-Zoom was restored to the Dutch at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; but was afterwards doomed to fall under the tyranny of the French, from whose dominion, we trust, it has now been wrested for ever.

For the following description of Bergen-op-Zoom, we are indebted to a modern traveller:

"Through a country as level as the surface of a lake, you jolt onward in your cabriolet, passing along a paved causeway, which, as if an inundation were apprehended, is raised upon a mound considerably higher than the champaign country which it traverses. At length, you spy the top of a poor-looking spire or two, not rising proudly pre-eminent from a group of buildings, but exhibiting their slender pinnacles above the surrounding glacis, as if they belonged to a subterranean city, or indicated the former site of one which had been levelled with the ground. The truth is, that

the buildings of the town, being sunk to a considerable depth beneath the sloping ramparts by which it is surrounded, are completely hidden, and the defences themselves, to an inexperienced eye, present nothing but huge sloping banks of earth, cut into fanciful shapes and angles, and carefully faced with green turf. Yet the arrangement of these simple barriers, with reference to the command of each other, as well as of the neighbouring country, has been esteemed the very perfection of military science. And, upon a nearer approach, even the traveller, who only delights in picturesque objects, finds some gratification. This is chiefly experienced upon his entrance into the town.

"Here, turning at a short angle into a deep and narrow avenue, running through these mounds, which at a distance seemed so pacific and unimportant, he finds himself still excluded by draw-bridges and ditches, while guns, placed upon the adjoining batteries, seem ready to sweep the ground which he traverses. Still moving forward, he rolls over draw-bridges, whose planks clatter under the feet of his horses, and through vaulted arches, which resound to the perpetual smack of his driver's whip. He is questioned by whiskered sentinels, his passports are carefully examined, and his name is recorded in the orderly-book; and it is only after these precautions that the most pacific stranger is permitted to enter the town.

"These formidable fortifications will soon be of little consequence, and may probably be permitted to go to decay. Bergen-op-Zoom, a frontier town of the last importance, while the Princes of Orange were only stadtholders of the Seven United Provinces, has become a central part of their dominions, since the Netherlands have been united into a single kingdom.

"The history of war contains no example of a bolder attempt than that made by Lord Lyndock on the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom; and if it failed of success, that failure only occurred after almost all the difficulties which could have been foreseen had been encountered and surmounted. In fact, the assailants, successful upon various points, were already in possession of the greater number of the bastions; and, had they fortunately been in communication with each other, so as to have taken uniform measures for attacking the French in the town, they must have become masters of the place. It is even confidently said, that the French commandant sent his aid-de-camp to propose a capitulation; but the officer being killed in the confusion, more favourable intelligence induced the Frenchman to alter his purpose. It has been generally alleged, that some disorder was caused by the soldiers, who had entered the town, finding access to the wine-houses. My conductor obstinately denied this breach of discipline. He said, that one of the attacking columns, destined to cross the stream which forms the harbour, had unhappily attempted it before the tide had ebbed, and were obliged to wade through when it was of considerable depth; and he allowed that the severity of the cold, joined to the wetting, might give them the appearance of intoxication. But, when the prisoners were put under his charge in the church, of which he was sexton, he declared solemnly, that he did not see among them one individual who seemed affected by liquor.

"The fate of a Dutch officer in our service, who led the attack upon one of the bastions, was particularly interesting. He was a native of the town, and it was supposed had been useful in furnishing hints for the attack. He led on his party with the utmost gallantry; and, although the greater number of them fled, or fell under a heavy fire,—for the enemy were by this time upon the alert,—he descended into the main ditch, crossed it upon the ice, and forced his way, followed by a handful of men, as far as the internal defences of the place. He had already mounted the inner glacis, when he was wounded in many places, and precipitated into the ditch; and, as his followers were unable to bring him off, he remained on the ice until the next morning, when, being still alive, he was taken prisoner by the French. Their first design was to execute him as a traitor, from which they were with difficulty diverted by a letter from the British general, accompanied by documents to establish how long he had been in the English service. The unfortunate gentleman was then permitted to retire from the hospital to his own house in the town, where he soon fell a victim to the wounds he had received."

NAMUR.

Namur, situate at the conflux of the Maese and Sambre, about thirty miles distant from Brussels, is one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands; being defended by a formidable castle, upwards of a dozen forts, and other fortifications. In the year 1692, Louis XIV., being mortified at the defeat of his fleet off La Hogue, resolved to lay siege to Namur, and, having reviewed his army, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men, he invested it on both sides the Sambre with one-half of his army, while the other covered the siege, under the command of the Duke of Luxembourg.

The garrison consisted of nine thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Barbançon. The place was well supplied, and the governor knew that King William would make great efforts for its relief; notwithstanding which, the assailants carried on their attacks

with such vigour, that, in seven days after the trenches were opened, the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Liege and Brandenburg, advanced to the Mehaigne at the head of a hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that William could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines, without great disadvantage.

The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their king, and assisted by their celebrated engineer, Vauban, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort Coehorn was surrendered after an obstinate defence, in which Coehorn himself had been dangerously wounded. It was a noble spectacle to behold the two greatest engineers Europe had ever produced, Vauban and Coehorn, exhaust the whole science of attack and defence. Several sallies and assaults were made; the besieged performed prodigies of valour; but the arms of the besiegers finally prevailed, and the citadel surrendered in sight of King William's army.

Namur continued in the possession of the French till the year 1695, when William resolved, if possible, to retake it; and, having by his manœuvres drawn the forces of the enemy towards Flanders, he directed the Baron de Heyden and the Earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons, from the camp of the Elector of Bavaria, to invest the city. This was accordingly done on the 3d of July; but, as the place was not completely surrounded, Marshal Boufflers threw himself into it with such a reinforcement, as augmented the garrison to fifteen thousand men. The king and the elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both sides the Sambre and the Meuse; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the 6th, under the direction of General Coehorn.

Since its last reduction, the French had made such additional works, that, united with the number and quality of the garrison, and the valour of their commander, the enterprise was deemed an undeniable proof of King William's temerity. The trenches were opened on the 11th, and the following day the batteries began to play with incredible fury; the garrison, however, defended the place with equal spirit and perseverance.

On the 18th, Major-general Ramsay and Lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions of English, Scots, and Hollanders, attacked the enemy's advanced works on the right of the counterscarp. They were supported by six British battalions, commanded by Brigadier-general Fitzpatrick, while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under Major-general Salisch. The assault was desperate and sanguinary, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage; but at last they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred of the confederate army. The king was so well pleased with the behaviour of the British troops on this occasion, that, during the action, he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the Elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave English!"

On the 27th, the English and Scots, under Ramsay and Hamilton, assaulted the counterscarp, where they were furiously opposed by the fire of the besieged. Being supported by the Dutch, however, they made a lodgment on the foremost covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counter-guard. The valour of the assailants, on this occasion, was almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the besieged excited the highest admiration.

On the 30th of July, the Elector of Bavaria attacked the line with which Vauban surrounded the works of the castle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal bravery and success. They not only broke through the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impracticable to effect a lodgment.

On the 2d of August, Lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the saillant angle of a demi-bastion, and effected a lodgment on the second counterscarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, Count Guiscard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the 4th of August; and the French retired into the citadel, against which twelve batteries were opened upon the 13th. The trenches, in the mean time, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who kept up an unremitting fire, and exerted the utmost diligence and intrepidity in repairing the damage they sustained. At length the annoyance became so dreadful from the showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made several furious sallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the vigilance of the King of England.

On the 30th of August, the besieged were summoned to surrender by Count Horn, who, in a parley with the Count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, stated, that Marshal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No answer being returned to this message, the parley was broken off, and the king resolved to proceed immediately to a general assault. Between

one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terra Nova, supported by the regiments of Culthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while Colonel Marselly, with a body of Dutch, Bavarians, and Brandenburghers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with so warm a reception, that the English grenadiers were repulsed, even after they had mounted the breach; Lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the head. Marselly was defeated, made prisoner, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers.

The Bavarians, having mistaken their way, were exposed to a most galling fire, by which their general, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers, were killed. They fixed themselves, however, on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their position with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant angle next to the breach, sword in hand, while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance, and plant their colours on the pallisadoes. These orders were executed with admirable intrepidity. Cockle and his detachment broke through the pallisadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgment in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians, being thus supported, established themselves in their position.

Major-generals La Cave and Scheverin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered-way; and, although the general assault did not succeed in its full extent, the allies remained masters of a position, nearly an English mile in length. This advantage, however, was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men, including several officers of rank and reputation. During the action, the Elector of Bavaria signalized himself in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with perfect coolness, animating the officers with promises of preferment, and distributing handfuls of gold among the troops.

On the 1st of September, the besieged having obtained an armistice, for the purpose of burying their dead, the Count de Guiscard appeared on the breach, and desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria, to whom he proposed to surrender the fort Coehorn; but he was given to understand, if he designed to capitulate, he must treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Boufflers, he agreed to the proposal, and, in the course of the evening, the capitulation was completed.

On the demise of Charles II. of Spain, the French seized Namur with the rest of the Netherlands. In the year 1704, the Dutch army, under General Ouwerkercke, bombarded it from the 26th of July to the 29th, and destroyed a considerable part of the city; but the French retained possession of it till the treaty of Utrecht, when the town and castle were given up to the States-General, to serve as a barrier against France; the sovereignty and revenues of the city and its district to be vested in the Elector of Bavaria, and the town to contribute its quota to the maintenance of the Dutch troops and fortifications.

In 1746, after the French had cut off the communication of the allies with Maestricht, Prince Charles of Lorraine abandoned the defence of Namur, which was immediately invested by the enemy. The trenches were opened on the 2d of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and gallantry; but the bombardment was so furious, that in a few days the place was laid in ruins; and, on the 23d day of the month, the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was ceded to the Emperor of Germany, and since that time the fortifications were demolished, except the citadel, of which General Valence, with a detachment of the French army, took possession, on the 2d of December, 1792.

Upon the declivity of an immense rock, which seems to overhang this city, there are several gardens that have a very picturesque appearance. Here are also some small habitations near the summit, and the remains of an immense citadel.

The principal churches in this city are the cathedral, and that formerly occupied by the Jesuits. The latter is a modern edifice of the Corinthian order, and has a beautiful dome. The interior is interesting, and merits the attention of travellers. Its portico is embellished with twenty beautiful columns, supporting a façade, the cornice of which serves for a pedestal to several marble statues. This church is unquestionably superior to the cathedral. Its arches of white marble, sculptured, at an immense expence, are uncommonly rich. The nave is supported by twelve rustic columns of red marble, crowned with Ionic capitals. The stones of the pavement, of different colours, are curiously inserted into each other. The lower part of the walls is wainscoted with wood richly carved, and the Confession boxes are extremely beautiful, each of them presenting the appearance of three arcades, sup-

ported by spiral columns, which produce a very pleasing effect.

The streets in Namur are generally large and clean, and have agreeable openings. The houses, built of a darkish blue stone, exhibit a whimsical, though rather a pleasing, appearance. The houses in the Grand Place, or Square, are all three stories high; but the Hotel de Ville is scarcely worthy of notice.

The iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Namur, and the forests near the Meuse, supply such an abundance of charcoal, that a great portion of the population is employed in the iron-works. A lead-mine at Vedrin, a small distance from Namur, is also very profitable. The marble-quarries in the vicinity, produce excellent lime, and stones of very large dimensions. The perfection with which they polish marble here, renders it very beautiful. The best black marble is also said to be had only here, so that the Italians themselves have for some time past been compelled to use it. The immense vein of marble that commences in the quarry called Des Malabes, extends as far as Luxembourg, but not without varying in its colour; so that at Vausore and St. Remi, the red tinge predominates over every other.

The excursion from Namur to Liege, by water, is extremely pleasant, and the appearance of the precipices, which run along both sides of the river, is truly magnificent. It is impossible, indeed, to describe the romantic beauty and the delightful aspect of these views, which the Belgian artists, who study nature, come here to enjoy. These rocks, sometimes covered with wood, sometimes naked to the summit, are of different hues, white, blue, or grey, and varied more or less at every step. From the numerous fissures in these rude unformed masses, trees and plants, of different descriptions, frequently meet the eye, and diversify the interesting scene.

OSTEND.

Ostend formerly held a distinguished place among the flourishing cities of the Netherlands. Its decline was rapid, though its port continued to be frequented. At the commencement of the French revolution, it was almost desolate and deserted. But, by the various circumstances of the revolutionary war, it gradually regained a degree of consequence; and it has since become a place of some interest and importance.

It is a remarkable fact that in the whole line of coast extending from the Texel to Brest, there is not one good natural harbour; for the *embouchures* of the Rhine and Scheldt, though accessible at all times in fine weather, yet are so blocked up by sand-banks and shifting sands, that the approach in bad weather, or during dark nights, is attended with great danger. The other ports are factitious tide-harbours, dry at low water, and some of these even at half tide. Of these, Ostend is one of the best.

The harbour of Ostend is formed by an inlet of the sea, which has forced a passage between two sand-hills. The south-western beach is of a triangular shape, and possesses some degree of elevation above high-water mark, and the surrounding flat country, so that, at half-tide, it is entirely peninsulated; and on this bank the town is built. This inlet has been improved at different periods. The ground has been excavated, so as to form the interior harbour, which terminates in the great canal of Bruges, with which it is connected by handsome flood-gates, piers, and sluices. Externally, the channel is confined and deepened by two piers, consisting of double rows of piles driven into the sand, and connected by a flooring of strong planks. At the distance of one hundred yards from the end of the piers there is a bar, which runs across the mouth of the harbour, upon which, in neap-tides, there is not more than seven or eight feet water; at high water, in ordinary tides, there are twelve feet; and, in lunar tides, twenty-five feet and upwards on the bar. If these jetties were carried out so as to rest upon the sand-bank, which forms the bar, it would deepen the water, and prevent the further accumulation of sand, which is constantly thrown up by the northern current on the east side of the harbour.

Between the years 1720 and 1780, the period of its greatest commercial prosperity, the town was considerably enlarged. Ramparts were demolished to make room for buildings, and a new town was regularly laid out and completed. The beauty of this town consists principally in a fine quay, which borders the inner harbour, where the large and handsome hotel of the ci-devant East-India Company makes a conspicuous figure. The buildings are of brick, and the foot-paths are paved with flag-stones; a convenience almost unknown in other parts of the continent.

The old town has a shattered and mean appearance. It contains, however, two good squares, or, as they are more properly called, places. The Maison de Ville, which forms the entire side of one of them, was formerly reckoned among the most magnificent structures of the kind in the Netherlands, being ornamented with two fine towers at each wing, and a dome in the centre; but this edifice was nearly ruined by the bombardment of 1745. The body of the town-house still subsists, but its dome and two beautiful towers are almost entirely destroyed. The church is a large heavy building of brick, without the smallest claim to architectural merit; but the interior is richly ornamented. It has a

lofty octangular steeple, with a very clumsy spire; affording, however, an excellent sea-mark, which may be seen at a great distance. The Pharos is also a striking object. It is a simple column, standing solitary on the beach, and supports a large reflecting lanthorn. Near the Pharos is a flag-staff, on which a blue flag is gradually hoisted in proportion as the tide flows into the harbour.

The fortifications of Ostend are upwards of two miles in circumference. As the place is situated on an elevated beach, the ramparts tower above the flat country, which, being lower than high-water mark, can be speedily and extensively inundated. The only hostile approaches are along the high sand-hills to the north and south; the former is protected by a strong redoubt, built by the late French government; and another is ordered to be constructed on the south side.

Ostend, like many of the towns of modern Europe, was indebted for its origin to ecclesiastical establishments, the signiory being invested in the abbey of St. Bertin, at St. Omer.

On this ground a church was built in 1072, and consecrated to the Virgin Mary, by Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders. Having dispossessed his nephew, the true heir, the latter fled to Philip I., king of France, who marched with a great army to reinstate him; but the usurper totally defeated the French, and the nephew perished in the battle. The church, which Robert had erected, was soon surrounded with dwellings, and became a considerable town; but, on the 22d of November, 1384, both church and town were swallowed up by a sudden influx of the sea. The next year, however, a new church and a new town, fortified with palisadoes, were built higher up on the beach, which have braved the fury of the elements ever since. In 1445, Philip le Bon, Count of Flanders, surrounded Ostend with walls, erected four gates, and formed the harbour.

In the year 1583, Ostend was regularly fortified, by Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who made it the sea-port of the cities of Ghent and Bruges, which he had recently taken. The same year, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, attempted to obtain possession of the newly-fortified town by a *coup de main*, but in this he failed. The Archduke Albert, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, having recently espoused Isabella, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip II., thought that he could not better signalize the commencement of his government, than by the reduction of so important a place. He accordingly invested Ostend with a powerful army, in 1601. For two years the siege was prosecuted with equal fortitude and perseverance; but it was defended with unremitting valour and exertion. The Dutch also threw in succours by sea, of which they had the undisputed possession. Duke Albert, finding that no serious impression was made on the place, while the loss of the besiegers was immense, intrusted the future conduct of the siege to Ambrose Spinosa, a junior officer of extraordinary talents. This measure excited great discontent; but Spinosa soon changed the aspect of affairs. His first care was to equip a flotilla of galleys, to cut off the supplies by sea, which was commanded by his brother Frederick; and, though this fleet was defeated in attempting to raise the siege of Slüys, then besieged by the Prince of Orange, in which Frederick Spinosa himself was killed, yet it partly effected its design. Spinosa, in the mean time, pushed on his approaches through sands and marshes, which were supposed to be utterly impassable, with the utmost vigour. He succeeded, at length, in raising his batteries within point-blank shot, from which the works were incessantly battered by cannon of a large calibre, carrying fifty-pound balls. The fire was returned with equal spirit by the besieged; but, at length, the place being totally destroyed, the survivors of the garrison capitulated on the 14th of September, 1604, and obtained honourable terms, after a memorable siege of three years, three months, and three days.

The Archduke Albert, and his consort, Isabella, proposed to make a triumphal entrance into the *city;* but, to their astonishment, they found nothing but one immense cemetry, where mutilated human bodies were intermingled with masses of smoking ruins. They could not contemplate such a scene without sorrowfully reflecting that so much important time had been thrown away, and so much blood and treasure expended, for the conquest of a sterile bank of sand, and a frightful heap of rubbish. On this occasion, the besieged sustained a loss of about fifty thousand men, whilst that of the besiegers amounted to upwards of eighty thousand.

The employment of the best troops of Spain in this tedious siege, gave time to the Prince of Orange to recover his losses, and to make himself master of Rhenberg, Grave, and Slüys. It was followed by a truce of twelve years, in which the independence of the Dutch republic was first recognised by the court of Madrid. In consequence of such great results, the Dutch thought themselves amply indemnified for the loss of Ostend.

Ostend, being a convenient sea-port, was soon rebuilt; and, in consequence of the Netherlands having passed to the house of Austria, it remained under its government till the French revolution. In 1648, the French attempted to carry the place by a *coup de main*. They embarked in batteaux, for that purpose, a select corps

of two thousand men; but the flotilla was intercepted, and most of the troops killed or taken prisoners. The town was compelled to sustain another siege in the year 1706. The allies, commanded by the Field-marshal Nassau de Overkerke, sat down before it on the 23d of June, whilst it was blockaded by a British squadron under Admiral Fairbon. After sustaining a bombardment, which again reduced the place to ruins, it surrendered on capitulation, the 6th of July following. Ostend then received a Dutch garrison; but it was restored to the Emperor of Germany by virtue of the barrier-treaty, concluded in 1715. From this period, Ostend began greatly to prosper. The Emperor Charles VI. established an East-India Company there, which was so successful, that it excited the commercial jealousy of the Dutch, French, and English. The court of Vienna, however, was induced to abandon this fertile source of wealth, by diplomatic intrigue. It is even asserted, that a *douceur* of ten millions of florins caused the India Company of Ostend, with all its rights and charters, to be transferred to Amsterdam. After which the place soon began to decline; two thousand of its richest citizens removed themselves to other places; and, though various attempts were made to revive its trade, for which purpose, in 1781, it was declared a free port, yet it never could recover itself.

Before its complete decay, Ostend was doomed once more to suffer a destructive siege. When the battle of Fontenoy had laid open all Flanders to the French, Ostend was besieged by Count de Lowendahl. He sat down before the place on the 23d of August, 1745, and, after thirteen days open trenches, and five days bombardment, it capitulated upon honourable terms. The garrison amounted to three thousand six hundred men, most of whom were English. Louis XV. made his triumphal entry into Ostend on the 3d of September following; but it was finally restored to Austria by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Soon after the French revolution, the battle of Gemappe put this fortress into the hands of the republicans. The subsequent reverses of Dumourier restored it to the Austrians: but it was again placed at the disposal of the French, when the battle of Fleurus opened all the Netherlands, and Holland itself, to the enemy.

Buonaparte appears to have contemplated some considerable improvements for Ostend, but the superior importance of Antwerp engrossed his chief attention. That city and Ostend were the last places which the French evacuated, after the abdication of the Corsican, and the re-establishment of a legitimate government in France.

The excursion from Ostend to Bruges by the hoy is very interesting, and is thus described by a recent traveller:

"It was a beautiful summer-evening, when we started from a vast lock about a mile from Ostend: and what with the fineness of the weather, the luxuriance of the surrounding vegetation, and the number and gaiety of a very respectable company, the scene formed a refreshing contrast to the previous part of our expedition, which consisted of a night and day spent at sea on board a close packet. The canal here is very broad and deep, admitting large vessels to proceed a considerable way up the country, and unload their cargoes at the most desirable spot. We were drawn by three horses, and proceeded at the rate of four miles and a half an hour. We had thus the consciousness of making a pretty rapid progress, but unaccompanied with the feeling of any motion, except a pleasing sensation of gliding. The placid repose of the surface of the canal was relieved from dulness by the rays of the setting sun, and was mildly interrupted by the advance of the boat, skimming rather than cutting her way. The fields, exuberant in the fatness of their produce, and lying low under the weight of their own richness;—the frequent appearance of happy-looking houses;—the occasional view of sturdy, simple, and well-fed peasants, carrying their fishing-rods and baskets,—united with other circumstances to produce a sense of tranquil enjoyment. All this might be contemplated from the further extremity of the boat; and, turning one's face towards the stern, it might be contrasted with the flutter of gaudy flags and white awnings, the nodding of women's bonnets, the sweeping of their gowns, and the bustling, chattering, and quick movements of a laughing set of passengers.

"Below the deck where these entertainments were going forward, there was a suite of cabins; the first being handsomely furnished with crimson velvet curtains and cushions, where a few who were more languidly inclined than the others, or who found peculiar satisfaction in the conversation and attentions of a single companion, experienced suitable accommodation. Several of the other apartments were occupied as bars, or shops, for dispensing liquors, fruit, and other refreshments."

According to a census made about six years ago, the population of Ostend consisted of ten thousand five hundred and seventy individuals, exclusive of the garrison: but since that time the number of inhabitants is said to have increased.

OUDENARDE.

Oudenarde, a town intersected and surrounded by the Scheldt, was formerly famous for the fine tapestries

woven in it. It contains several convents, and will ever be memorable in history for the celebrated battle fought near it by the allies, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and the French, commanded by the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Vendome, in which the former obtained a complete victory.

DENDERMONDE.

Dendermonde, so called from its situation on the mouth of the river Dende, and from Monde, which, in the Flemish language, signifies a mouth, is very strong both by art and nature. On the conflux of the Dender and the Scheldt stands a little fort, built about the year 1585, by the Prince of Parma, governor of the Netherlands. The situation is pleasant, being surrounded with beautiful meadows, watered by those two rivers, which render the circumjacent country very fruitful, and contribute, at the same time, to the strength of the city, which is well fortified; for, by means of sluices, all the neighbouring country can be laid under water. It has four gates, twenty-six bridges, and six large market-places, or public squares. The houses are large, beautiful, and convenient; most of them having a canal before, and fine gardens behind.

BOIS LE DUC.

This fortress is situated on a rising ground, in the middle of an extensive marsh, through which there would be no possibility of approaching the place, if there were not causeways made through the marsh, and these are strongly fortified by redoubts. The town is five miles in circumference, and seated on the confluence of the three rivers, Domel, Aa, and Drese: from this place passage-boats go regularly to Rotterdam, as from London to Gravesend. The ditches round this place are filled by the waters of the rivers, which contribute much to its strength; and form several very fine canals, which run through the middle of the city: over these are fifty stone-bridges. The stadthouse is a handsome edifice, raised on the plan of that of Amsterdam, but on a much smaller scale. Here are several very flourishing manufactures, particularly in linen and woollen; and some of knives, and other hardware.

BREDA.

Breda is a large, populous, and well-built town. The fortifications are regular, and kept in excellent repair; the situation of the place is so low, that the sea can be let into the ditches, and hence over most of the country, which must render the approach of an army very difficult. The whole barony and town, comprehending seventeen villages, belonged to the Prince of Orange who was the sovereign, and had a castle, which was rebuilt here by King William III.; the river Mersk running round like a moat; and a small park, with some fine gardens. The great church is a magnificent structure, and adorned with several beautiful monuments, two of which are of black and white marble, and of such curious workmanship, that sculptors have come from Rome on purpose to view them. That of Englebert II., Count of Nassau, who died in 1504, is reckoned inimitable, being a perfect copy of nature, and adorned with appropriate statues and inscriptions. In 1667, the treaty, so often mentioned in history, between England, France, and Holland, was concluded in this place, under the mediation of the King of Sweden. This place is likewise famous for the treaty negotiated here to restore Charles II. to his throne, and for the manifesto that was issued hence to his subjects in Great Britain.

MAESTRICHT.

Maestricht is one of the most ancient cities in the Netherlands: it lies on the Maese, by which it is divided into two parts, joined to each other by a stone bridge. The town is about four miles in circumference; and the fortifications may be reckoned among the best in Europe. The great market-place, and other squares, are numerous; the streets are broad, and the buildings in general make a handsome appearance.

The town-house is a magnificent structure, and has a good library, both of printed books and manuscripts, and other curiosities, worthy a traveller's attention. The neighbouring country abounds with game, provisions in general, and all the conveniences of life. Maestricht is not only one of the strongest fortresses in the country, but likewise one of the principal keys on the Maese. Its cloth manufactory, which was formerly very considerable, is now gone to decay.

The siege of Maestricht, by William, Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, is very memorable. The garrison consisted of eight thousand men, and the besiegers were thirty thousand, who carried on their attacks with such intrepidity for three weeks, that it was generally supposed that the place would at last be taken. During this siege, the English gave signal proofs of their valour; but Marshal Schomberg advancing to the relief of the city with a superior force, the prince was obliged to raise the siege.

CHARLEROI.

This place, the possession of which was so heroically contended for by the Prussians, is situated on the confines of Hainault, on the north side of the river Sambre, in a place formerly called Charnoy, which was a

signiory belonging to the Prince of Isenghein. The Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, governor of the Netherlands, fortified it, and made it a city in 1666, changing its name to Charleroi, in honour of Charles II., king of Spain. In 1792, it again changed its name to Charles-sur-Sambre. It was given to France at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668. In 1672, it was besieged by the Prince of Orange, who invested the place on the 13th of December, in order to draw the French from Holland; but the bravery of Comte de Montal, the governor, and a report of the King of France advancing in person with an army to succour the place, forced the prince to retire before he had opened the trenches. In 1677, the same prince invested it again with an army of sixty thousand men, but was soon compelled to retire. By the treaty of Nimeguen it was ceded to Spain; in 1693, it was taken by the French after the battle of Landen. In 1697 it was restored to Spain; by the peace of Utrecht it was ceded to the states-general; in the year 1716, it was given to the emperor by the barrier treaty, and, again in 1746, surrendered to France. It contains about four thousand inhabitants, and carries on a considerable trade in iron-works and founderies.

FLEURUS.

This village, remarkable in the campaign of Waterloo, is also celebrated for two other battles fought in its neighbourhood. The first on the 30th of August, 1622, between the troops of Spain, under Gonzales de Cordova, and some German troops under the Count of Mansfelt and the Duke of Brunswick: the latter were defeated with the loss of their cannon and baggage; the Duke of Saxe-Weimar was killed in the battle, and the Duke of Brunswick had his arm shot off; but they made good their retreat with four thousand cavalry, and three thousand infantry, and compelled the Marquis of Spinola to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. The second battle was fought on the 1st of July, 1690, between the allies under the command of the Prince of Waldeck, and the French under the Duke of Luxembourg; in which the former were defeated with the loss of five thousand killed and four thousand prisoners, besides forty-nine pieces of cannon, eight pair of kettle-drums, and ninety-two standards and colours. The French, however, suffered so severely in this engagement, that, notwithstanding their victory, they were unable to undertake any thing during the remainder of the campaign.

WATERLOO.

This village, which has been rendered for ever memorable, by its connexion with the most eventful battle recorded in the annals of history, is situate near the extremity of the forest of Soignies, in the direct road from Brussels, and ten miles and a quarter distant from that city. The village is of considerable extent; and the church, in particular, is an interesting object to strangers, not only from the neatness of the edifice, and the interesting view which it exhibits on approaching the place from the forest; but as it contains the ashes of many departed heroes; to whose memory several monuments have been erected by their brother-officers.

In a house near the church, the gallant Earl of Uxbridge suffered the amputation of his leg, which is buried in the garden. The owner of the house considers it as a sacred relic which has fallen to his share, and kindly permits strangers to view the place where it is deposited. He had, at first, buried it behind the house, but as he wished to plant a tree upon the spot, he considered that, as the ground there was not his own, the tree might be injured, or destroyed by boys: he therefore removed the leg into his own garden, where it lies in a sort of coffin, beneath a mound of earth, about four feet in diameter. When our poet-laureate visited Waterloo, a tuft of Michaelmas daisies was in blossom upon this mound: this, however, was only a temporary ornament, which was shortly to give place to a weeping-willow. The owner of the house gave Mr. Southey a copy of an epitaph which he had prepared, and which he said was then in the stone-cutter's hands. The epitaph was in the French language, to the following effect:

"Here is interred the leg of the illustrious, brave, and valiant Lord Uxbridge, Lieutenant-general, and Commander-in-chief of the English, Belgic, and Dutch cavalry, in the memorable battle of Waterloo, on the 18th of June, 1815; who, by his heroism, contributed to the triumph of the cause of mankind, so gloriously decided by the brilliant victory of that day."

Opposite the church are two inns; at one of which Lord Wellington slept after the battle, and which he made his head-quarters. From this place Major Percy was sent off, after the close of the engagement, with the important despatches to England.

MONT ST. JEAN.

This village is about two miles from Waterloo, in the rear of the field of battle, and has nothing, in its general appearance, calculated to attract the attention of strangers. At the end of the village, the road is divided into two branches; that on the left leading to Gemappe, while that on the right conducts to Nivelles.

The farm-house of Mont St. Jean is a neat building, about half a mile in advance of the village, on the road to the farm of La Haye Sainte; and, as it was in

the rear of the British position, it has not sustained any material injury. It was on this side the road, in advance of the farm-house, that Lord Wellington threw himself into the hollow square; and, on the same side of the road, not far from the Duke of Wellington's critical position, General Picton fell, to rise no more.

"Still eastward from this point thy way pursue,
There grows a single hedge along the lane,—
No other is there far or near in view:
The raging enemy essay'd in vain
To pass that line,—a braver foe withstood,
And this whole ground was moisten'd with their blood.

Leading his gallant men as he was wont,
The hot assailants' onset to repel,
Advancing hat in hand, here in the front
Of battle and of danger, *Picton* fell;
Lamented chief! than whom no braver name
His country's annals shall consign to fame."

SOUTHEY.

HOUGOUMONT.

Hougoumont was a large farm-house, or chateau, on the right of La Haye Sainte; but the ruin that now presents itself on every side, conveys a most terrific idea of the ravages of war. This post was obstinately contested on both sides. The British were in possession of the chateau and the gardens; and the French troops, under the command of Jerome Buonaparte, made several furious attacks on the place, but were as resolutely opposed. After a scene of the most dreadful carnage, the French set the place on fire, and great numbers of wounded, on both sides, perished in the conflagration.

The edifice is now completely destroyed, with the exception of a few out-buildings, and the chapel, the latter of which, to the astonishment of every spectator, is left entire. This chapel is very small, and appears to have been merely designed for the convenience of one family: on the altar is a crucifix, which, from the rudeness of its carving, appears to have been of considerable antiquity.

Although the chateau is in ruins, the beautiful gardens, laid out in shady walks, and ornamented with verdant arbours, are left uninjured. The orchard, which adjoins the garden, was entered by the French, and a severe contest ensued, in which they repeatedly attempted to scale the garden-walls: these, however, served as a breast-work for the British, and the assailants were uniformly repulsed with considerable loss. The garden is protected on three sides by a strong wall, and the part, which was unprotected, commanded a view of Lord Wellington's position on the heights.

The gates of the chateau are literally like a sieve, being perforated with balls in every part. The French entered these gates three times, but never obtained possession of the place. Had they succeeded in making themselves masters of the chateau, the whole of the British lines would have been open to their fire. Both parties were aware of this circumstance, and, therefore, the most unprecedented exertions were made on each side.

LA BELLE ALLIANCE.

La Belle Alliance is a farm-house, situate on the plains of Waterloo, about three-quarters of a mile from La Haye Sainte, on the road to Gemappe. The house, which is very small, is kept by M. Decase; and the writer of this article visited the place in May, 1816, together with several military gentlemen, who explained to him most minutely the situation of the contending armies on the glorious 18th of June, 1815. The outbuildings of La Belle Alliance are in ruins.

At a short distance from this house is the cottage which formerly belonged to the peasant, who was detained by Buonaparte, as his guide and interpreter. This cottager attended me and my companions over the plains of Waterloo, and spoke in high terms of the bravery of the British troops, and the determined resolution of the enemy.

At this place, as well as in other parts of the country about Waterloo, the peasants offer to travellers innumerable relics of the dreadful conflict. Helmets, cuirasses, sabres, medals, eagles, buttons, and various other articles, are here to be purchased on easy terms. I purchased, for twelve francs, (ten shillings English,) a very handsome sword, which belonged to a grenadier of Napoleon's imperial guard. It is considerably *longer* than any of the swords used by the British. This circumstance contributed, in the first attacks, to annoy Lord Wellington's troops most dreadfully. After a short pause, however, the British changed their mode of attack, and, by aiming exclusively at the arms and legs of the enemy, compelled them to give way.

The farm-house of La Belle Alliance will ever be memorable in history, in consequence of the circumstances which are connected with the important battle of Waterloo.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

[Extracted from the public Prints.]

LETTER FROM AN OFFICER OF HIGH RANK.

Dated Waterloo, three leagues in front of Brussels, June 19, 1815.

"We gained a great and most glorious victory yesterday evening, and totally defeated Buonaparte's army, and took all his cannon, baggage, &c. &c.!!!

"The Duke has done all this—it was the severest and most bloody action ever fought, and the conduct of the British infantry has even surpassed its former fame. The contest began about eleven o'clock, and lasted till nearly the same hour at night, when the British troops were halted, and the Prussians, who had come up, were sent forward in pursuit, and Marshal Blucher has followed them to the Sambre. Our head-quarters will be to-day at Nivelles. This victory has saved Europe: it was frequently very doubtful; but the Duke, by his extraordinary perseverance and example, gained the day.

"We have already taken upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon, and immense numbers of ammunition-waggons; and Blucher has just sent in word that his road is actually choaked up with the artillery, baggage, &c. which we have taken. The rout of the French has been complete, and there are several thousand prisoners and many generals killed and taken of the enemy. Some runaways from the early skirmishes spread, I fear, some alarm at Brussels; but, thank God, not one man of the British infantry was found in the rear! Our cavalry made several most brilliant charges, and the Household brigade have particularly distinguished themselves. Lord Uxbridge's conduct throughout the day was most animating, and he unfortunately received his wound nearly at the conclusion, when the enemy were in full retreat.

"No language can do justice to the extraordinary merit and talent which the duke displayed during the whole of the action. Our infantry were mostly formed in squares, and the enemy's cavalry were five or six, or even ten, times during the day upon our ground and round our squares, but one of which they never penetrated. I never have seen or heard of a field of battle so covered with dead and wounded. The duke was all day every where in the thickest of it, and his place of refuge was in one of the squares when the enemy's cavalry charged. At six in the evening, the duke ordered the attack. We had, till then, been on the defensive, and, in less than half an hour, we routed the first line, and threw them on their second, and then the rout was general. The Guards (Adam's, Pack's, and Kempt's, brigades,) and the old German Legion, behaved nobly. The duke, I pray to God, may be spared to us, as, without him, we can do nothing.

"Our loss since the 16th must have exceeded five thousand. I have never seen so many British killed and wounded. The fire of artillery and musketry was terrible. The duke intends moving immediately, to enter France. The French officers say that Buonaparte put himself at the head of the Imperial guards during the last cnarge, and charged with them up the hill. It is believed that Jerome Buonaparte is killed. How truly fortunate I have been in having escaped this day! I had my horse killed, and several shot through my clothes."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER, FROM A GERMAN PAPER.

Brussels, July 19, 1815.

"I have visited the field of battle. The sleep of the dead is sound. On the spot where this day month thousands thronged and fought, where thousands sank and bled, and groaned and died, there is now not a living soul, and over all hovers the stillness of the grave.

"In Ligny, two thousand were buried. Here fought the Westphalian and Berg regiments. Ligny is a village built of stone, and thatched with straw, on a small stream which flows through flat meadows. In the village are several farm-houses, enclosed with walls and gates. Every farm-house the Prussians had converted into a fortress. The French endeavoured to penetrate through the village by means of superior numbers. Four times they were driven out. At last they set on fire the farm-houses in the upper end of the village with their howitzers. But the Prussians still kept their ground at the lower end. A whole company of Westphalian troops fell in the court-yard at the church; on the terrace, before the church, lay fifty dead.

"In the evening the French surrounded the village. The Prussians retired half a league: the position was lost; and it is incomprehensible why the French did not follow up the advantage they had obtained, and again attack the Prussians in the night. This was on the 16th. The same day a French column marched by the high road of Charleroi to Brussels.

"At Quatre Bras they found the Duke of Brunswick and the Prince of Orange. Here the battle was as hot as at Ligny. The duke suffered himself to be carried away by his ardour into the fire of small-arms; a musket-ball went through his bridle-hand, and entered the belly; the liver was penetrated; he fell, and breathed his last in ten minutes. His sufferings were short.

"At the inn by the cross-roads at Quatre Bras, the contest was the hottest. Here are the most graves. The wounded reeled into the inn-yard, leaned against the walls, and then sank down. There are still the traces of the blood on the walls, as it spouted forth from the wounds with departing life. Where the battle was, the fields are completely trodden down for a circuit of about a league. On both sides of the high road, ways are made about one hundred feet broad, and you can still follow the march of the battalions in all directions through the fine fields of maize

"On the 18th, the battle was renewed four leagues nearer Brussels, on both sides of the high road. The spot is a plain sprinkled with hillocks. The diameter of the field of battle may be about a league and a half. Buonaparte placed himself near the farm-house of Mont St. Jean, on a rising ground, whence he could overlook the whole. Beside him was one La Coste, a Walloon, who now lives near the hamlet of La Belle Alliance, and who was employed as a guide. This man told me as follows:—When the Prussians came out of the wood of Fritschermont, Buonaparte observed them with his glass, and asked one of his adjutants who they were; the latter, upon looking through his glass, replied, 'They are the Prussian colours.' That moment his face assumed a chalky whiteness, as if the ghost of the sainted queen of Prussia had appeared to him, whom he persecuted to death. He said nothing, but merely once shook his head. When he saw that the battle was lost, he rode off with his general staff and the above guide. He had told La Coste that he wished to be conducted by a bye-road to Charleroi.

"Gemappe is an open market-town, a league and a half from the field of battle, through which runs the Dyle, a small stream. At the lower end of Gemappe lies an iron forge, which it drives. A quarter of a mile lower lies the village of Ways, at which there is a bridge. An officer had arrived at Gemappe about five in the afternoon with orders to withdraw the baggage. He had already considered the battle as lost, because the reserves had been brought into the fire. When the flight became almost universal, the military waggons were driven sixteen a-breast on the causeway. In the narrow of Gemappe they were wedged in together, and La Coste relates that it took an hour and a half to get through them. It was half-past twelve at night before they got out of the town, with one hundred and fifty horses of the staff. I asked him why he did not take Buonaparte by the bridge of Ways, where nobody passed; he replied, 'I was not aware of this road.'

"Thus with all the maps of the war-depot, with all the engineer-geographers, who with repeating circles can set off the geographical position of places even to a second, and with a large staff, Buonaparte here depended on the ignorance of a peasant, who did not know that there was a bridge over the Dyle at Ways. People talk a great deal of military skill and military science, while often in decisive moments the whole depends upon the knowledge of a very common man.

"In the village of Planchenoir, the fourth of a league from La Belle Alliance, the guards were posted. The principal house in the village is nearly burnt down. It is inhabited by a very intelligent farmer of the name of Bernhard. He, like all others, had fled on the day of battle, but witnessed, on an opposite height, the combat between Bulow and the French reserve, and could give a very good description of it. He carried me to the key of the position opposite Fritschermont. He told me that the peasant who guided Bulow's army, resolved not to come out of the wood at Fritschermont, but to descend into the valley lower down, and to penetrate by Planchenoir, nearly in the rear of the French reserves. 'Then,' said he, 'we shall take them all.' The period was truly most critical when the Prussians came to the attack. Wellington was hard pressed, all his reserves were in action, and he was already compelled to withdraw some of his artillery. Buonaparte was probably only waiting for the moment when, with his guards, he could decide the day. We shudder when we reflect, that at this important moment all depended on the local knowledge of a single peasant. Had he guided wrong, had he led them into the hollow way through which the cannon could not pass—had Bulow's army come up an hour later, the scale had probably descended on the other side. Had Buonaparte been victorious, and advanced to the Rhine, the French nation would have been intoxicated with victory, and with what they call the national glory; and a levy *en masse* would have been effected throughout all France."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER DATED OSTEND, AUGUST 15.

"The barges take you from hence to Ghent for about ten shillings; the diligence, from thence to Brussels, seven shillings and sixpence; a fiacre for the day, to Waterloo and back, twenty shillings. Opposite the inn, at a cottage where the Earl of Uxbridge was carried, you are shewn a neat garden; and in the centre of four paths, a little hillock with a flower planted thereon shews the sepulture of his lordship's leg. In an inclosure, further behind this cottage, are interred several English officers; one only, Colonel Fitzgerald, of the Life-Guards, has a stone with an inscription over him: many have been taken up and transmitted to England: you then proceed to Waterloo, the residence of Jean Baptiste La Coste, from whom I obtained the following particulars:—

"About five in the morning, he was taken prisoner, to serve as guide, and conducted with his hands tied behind him (that he might not escape as a former man had done) to another house belonging to him, opposite to which Buonaparte had slept. Observing the French soldiers plundering and destroying this house, he wept. Buonaparte asked what he cried for? 'Because your soldiers are destroying all my property, and my family have no where to put their head.' Buonaparte said, 'Do you not know that I am emperor, and can recom-

pense you a hundred times as much?' He was placed on a horse immediately between Buonaparte and his first aid-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape. They proceeded a little beyond La Belle Alliance, and Buonaparte took the ground on a small eminence on the opposite side; a sort of body-guard of twelve pieces of artillery, very light, surrounding them. From this spot he could command both lines. He asked La Coste the particulars of every house, tree, wood, rising ground, &c.; with which he seemed well informed, holding a map in his left hand, and intent upon the action all the day, incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat-pocket, in large pinches, of which he violently snuffed up about half, throwing the other half from him with a strong exertion of the arm and thumb and finger, as if from vexation; this was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours; he frequently placed his left hand upon the neck of La Coste's horse, to speak to the aid-de-camp on the other side of him. Seeing La Coste flinch at the shower of shot, he replied, 'Do not stir, my friend, a shot will kill you equally in the back as the front, or wound you more disgracefully.' About half-past five, hearing the fire of the Prussians on the right of his rear flank, leaning his hand on the neck of La Coste's horse, and seeing the British cavalry, from their right and left flanks, making a tremendous charge that would have encircled his personal position, he retreated, with all his staff, about forty yards along the road; and within about twenty yards of the house, La Belle Alliance, he halted, and, putting the glass to his eye, saw the British cavalry intermingled, *pele mele*, and furiously cutting the French troops in pieces. He and all the cavalry then commenced a gallop till they got about three leagues beyond Charleroi, where they halted, and pitched a tent upon a grass-plat, about nine at night. A fire was kindled, and refreshment placed upon a chair, which Buonaparte took, the first for fourteen hours, standing with his back to the fire, with his hands generally behind him, conversing with a circle of nine persons, whose horses La Coste had been ordered to hold, till the party, about two in the morning, broke up, when each taking his horse, the servant of the last gave La Coste a Napoleon d'or, which he exchanged, after a fast of twenty-four hours, to refresh himself and family.

"La Coste is a very intelligent peasant, lives near the shattered house Belle Alliance, shews the place where the Prince of Waterloo and Blucher shook hands, and conducts visitors all over the ground, describing every particular. The observatory, he says, was erected before the action, and had nothing to do with it. The ground is mostly ploughed up, and there is by no means now so horrid an appearance as I have seen in some places in Spain after an action.

"An officer who accompanied me in this inspection said, that, about an hour before the termination of the battle, an aid-de-camp came to the Duke of Wellington, telling him that the fifth division was reduced from four thousand to four hundred, and that their keeping their post was wholly ineffectual, 'I cannot help it,' said the chief, 'they must keep the ground with myself to the last man. Would to God the night or Blucher would come!' Near an hour after, the fire was heard by the British in the rear of Buonaparte's right flank—'We shall beat them yet,' cried he. The charge was sounded, the most dreadful havoc commenced, and a victory closed the 18th day of June, which established a British generalship and the British army as the first in Europe.

"On the left of all, the Brunswickers, in a firm square, made a breastwork of carnage; the Scots brigade next. A brigade of Hanoverian Landwehr on their right, forming their square awkwardly, Colonel Cameron, of the ninety-second, who was killed afterwards, called to them to form as *they* did, which they obeyed, and stood; the next, a Dutch brigade, by not forming alertly, were cut to pieces.

"The French cavalry, in proof armour, repeatedly charged our squares, their cannon opening chasms; but the British infantry, though greatly diminished, were inflexible and impenetrable to the last. At Salamanca, our heavy cavalry, with no armour, charged their squares, and totally routed them with most horrid carnage, for having, after they had called for and received quarter, on the cavalry retiring, taken up their pieces and fired on them."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER OF THE EIGHTEENTH HUSSARS.

"On the morning of the 18th, Major-general Vivian, who commanded the sixth cavalry brigade, consisting of the first Hanoverian Hussars, the tenth Royal, and the eighteenth Hussars, made us take a few hours repose in a little copse on the borders of the forest of Soignies, and close to a village forming the left of the British line, and in correspondence with General Bulow. At four o'clock in the morning, a Prussian officer arrived, who informed Major-general Vivian that he left Ohain at twelve o'clock, and came with the utmost speed to inform the Duke of Wellington, that Marshal Blucher had commenced his march, and that he hoped to be up by one o'clock in the afternoon (but the roads were so bad, that he did not open fire until four); and that General Bulow was marching from Ohain on our left, to operate agreeably to the promise made to Lord

Wellington by Marshal Blucher: however, from the badness of the roads, he did not come up till eight o'clock in the evening; but even at that late hour he was of the greatest use, as we were severely galled by the artillery and musketry of the enemy

"At three o'clock, the Duke of Wellington despatched Major Percy to inquire how long it would be before General Bulow could come up; he returned in a short time, saying, that he would arrive in an hour; but, as I before observed, the roads precluded the possibility of his doing so.

"The enemy pressed the centre of the British line so closely, that we were compelled to leave the left, and form in line in the rear, and almost on the heels of the pressed infantry; and remained in that position for about a quarter of an hour, when the French gave way, and we charged, first the cuirassiers, then the lancers, and, at last, became so mixed with the enemy, that the confusion exceeded all description; but terminated in the total defeat of the French.

"I must relate one occurrence which happened in our regiment. Serjeant Taylor, on coming up with the cuirassiers, made a cut at the head of one of them, which had no other effect on the Frenchman, than to induce him to cry out in derision, 'Ha! ha!' and to return a severe blow at the serjeant. This, however, was admirably parried, and Taylor then thrust his sabre into the mouth of the cuirassier, who instantly fell, and the conqueror cried, 'Ha! ha!' in his turn; a circumstance which greatly increased the ardour of the other men."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A PRIVATE IN THE TENTH DRAGOONS.

"I have embraced this opportunity of giving you as much information as comes within my knowledge, though you are, no doubt, well acquainted with what has transpired during our short, but glorious, campaign: but, as the editor of a newspaper can say what he pleases, I shall take the liberty of saying what I *know* to be true.

"On the 16th of June, our troops were in motion. At day-break in the morning, the British were advancing as rapidly as possible towards the enemy, who were waiting our approach, and had already made an attack upon some Hanoverian troops. The brigade to which I belong, marched a distance of about fifty miles, taking their posts the same evening about seven o'clock; and, being the first cavalry that arrived, we remained under arms all night, during which time several brigades of cavalry and most of our infantry arrived. The French, however, were so strongly posted, that it was thought prudent not to attack them in their entrenchments, but to fall back. Accordingly, about ten in the morning of the 17th, the infantry began to withdraw, leaving us to cover their retreat. The enemy, perceiving this, brought up their lancers to attack us; but we were ordered not to bring them to action, but retreat, which was accordingly done. General Vivian, who commands our brigade, conducted the retreat in a most able and skilful manner, covering it with our brigade of the whole army, that fell back on this point. The enemy, seeing us retreat, were highly delighted, and followed us with all speed, cheering and hallooing with a design to frighten us; but in this they were disappointed, for we did not lose a man, although they attempted to charge us several times Thus was our retreat completed, after having fallen back about eight miles. But we were much hurt by a thunder-storm, which brought with it the most heavy torrents of rain that I ever beheld, nor did it abate till about nine o'clock the next morning; and we were exposed to it all the time, for we took up our abode in a wood all night, so that we were like drowned men, more than soldiers: but, as many of us had been long enured to hardships of all descriptions, none seemed to repine.

"About nine, on the morning of the 18th, the clouds dispersed, and the enemy drew up in order of battle, and, as our line had been formed all night, we were quite ready for them. Our troops were posted upon some rising heights, which command the plain before them, whilst those of the French were posted upon a rising ground, parallel with that which we occupied; and their position was covered by a long chain of woods, which concealed many of their movements, so that we had no advantage of them; for we had the plain before us, and they the same.

"About twelve o'clock the onset commenced, by a brisk fire from the sharp-shooters, and soon after a very heavy cannonading ensued; and, by two, the action became general, and raged most desperately; for both sides seemed determined to keep their ground; but the enemy showed us, that they did not only mean to have their own ground, but ours also. They accordingly brought up a strong force of cavalry and infantry, and pushed with all their might upon the centre of our line, thinking to break it; but in this they were disappointed, for our cavalry drove them back, as fast as they advanced. Finding, therefore, that they could make no impression upon our centre, they endeavoured to turn our left flank, by pressing upon it in the same manner. Upon this point our brigade was posted; but they met with the same reception as before: so, finding that we stood firm at this place also, they took up their own ground, and soon after endeavoured to advance at all

points; but their attention was then arrested by a large body of Prussians, who came point-blank upon their right flank, and opened a very heavy fire of artillery upon them. This for a little time threw them into consternation; but even this they recovered, and, altering their lines, seemed to suffer but little from our new reinforcement. This was about five in the evening, and victory was still doubtful. The enemy then made one more attempt to vanquish us, by bringing the most of his force against our right flank, endeavouring to force it, and to gain the high road for Brussels, which, if he had effected, our defeat would have been complete; and here it was that the great talents of the Duke of Wellington were put to the test; for the enemy advanced with an immense body of cavalry, supported by infantry, and covered by artillery, and seemed determined to gain possession of this road. The chief of our artillery was then brought to this point, and theirs parallel with ours; and such a tremendous peal of thunder did they ring one against the other, as I never heard. The whole of the cavalry belonging to the British was also brought to the right of our line, and charged them in brigades; and ours also left its post, where it had been all day on the left, and came to the right, and, having the greatest distance to come, we of course were the last, and nearly the whole of our cavalry had charged them. This stopped their progress in a great measure. Our brigade was then formed into line, and then we stood showing them that we were resolved to preserve our ground, or to perish in the attempt; but they did not like the appearance of our sturdy front. They had some brigades of Imperial guards to confront us, but they would not charge us. We were exposed to a most galling fire from infantry and artillery for near an hour; but this could not move any of us, except those poor fellows who fell victims to their bravery.

"It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, and still the battle raged with augmented fury, and still was much to be done, and but little time to do it in, for night was rapidly approaching. Our brigade was now formed into three lines, the regiments composing their own lines, which were the tenth, eighteenth, and a regiment of the German hussars, my own regiment forming the first line. The general then came in front of the line, and addressed us in the following manner: —'Tenth, you know what you are going to do, and you also know what is expected of you, and I am well assured it will be done; I therefore shall say no more, only wish you success;' and with that, he gave orders for us to advance. I am not ashamed to say, that, well knowing what we were going to do, I offered up a prayer to the Almighty, that, for the sake of my wife and children, he would protect me, and give me strength and courage to overcome all that might oppose me, and with a firm mind I went, leaving all that was dear to me to the mercy of that great Ruler, who has so often protected me in the midst of danger. After advancing about a hundred yards, we struck into a charge, as fast as our horses could go, keeping up a loud and continual cheering, and we soon found ourselves among Buonaparte's imperial guards. As soon as we got amongst them, the eighteenth hussars assisted us in charging, which so galled them, that we slew and overthrew them like so many children, although they rode in armour, and carried lances ten feet long; but so briskly did our lads lay the English steel about them, that they threw off their armour and pikes, and those that could get away, flew in all directions. Still there were two solid squares of infantry, who had galled us severely, whilst we were advancing, with their fire, and still continued to do so, whilst we were forming again; in short, they were all around us. We therefore formed as well as we could, and attacked them, in spite of their fixed bayonets. We got into their columns, and they were soon thrown into such confusion; beaten and panic-struck, they fled in all directions. But we had done our part, and left those to pursue, who had seen the onset.

"In this charge we took sixteen guns, and many prisoners: but it being so dark, that we could not see any longer, we assembled what few men we had left of the regiment, and the general of brigade formed us in close columns, so that we might all hear him, and addressed us to the following effect:—'Now, Tenth, you have not disappointed me. You was the first regiment that broke their lines, and to you it is that we are indebted for turning the fate of the day, and depend upon it that your Prince shall know it; for nothing but the bravery and good discipline of the regiment could have completed such a work.' We then gave him three cheers, and since that he has given us, in our orderly-books, his thanks for our conduct. You may perhaps think, because I have spoken of this, that it shows my vanity; but my motive for having done so, is because I saw in an English newspaper, that the Life-Guards were the *only* cavalry that had been of any service. It therefore did not much please me nor my regiment, that we should not have a little of the credit. The Guards certainly made a very brilliant charge; but you will see, by what I have related, that our regiment did its duty, and that is all we wish to be understood of us. I am sorry that we have to lament the loss of a most brave and gallant officer, Major Howard, who led on the squadron which I belong to; and most nobly did he show himself resolved to let them know that he was

an Englishman; but, when we charged the infantry, one of them shot him dead, just as we got within bayonet-length of them. We had two officers killed, and three captains and two lieutenants wounded. But how many privates we have lost, I do not know: but not so many as might have been expected; for the French fired so high, that, when we came to close quarters with them, half their shot did not tell, or they might have killed every man of us. But Providence is ever on the watch, and orders every thing as it pleases; and I can never return too many thanks to the Almighty, for preserving me through that day's peril; for never did I behold such a scene of slaughter. Never did British troops try more for victory, and never were they nearer being defeated. But, thanks be to Heaven, the work was at last completed; for the Prussian troops finished what we had begun, pursuing and driving them all night, the darkness of which helped to add to their horror-struck minds. Thus was the proud and destroying tyrant once more beaten, and compelled to fly to his capital for shelter, leaving his troops to their destructive fate. His fate, and that of all Europe, depended upon that day; but the evening saw him a wretched fugitive, not daring to stop a moment. We took from the enemy two hundred and ten pieces of cannon, and stores of all descriptions, and many prisoners. He had, during the action, in several places of his line, the black flag flying, which signifies *no quarter;* and, if they had beaten us, I dare say they would have showed us none."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER.

"On the 26th of April we landed at Ostend, whence we proceeded to Brussels, which was then the head-quarters of the British army, where we lay till the battle took place, which, I think, was the most dreadful that ever was witnessed by British troops. I have been in four engagements and at two sieges, but this surpassed all that I have ever seen.

"On the 14th of June, a movement was observed in the French lines; but no one imagined they were drawing so strong a force against our front as it afterwards proved to be. We thought they were observing the Prussians; but we soon discovered their meaning. On the 16th, they advanced against our front like moats in the sun: the advanced posts began the fray—a fray that deprived many a mother of her son, a wife of her husband, and a child of a father. Our victory has, indeed, cost us dear; but, thank God, I have escaped from harm in this as well as all other engagements.

"At the commencement of the action, our front was very weak, as we had no expectation at the time of advancing; and when the infantry engaged, our cavalry was not come up. The French made dreadful havoc amongst the first brigade, which was almost entirely cut off; our cavalry then arrived, but too late to afford any essential relief, and the advantage rested with the French the first day. On the following day (the 17th), the action re-commenced at day-light with great spirit, as we received, during the night, a reinforcement of infantry and artillery. We opened a brisk fire upon the enemy, but apparently with little effect, until our cavalry began to charge amongst them, when they did great execution, and the infantry again advanced; but we were almost exhausted by the fatigues of the day, and the heavy rain which fell during the time. All the fields, where the action took place, were covered with standing corn; and, as we had lain on the wet ground, in the open air, all night, our spirits were completely spent. The combat, however, served to re-animate our men; and as the action grew warm, they became fired with impatience for revenge. For a long time our troops could make no impression on the enemy, (the odds against them, in point of numbers, being as eight to one,) till at length we got amongst them two or three times, and then we literally cut them down in sections. Never were the skill and courage of Britons so completely tried before, and never was their resolution more determined against the rebels. Numbers of our men having been cut down by the enemy with their own swords, after they had surrendered themselves prisoners, the British were exasperated to that degree, that they spared neither men nor officers, old nor young; but sent them after the many hundreds that had been slain without the least chance for their lives. Thus the natural humanity of British hearts became steeled to every generous feeling. However, we made good our retreat, and we kept our ground the second night, but with some difficulty, on account of the immense superiority of the French.

"The third day brought the business to a final issue. At break of day, we faced the enemy again, and Lord Wellington began to manœuvre, by retreating a little, with a view of drawing them out of a wood: the enemy followed, and were in hopes of getting to Brussels; but we soon made the ground too hot for them. For a long time our cause hung on a single thread, and I am sure the oldest soldier in his majesty's service never saw Frenchmen stand so before. At length, to our great joy, we learnt that the Prussians were coming up; we then gave the French a charge; the Prussians flanked them at all points, and a most dreadful slaughter ensued. The enemy were thrown into confusion, and fled in all directions, leaving their baggage, artillery, and every thing behind them, and we pursued

them into their own country. The wounded that fell into our hands are in the most shocking state I ever saw, from the cuts of our cavalry. Thus have we gained another victory for Old England."

"Peace she hath won,—with her victorious hand
Hath won thro' rightful war auspicious peace;
Nor this alone, but that in every land
The withering rule of violence may cease.
Was ever War with such blest victory crown'd?
Did ever Victory with such fruits abound?

"Rightly for this shall all good men rejoice,
They most who most abhor all deeds of blood,
Rightly for this with reverential voice
Exalt to Heaven their hymns of gratitude;
For ne'er, till now, did Heaven thy country bless
With such transcendant cause for joy and thankfulness.

"If they in heart all tyranny abhor,
This was the fall of Freedom's direst foe:
If they detest the impious lust of war,
Here hath that passion had its overthrow;
As the best prospects of mankind are dear,
Their joy should be complete, their prayers and praise sincere."

SOUTHEY.

It appears by Brussels papers, that the Duke of Wellington arrived at Brussels on Monday, the 19th, to visit the Prince of Orange, and those of his brave companions in arms who had been wounded in the battle of the 18th. Buonaparte had promised his troops three hours pillage in Brussels; and the inhabitants on Monday manifested the most enthusiastic joy at the victory of the preceding day, which had saved them from plunder, and secured the triumph of a cause in which their hearts were so much interested.

At the close of the pursuit of the enemy, in the great battle, the Duke of Wellington, finding the troops so exhausted as to be unable to proceed, recommended it to them to give the flying enemy three British cheers before halting.

The amputation on the Earl of Uxbridge was of necessity performed very high upon the thigh-bone, from the fracture having extended far above the knee, from which unfortunate circumstance, great danger was apprehended from the operation.

The gallant Sir Thomas Picton, so memorable in the Peninsula campaigns, as the leader of what was pre-eminently called the fighting division, commonly known also by the appellation of the right hand of Wellington, received his death-wound in the daring enterprise of leading a charge of infantry against a solid square of French cavalry, an enterprise scarcely before attempted, except by Picton himself, who had more than once successfully executed it in the Peninsula.

The gallant Duke of Brunswick who has fallen, had put his whole army, amounting to fourteen thousand men, in mourning, ever since the death of his father, and made his soldiers swear that they should never leave it off until they had avenged the insult offered to his father's tomb by the French.

The true British perseverance of generals and soldiers were crowned with a success so much the more precious, as it had remained long in a state of the most awful suspense. "Never before," said the Duke of Wellington, "was I obliged to take such pains for victory, and never before was I so near being beaten."

An immense number of inhabitants from Brussels and its neighbourhood were so anxious to see the grand battle, that, at last, they got intermixed with the soldiery, and materially assisted in relieving the unfortunate wounded men. The whole of the people in Brussels had voluntarily quitted their houses to receive the wounded. Towards the close of the battle, the Earl of Uxbridge, at the head of the First Life-Guards, penetrated within three yards of Buonaparte's person. At this moment, when calling to the men to come up the hill, the Earl of Uxbridge received his wound. He was immediately carried off, and could not communicate to his men the glorious enterprise which he had in view, otherwise it would have been accomplished; in the subsequent confusion, Buonaparte unfortunately escaped.

So confident was Buonaparte of getting to Brussels, that several bales of proclamations were found among his baggage, dated from "Our Palace of Laekin," a royal residence near that city.

A party of gentlemen recently returned to town from a visit to the scene of the late battles in Belgium, relate the following anecdotes:

A British officer, who was made prisoner in the battle of the 16th, was brought before Buonaparte for examination. Being asked "Who commands the cavalry?" he answered, "Lord Uxbridge." "No, Paget," replied Buonaparte. The officer then explained that they meant the same person, and Buonaparte nodded assent. He was then asked, "Who commanded in chief?" and was answered, the Duke of Wellington; upon which he observed, "No, that cannot be, for he is sick." It seems that his Grace had received a fall from his horse, on the 14th, and was reported to be indisposed in consequence, and Buonaparte had received intelligence to that effect. The conversation continued in this line for a considerable time, during which Buonaparte shewed himself perfectly acquainted with the strength and position of the several divisions of the allied armies, and the names of their several commanders. As they were successively mentioned, he occasionally remarked, "Oh! yes, that division cannot

be up in time."—"This division cannot be up in a day," and so on.

On the arrival of Buonaparte's carriage in Brussels, a great crowd received it with huzzas, little thinking that it came as a part of the booty, and presuming that he was in it as a victor. Shortly after the discovery of the mistake, a coach-maker came up, and said, he could point out a secret drawer, which might contain something of value. He immediately discovered a box in the bottom of it, containing a very large sum in gold.

At two o'clock, on the 18th, it was reported and confidently believed at the Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, and many other places in Belgium and Holland, that the allies had been completely defeated, and Buonaparte had obtained a decisive victory. This was done simultaneously by previous concert with his spies and secret agents, for the purpose of improving any advantage which he might obtain. By the same agency the road to Brussels from the field of battle was, during the action of the 18th, intercepted by waggons and other lumber and incumbrance; so that, had our army been defeated and obliged to retreat, it must have left all its baggage and heavy artillery behind, the road having been rendered almost impracticable.

The plain of Waterloo is a magnificent scene, and a prize-fighting ground worthy of such a battle. The position of the French was woody, that of the allies chiefly covered with grain. Rye was the prevailing species. It grows so high, that a Scotch regiment, in advancing through a field of it on the 16th, was nearly cut to pieces without seeing an enemy. The French observed its approach by the top of its muskets shining in the corn, and took their aim accordingly, while our troops could only fire at random. All accounts agree in the great advantage that the French cuirassiers derived from their armour. Their swords were three inches longer than any used by the allies, and, in close action, the cuts of our sabres did no execution except they fortunately came across the neck of the enemy. The latter also, feeling themselves secure in their armour, advanced deliberately and steadily, until they came within about twenty yards of our ranks, as a musket-ball could not penetrate their cuirasses at a greater distance. The cuirass, however, was attended with one disadvantage; the wearer, in close action, cannot use his arm with perfect facility in all directions: he chiefly thrusts, but cannot cut with ease.

The ground being very deep in many parts of the field, the troops presented a frightful appearance, particularly the Life-Guards, from the splashing of the mud, increased by the weight of their horses. The French could scarcely dare to look at them. They called them the *Red Lions*. Among the effective incidents of the day is mentioned an *hurrah* given by an Irish regiment, in the act of charging. The shock struck terror into the opposing line, which fled before it felt the bayonet.

With every possible diligence and care that could be used, many of the wounded lay two days upon the field of battle before their wounds were dressed, and they could be removed. The preference was, of course, given to our own gallant heroes, and a peremptory order was issued to that effect. Many days after the battle the fields of Waterloo continued to present great numbers of poor persons, particularly females, seeking for plunder. Among the most common spoils were the eagles worn on the fronts of the caps of some of the French regiments. These, when broken off, were sold at Brussels for about two francs each. Among the French killed and wounded, were observed an immense number of letters from friends, relatives, and lovers, who have to lament their loss.

PRINCE BLUCHER'S VISIT TO HIS NATIVE COUNTRY.

Prince Blucher has been visiting his native country, Mecklenburg; and, on the 10th of August, 1816, he was entertained with a grand dinner by the Duke of Mecklenburg, at Dobberan. On this occasion the duke proposed as a toast—"To all brave Mecklenburghers." Prince Blucher thanked him in his own name and that of his fellow-countrymen. God, he said, had been pleased to make him contribute to the deliverance of the world from the yoke of slavery. "Moreover," added the prince, "I have now attained that, which, amidst all the circumstances of my life, I have had deeply at heart. I am now free and happy in the land where I was born, where I passed my boyish years, where the bones of my forefathers rest. O God! thou knowest how I have longed to pray by the side of their tomb before I myself drop into the grave. Thanks be to Thee that now I can and will do so. I wish for nothing more; I have already attained more than I deserve."

On the 7th, the day of his arrival at Dobberan, when the duke drank his health at table, Blucher spoke as follows:—"My heart is deeply moved on returning to visit my beloved country, after so long an interval, and after so many eventful years. I thank your highness for your gracious reception; let us now forget our past sufferings, and thank God for the happy circumstances of the present moment."

On the 15th, Blucher went to Rostock, visited the tomb of his ancestors in St. Peter's church, and the house where he was born, and then left the town without being recognised.

REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF MAJOR FREDERICK HOWARD.

The body of the Hon. Major Frederick Howard, second son of the Earl of Carlisle, has been brought over to England. The whole of his afflicted family were so anxious to recover, if possible, the remains of their gallant relative, that the Duke of York wrote to the Duke of Wellington, requesting that every endeavour might be made to effect it. On inquiry it was found that two serjeants of the tenth hussars had interred him on the field, who said they believed they could trace out the spot. They were in consequence despatched from Paris for this purpose; and, on traversing the field of slaughter, were fortunate enough to discover the place of sepulture; from which they immediately dug up the remains of their beloved officer, enclosed them in a leaden shell, with which they were provided, and took them to Brussels, from whence they were conveyed to England.

The feelings which the intelligence of the victory of Waterloo excited in England were such as cannot easily be forgotten. Accustomed as Britons were to victory upon the land, as well as upon the seas, since Wellington had commenced his brilliant career; confident as they were in their general and in their army, even the most sanguine had not ventured to anticipate success so signal, so sudden, and so complete. The glory of former fields seemed to fade before that of Waterloo. At Cressy, at Poictiers, at Agincourt, the facility with which victory had been obtained seemed to diminish the merit of the conquerors; there the enemy had been defeated by his own insolence and presumption. Even the battle of Blenheim had been less important in its results; and all the previous actions of Wellington himself, from Vimiero to Toulouse, seemed mere preludes to this last and most momentous of his triumphs.

The grand consideration, when the first emotions of joy and astonishment had subsided, was how to express our sense of this admirable exploit, how to evince our gratitude to the army and its commander, how to discharge the mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead.

On the 22d of June, the following message from the Prince Regent was presented to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh:

"GEORGE P. R.

"The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, having taken into his serious consideration the most important and glorious victory obtained by field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, on the 18th of this month, over the French army, under the immediate command of Buonaparte, is desirous of manifesting his sense of this signal and splendid achievement, which has added fresh renown to the British arms, and cannot fail of the highest benefit to the common interests of Europe. The Prince Regent, therefore, recommends it to his faithful Commons to take measures for enabling him to grant an additional provision to the Duke of Wellington, as a further proof of the opinion entertained by parliament of his transcendent services, and the gratitude of the British nation."

This message was received with loud cheering from all parts of the house, and ordered to be referred to a committee of supply.

The following day, in proposing the thanks of the house to the illustrious hero, Lord Castlereagh observed, Whatever the former fame of the Duke of Wellington might have been, yet, in all the various occurrences of his life, in all those great achievements which he had performed, and which had called for the thanks of that house, he had never before attained to a height of glory like the present. And, in all the great events which he had been engaged in, and those scenes that he had witnessed, it had never before fallen to the lot of the illustrious commander to render so great a service to his country, so extensive a benefit to the world. There was in the present victory an acknowledged preeminence over all those that had preceded it; but when we looked at its influence and combination, in which were bound up all the interests of the civilized world, it was almost impossible to conceive an idea adequate to its magnitude and importance.

The position of the allied army, previously to the late battle, was a very peculiar one; and, without meaning to impute blame, or to suppose any neglect of security, he must say that the circumstance of the armies not being actually engaged in hostilities, notwithstanding the war had begun, necessarily led to a distribution of force, for the more convenient obtainment of subsistence for so large an army. The whole line of troops destined to act upon France not being equally advanced, it was clearly not the interest of the allies to become the assailants; the army, therefore, which was to act upon the offensive, making its point of union the point which it chose for an attack, must have a great advantage over an army situated as the allied army was, and yet it was impossible to alter that position; for if Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington had concentrated their forces, they must have left open a long line of country at the mercy of the enemy, who might have made use of such a lapse for the most important ends: and therefore, not imputing any neg-

lect of preparation to the commander, it must be evident that the attacking army would have the advantage. With such a force on the frontiers of France it was with Buonaparte a great object to attack it in some powerful point before the combined powers were all perfectly ready for operations, and, accordingly, he had acted with all the decision of character, and energy of mind, that he was known to possess, and as soon as he could leave Paris, he joined his army, and, directing it to the North, commenced his operations.

In considering the nature and extent of the forces engaged, he must observe, that of the ten corps d'armee which France possessed, the five which were complete were united under Buonaparte, together with his guard, and other cavalry. These troops had certainly maintained their ancient character; and one feature of the victory was, that it had been gained over the best troops of France, and that, too, at a moment when they displayed all their ardour, and when their conduct even surpassed all that they had before performed. Altogether this force did not amount to less than one hundred and thirty or forty thousand men, the flower of the French army!—that which was a regular and disciplined army, even before the Bourbons quitted France, and for which, since the return of Buonaparte, every thing had been done to make it effective; it was the force which had been selected and combined to act upon the northern frontier.

To particularize the conduct of any part of the allied army, would be invidious, where all had acquitted themselves with nearly equal bravery; but he might be allowed to say, that, except the British part, nearly the whole was a green army; the allies, particularly the Dutch, Belgians, Honoverians, and troops of Nassau, were chiefly young soldiers; and, deducting the absent corps, consisting of twenty-five thousand under Prince Frederick, and the other corps distributed along the line to the northward, there was not in action a greater number than sixty-four thousand men to support the attack of the whole French army. He fully felt what we owed to the illustrious Prussians, who were ready to support the British army, and enable them to make that movement, without which the Duke could not have obtained such an advantage over a superior force. The effort he made was crowned with success; and with his energy of mind, and example of person, it was certain that much would be effected. But, from that example, it was dreadful to reflect on the *risks* to which his valuable life was exposed;—in fact, such was his dauntless activity, that he was much *more exposed than any private soldier*, who could only bear the hazard of a single spot; but the Duke was *every where*, at least, *wherever danger was*. Under the circumstances in which the duke found himself at the end of the day, when the French had been repulsed, and Marshal Bulow advanced, he put himself in motion, and attacked the French; their lines did not resist, as ours had done; he forced the second line, routed their whole army, and took more than half the artillery of their army and its ammunition.

It was impossible to attempt to predict what would be the result of this victory; but this much was certain, that the Duke of Wellington had been enabled to follow the enemy with an army that had been either fighting or marching the whole day before. The French had attacked with their usual temerity: by this he did not mean to censure them; Buonaparte was justified in his attempt; he had been thrown back; but, if he could have succeeded, the effect would have been fully equal to the sacrifice made to obtain the object. The loss we had sustained was great, but if the relatives of those who had fallen could derive consolation from the reflection, they might reflect that those they deplored had fallen in the most just war that ever was waged for the maintenance of right and public principle. He would therefore move—"That the thanks of the house be given to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour, which he displayed in the command of the allied army, on the 18th of June, in which day he gained a most brilliant and signal victory over the French army, commanded by Buonaparte in person, whereby the glory of the British arms was exalted, and the territory of his majesty's ally, the King of the Netherlands, protected from invasion and spoliation."

This motion was carried in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente*, and was followed by loud and long cheering.

Lord Castlereagh then moved—"The thanks of the house to General his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, Knight Grand Cross, Major-general the Earl of Uxbridge, General Lord Hill, Sir H. Clinton, Baron Alten, and all the other officers engaged."—This was also carried in the same manner as the last, as were also acknowledgments to the non-commissioned officers and men, and thanks to the officers and men of the allied army under the immediate command of the Duke of Wellington, for their distinguished valour. A vote of thanks was also proposed to Marshal Prince Blucher and the Prussians under his command, for the timely assistance which they afforded, and to which the success of the day was to be so mainly attributed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the representative of his majesty had showered dignities upon the noble duke, and the house had made most liberal pro-

vision for the support of those dignities; but large as that sum which the house had already provided was, yet it was possible that some of the descendants of the family might feel themselves in a situation more indigent than would be proper for the branch of so illustrious a family. He would say no more of the illustrious commander, than that which he would quote from a letter written by a person on the spot, who was quite capable of forming a sound judgment on any question. The writer stated, that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington on the 18th had thrown all his former actions into shade. *He never moved but in fire;* and, when one of the hottest charges was made by the enemy, he threw himself into the hollow square that was charged. He mentioned these things because they were precisely those that would *not* be found in the duke's despatches. Another fact characterized his mind: the duke had written from his advanced post at Binche, "I *forgot* to mention in my despatch that *five thousand prisoners* had just come in, and we were expecting a great many more." A more *characteristic* anecdote could hardly be imagined. The right honourable gentleman then moved a resolution, "Granting an additional sum of 200,000*l.* to the Duke of Wellington," which was carried without a dissenting voice.

The same day, in the House of Lords, Earl Bathurst rose to move a vote of thanks to the illustrious Duke of Wellington and the brave Army under his command. The house was, doubtless, most anxious to discharge a duty due to the Duke of Wellington, for a victory, the result of his splendid talents, which had been so happily combined for the benefit of his country. Their lordships would observe that the campaign had been opened by Buonaparte, and he had not, on this occasion, any of his former excuses for the want of success; he had not to complain that he was obliged to commence the attack under the apprehension of being cut off from his resources; it was his own act; his own free choice to attack the adversary with whom he contended, and happily he had been defeated. His genius had sunk under the ascendancy of that to which he was opposed.

The position of Waterloo was one well known to Lord Wellington: in the summer of last year his Grace went there in his way to Paris, and on that occasion he took a military view of it. He then declared, that if ever it should be his fortune to defend Brussels, Waterloo would be the best position he could occupy. The enemy then determined to attack the Duke of Wellington, and directed his whole force against him, with the exception of one corps, which he left to watch the Prussians. The French fought with the intrepidity for which the nation is so distinguished; and I trust, observed his lordship, that the British have shewn on their part a firmness sufficient to enable them to contend for courage with that nation. In the whole of the contest, the Duke of Wellington performed all the duties a military man could perform. He was general of division, commander of corps, and colonel of a regiment. He at times headed several regiments, rallying them, and providing to insure success.

Towards the close of the day, Buonaparte himself, at the head of his imperial guards, made an attack; he was met by the British guards, and, fortunately for this country, they did not feel the panic which it was boasted the imperial guards had occasioned among the Prussians and Russians. The British guards met and overthrew instantly the imperial guards, in the finest style imaginable. The contest lasted nine hours, and at length we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. The enemy's force was then greatly superior to the British; but the Duke of Wellington, seeing the enemy had retreated, and the Prussians in march towards them, like a lion rushing out of his den, was determined to revenge those who had fallen. He marched with his whole army to the attack, drove back the centre of the line, and at length succeeded in routing them. The result of this victory was of high importance to the country. By despatches his lordship had received, the prisoners were five thousand. At Brussels there were two thousand, and many more in other places. With respect to the enemy there had been no account of their loss.

Having stated what was the extent of this victory, it remained to make some observations on a part of it which all must lament; so great a victory could not be gained without considerable loss. It had been wisely said, that we cannot taste joy unmixed with grief; none could feel more than his lordship the loss sustained. The illustrious, however, would be lamented by their grateful country, and one consolation remained to their families, namely, that none could die more *gloriously* than the brave men who had died for their country. His lordship paid a most eloquent and impressive tribute to the memory of Sir Thomas Picton and Sir William Ponsonby. "Who does not grieve," said the noble earl, "for the loss of the Duke of Brunswick, who, in the year 1805, behaved so nobly; who had previously gained so much honour?" His lordship was persuaded that no man felt more poignantly the loss the country had sustained in the contest than the Duke of Wellington.

Having apologized for introducing a private letter, his lordship read one from the Duke of Wellington to the Earl of Aberdeen, in which he expressed the strongest sense of the unfortunate circumstances attending the brilliant service he had performed. One

paragraph was—"I cannot express the regret and sorrow with which I contemplate the loss which has occurred. I have found that loss in none more than in the Duke of Brunswick. The glory resulting from such an action is no consolation; but I hope it will appear that the advantage gained by this action will decide that there is no doubt of the early accomplishment of our cause." Earl Bathurst then observed, that all would look with anxiety for the recovery of the Earl of Uxbridge. Who would not desire the recovery of the Prince who had been ready to spill his blood in defence of his country? The Prince of Orange, by his bravery, had acquired the best and highest title to the crown of the Netherlands. Having spoken in terms of the highest respect of all the fallen heroes, his lordship said, it was his intention to couple his motion with a vote of thanks to Marshal Prince Blucher. The handsome manner in which the Duke of Wellington had mentioned his services, proved that his grace would not have made the attack, had he not been certain of the able co-operation of Prince Blucher. His lordship concluded an able eulogy by moving—"That the thanks of this house be given to field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, knight of the garter, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour, displayed by him on the 18th of June; on which day a decided victory over the enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, was obtained by his grace, in conjunction with the allies, by which the military glory of Great Britain was exalted, and the territory of his majesty's allies protected from spoliation."

The Marquis of Lansdowne delivered a liberal and eloquent eulogy on the transcendent merits of the noble duke, and gave his willing assent to the motion; conceiving, at the same time, that some mark of especial favour should be conferred on the Duke of Wellington, to prove a lasting monument of the gratitude of his country for a victory not excelled in ancient or modern history.—The motion was then carried *nem. dis.*

Earl Bathurst then moved the thanks of the house to the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Clinton, Lord E. Somerset, and others. Also to the non-commissioned officers and privates; which was agreed to. He next moved the thanks of parliament to field-marshal Prince Blucher, for the assistance afforded the British on the 18th of June. The motion was carried *nem. dis.* Thanks were also voted to the Prussian officers.

The Earl of Liverpool now called the attention of their lordships to a former grant to the Duke of Wellington, which was to be applied to the erection of a mansion worthy his rank. As one of the trustees appointed to build the mansion, his lordship was enabled to inform the house what the effect of that grant had been. The sum of 500,000*l.* was voted; and it was stipulated that 100,000*l.* should be reserved for building a mansion. Persons who had been indefatigable in their efforts to apply this money to the proper purpose, had found that 100,000*l.* was insufficient to raise a suitable mansion, and that they could not erect the building without sinking funds which would greatly injure the Duke of Wellington and his family. Under such circumstances, the house could have no objection, after the recent brilliant victory, to place the noble duke in the state he ought to appear. His lordship concluded by moving—"An humble address to his royal highness the Prince Regent, to assure his royal highness that this house would concur in the measures necessary to enable his royal highness to afford an additional mark of approbation of his splendid services."

This motion was carried unanimously, and the house adjourned.

But it was not merely to Wellington and his officers that the British legislature evinced their gratitude. The merits of the army were properly appreciated; and rewards were extended to *every rank* and *every individual.* "Every regiment," says a cotemporary writer, "which had been present, was in future to bear the word WATERLOO upon their colours; all the privates were to be borne upon the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps as *Waterloo men*, and every Waterloo man allowed to reckon the glorious 18th of June as *two years service* in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years service for that victory; and a benefit not less important was on this occasion extended to the whole army, by a regulation enacting, that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds should rise with the rank to which the officer attained; so that he who lost a limb when an ensign, should, when he became a general, receive a general's pension for the injury which he had sustained. These were substantial benefits, such as the army had well deserved, and as it became the government to confer.

"More was yet due, and the legislature were not slow in expressing the universal feeling of the nation. They decreed that a *national monument* should be erected in honour of the victory, and in commemoration of the men who fell; and, upon the suggestion of Mr. Williams Wynne, it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen should be inscribed upon this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. It was also decreed that funeral monuments should be erected in memory of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General the Honourable Sir William

Ponsonby, in the cathedral-church of St. Paul; and it was further suggested, that a medal should be given to each of the survivors, of the same materials for officers and men, that they who had been companions in danger might all wear the same badge of honour."

This medal was executed by Mr. T. Wyon, jun. and is of fine silver, and weighs one ounce. On the outer edge is impressed the person's name who receives the medal, his rank, and the regiment or corps to which he belongs. On the obverse of the medal, is the bust of his royal highness the Prince Regent, with the inscription George P. Regent. The reverse bears a figure of Victory, holding the palm-branch in her right hand, and the olive-branch in her left; to denote that peace was the result of that glorious battle which is inscribed on the plinth on which the figure is seated; and above the figure is inscribed the name of the hero under whom this victory was gained.

To the medal is affixed a steel loop and ring, with a short riband of crimson edged with blue, by which it is attached to the coat of the wearer over the left breast.

The men's names on the edge are not done in the usual way of engraving, but are impressed; by which they are done more expeditiously, and are very superior in appearance. The invention is ingenious, and reflects credit on the mechanics of his majesty's mint, who were the inventors of it.

A national subscription was also set on foot, for the relief of the widows and children of those who had fallen in the cause of Europe, and on the behalf of those survivors who were disabled or severely wounded. And though we are anticipating in respect of dates, we cannot introduce more appropriately the report of the committee of the Waterloo Fund, which was published on the 18th of June, 1816.

"The committee of the Waterloo Subscription, anxious to present to the public at large some account of their proceedings, select with peculiar satisfaction the anniversary of that auspicious day, which, in the glorious—the unrivalled field of Waterloo, has given peace to Europe.

"Lamenting, in common with a grateful people, those honoured names which have paid with life the price of victory, the committee have looked with anxious solicitude to the widows and orphans of the slain. To relieve their wants, to assuage their sorrows, became their first and indispensible duty. The fatherless children next claimed their care. These great objects attained, the committee had the happiness to find themselves enabled, by the public liberality, to mitigate the sufferings and to relieve the pain of honourable wounds, by presenting to each gallant soldier the voluntary tribute of his country's gratitude. A pecuniary donation may thus be received with honour—no delicacy can be offended by the offer—no rank be disgraced by the acceptance.

"In the early progress of the subscription, the committee were necessarily incompetent to form any conjecture as to its final amount, and they were equally ignorant of the number of each class which might eventually claim their attention; whilst the knowledge of these facts was obviously requisite to the ultimate formation of a scale of distribution. But the necessity of immediate assistance in numerous cases precluded the idea of delay: the committee therefore transmitted money by one of their members to the army abroad; and at the same time dispensed relief to the most pressing cases at home.

"They have subsequently investigated, with the greatest diligence and attention, each claim presented to them; and, in the performance of this laborious task, they took into consideration various plans of distribution.

"Foreseeing the incalculable evils which might result from an indiscriminate payment of money, (from improvident management, or from other causes,) which to the parties might be productive rather of injury than of benefit, and, instead of adding to the sum of human happiness, might tend to diminish its amount; the committee resolved on a certain principle of distribution, the best adapted, in their apprehension, to shield the orphan from neglect or oppression—to rear to maturity in moral and industrious habits the children of the killed—to guard the weak against the dangers of their own improvidence—and to secure the unprotected widow against the impositions of fraud.

"These considerations led the committee to a general preference in favour of inalienable annuities.

"It is intended to grant to the widows, generally, life-annuities.

"To their children, annuities to the age of seven; and from seven to fourteen an increased amount, adequate to their maintenance and education. A gratuity also, on attaining the latter period, for the purpose of placing them in situations to acquire a future livelihood. At the age of twenty-one, or, if females, at an earlier period, in case of marriage, a further benefaction in money, provided they shall not have forfeited their claim by misconduct.

"To the children of officers, annuities until of age; and at that period, or earlier if females, in case of marriage, a sum of money, determined by the rank of the deceased parent.

"To orphans, deprived as they are of parental care, allowances proportionate to their rank, and to the circumstances of their aggravated calamity.

"To the disabled officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, life-annuities.

"To the officers severely wounded, a sum of money.

"To the disabled officers, the option of an equivalent in money.

"To the non-commissioned and privates severely wounded, (being discharged,) likewise a pecuniary gratuity.

"In certain—indeed in numerous cases, the claims of parents, and other relatives of the killed, have also been liberally considered.

"In forming this scale of distribution, the committee have not been unmindful of the effectual co-operation of our allies, and they have the satisfaction to state, that the sums already remitted to Berlin, Hanover, Amsterdam, and Brunswick, have been acknowledged with expressions of the warmest gratitude.

"The committee have thus the pleasure of communicating to the public the progress of their labours, in the confident expectation that the principle adopted for the distribution of the munificent fund, entrusted to their management, will be generally approved; and they indulge the hope, that this honourable testimony of a nation's feeling—of a nation's gratitude, will rank in the page of history amongst the most splendid of of her records.

"GEORGE BECKWITH, Chairman.

"*Waterloo Committee-Room, June 18th*, 1816."

Having thus laid before the reader every particular connected with that brilliant victory, which has rendered for ever memorable the plains of Waterloo, we must now turn our attention to its glorious *results* in the second overthrow of Buonaparte, and the restoration of legitimate authority in France.

During Napoleon's absence from Paris, the various parties into which the ministry and the chambers were divided had been fully employed. Numerous conferences had been held in secret, and every department of the government had exhibited a spirit of intrigue. All parties were aware that if Buonaparte were victorious at the commencement of the campaign, his influence over the army and the people would be so great, that any attempt to oppose his government would be ineffectual. They were ready, therefore, to rally round him with apparent zeal, and to assist him with their united energies. The national independence would thus be asserted; foreign interference, so humiliating to the *pride* of Frenchmen, would be defeated, and they flattered themselves with the hope that of all the promises which Napoleon had given to respect the liberties, and consult the real welfare, of France, some, at least, would be held sacred.

In the contemplation, on the other hand, of his first enterprise being attended with defeat and disgrace, many had determined to throw off his yoke, and to compel him to abdicate the throne which he had usurped. Some hoped to prevent the desolation of France, by making their peace with Louis XVIII. Others, conceiving that the allies would permit them to choose their own government and their chief, proposed to offer the crown to the Duke of Orleans, the only one of the Bourbon princes, who seemed to have imbibed those principles of moderation, which the king really possessed, but had not the firmness to make them the guide of his administration. Another party, whose leader was La Fayette, hoped that France might at length be permitted to enjoy a constitution approaching to the boasted models of the ancient republics.

These three parties formed a decided majority in the chamber of deputies, and a considerable proportion of the peers; and it was obvious, that, in case of necessity, they would all cordially unite in accomplishing the abdication of Napoleon.

The real friends of the Corsican were comparatively few. They consisted of those who were indebted to him for their honours and emoluments, or whose crimes committed, on his account, would expose them to the vengeance of the Bourbons.

Napoleon was perfectly aware of the formation and designs of these parties, and many conferences were held between him, his brother Lucien, and some confidential friends, respecting the measures which it would be advisable for him to adopt. Lucien, who seems to have forgotten, or laid aside, his former republican principles, strenuously advised that, if the opening of the campaign should prove unpropitious, Napoleon should immediately dissolve the chambers, and thus deprive his enemies of the opportunity to injure him. He added, that the urgency of circumstances, and the necessity of providing for the defence of the nation in a more expeditious way than the tedious forms of the constitution allowed, would afford him a colourable pretext, and justify him in the opinion of the people. The vanity of Buonaparte, and the fondness for despotic principles, which still lurked in his bosom, inclined him to listen to this advice; yet he felt a doubt respecting the practicability of so bold a measure, and was aware that its consequences might prove fatal to himself. Nothing, therefore, was determined, and he set out for the army, hoping that some brilliant exploit might render unnecessary a scheme so objectionable and hazardous. He was conscious how much depended on the opening of the campaign, and this accounts for the eagerness with which he followed the successes that he at first obtained. It is said that, on parting

with one of his confidential friends, his last words were, "I have lost one game; but here goes, double or quit."

The news of the battles of Charleroi afforded the friends of Napoleon a triumph which knew no bounds. Their most sanguine anticipations were exceeded. The moderate party also rejoiced in the intelligence; as conceiving that the glory and independence of France would now be secured. Their opposition to Buonaparte was abandoned, and they were preparing to call into action all the resources of the country in his favour. The next day a second bulletin was published, in the true style of Napoleon. The enemy had been overthrown at every point; the Prussians were dispersed, and would give no further trouble; and the English were rapidly retreating towards Brussels, closely pursued by the victorious columns of the French. The victories of Jena, Austerlitz, and Marengo, were not to be compared with those of Quatre Bras and Ligny.

Two days of anxious suspense now passed, when, on the 20th, in the afternoon, it began to be whispered, that the army had sustained a great and irreparable defeat,—that Jerome Buonaparte was wounded, Napoleon killed, and Wellington and Blucher in full march towards Paris. The city now poured out its immense population. Every street was thronged. All hastened towards the Thuilleries, and each individual anxiously inquired of his neighbour what was the news. The Buonapartists hoped that Napoleon was preparing in his usual way for the full effect of the news of some brilliant victory, by the previous dissemination of doubtful or unfavourable intelligence. But every fresh arrival of travellers and couriers from the north weakened the hope to which they fondly clung; and when, at length, it was rumoured that Napoleon had arrived, the real state of affairs was sufficiently obvious. His arrival was the infallible signal of some irretrievable disaster.

About nine o'clock, three chariots covered with dust entered the courts of the palace of Elysée, and the gates were immediately closed behind them. From the first alighted General Drouet, who, advancing to a friend that stood by, squeezed him by the hand, and muttered, "We are all ruined!" The third carriage drew up, and prevented all further explanation. It was opened, and in the bottom lay a person pale, exhausted, and his arm in a sling. As he slowly descended from the vehicle, Napoleon, who was behind him, pushed him along, threw him down on the steps of the palace, rushed up the stairs, and entered the apartments without speaking or looking at any one. His attendants hastened after him. As he approached the door of the saloon, he suddenly stopped, cast a look of anguish on Drouet, exclaiming—"Dishonoured! disgraced!" and, hurrying into the apartment, threw himself on one of the sofas, and covered his face with his hands. These were the first words he had spoken during the last twenty-four hours.

After a short time, he arose and entered his cabinet. Some despatches were laid before him, one of which was from his sister Hortensia. He recognised the hand-writing, and eagerly seizing the letter, pressed it to his lips. Having perused it, he immediately wrote a reply, and called for refreshments. Some soup was brought him, and he ate it voraciously. He then ordered his secretary to write to the Duke of Bassano (Maret), and to Count Regnault de St. Jean D'Angely, requiring their immediate attendance. Having taken off his boots, he ordered one of the pages to wake him as soon as the ministers arrived, and, throwing himself on a sofa, fell into a sound sleep.

M. St. Didier, private secretary to Buonaparte, in a pamphlet, entitled "*Nuits de l' Abdication de l' Empereur Napoleon*," gives an interesting account of an interview which took place between him and General Drouet while the emperor slept. Drouet had not quitted Napoleon during the whole of the battle of the 18th. His opinion of the affair is therefore important.

"After the first advantages at Charleroi," said the general, "and the brilliant affair of Fleurus, we lost every thing, from two obvious causes, to which a third might be added, which was more strongly felt, but not so well proved.

"The first of these causes is the inflexibility of the emperor, who, at the end of two days of victory, was desirous of astonishing the world, of giving confidence to France, and spreading consternation over Europe by a third decisive triumph. This was a sublime, but frantic, project, which must necessarily enthrone the conqueror in the opinion of the world, or, if vanquished, might lead him to a scaffold;—a project which was penetrated by the discerning Wellington, and which he disconcerted by leading on its extravagant author to the very gulf in which his power, his influence, and almost his very glory, were to expire. In reality, the third battle, which we call the battle of Mont St. Jean, from the name of the village which was the principal scene of action, and which the enemy will call the battle of Waterloo, from another village occupied by the English, or that of La Belle Alliance, from the name of a house, which was occupied as the head-quarters of Blucher:—this third action, after balancing the victory by turns, which made it (if I may use the expression) fly alternately from the French colours to those of the allies, from noon till eight in the evening, has demonstrated how the negative quality, patience,

could disconcert the combinations of a rash and impetuous general. Here, then, is the second cause of our defeat. The prudent conqueror of Salamanca, of Toulouse, of Vittoria, by a manœuvre worthy his immortal genius, (though it was purchased with the loss of some of his choicest troops,) constrained the fiery victor of the Pyramids, of Marengo, of Austerlitz, of Friedland, of Jena, to lower his humbled laurels before those whom he had so often vanquished.

"I shall attribute the third cause of our defeat, to intrigue, to corruption, to treason. These, united together, have produced mistrust, false intelligence, fear, and disorder. History will search into these sources, which I can but point out; but to which the allies, (whose bravery I am nevertheless ready to acknowledge,) and, above all, the private enemies and the personal competitor of Buonaparte, undoubtedly owe their success. Let them hasten to secure their triumph, and to make the best use of their victory, for the lion is not dead, but only wounded."

The *treason* to which Drouet refers has never been proved, and, in fact, had no existence. Nor did the allies owe their success to any "mistrust, or false intelligence," but to their own invincible courage, and the skill and bravery of their commanders. When the French found that the troops who were advancing on their rear, and whom they had been repeatedly assured were the reinforcements of Grouchy, were actually the Prussians,—when Blucher and Ziethen, joining the left wing of the enemy, swept every thing before them,—and when the British, whom they had been taught to believe were nearly annihilated, rushed upon them with irresistible force, there needed no *treason* to produce that universal panic which seized the troops of the usurper, and hurled him from his throne.

The night was considerably advanced when Napoleon awaked, and the ministers arrived. As the secretary placed himself at the table to take notes of the proceedings, Buonaparte observed his paleness and agitation. "What!" said he, "Drouet has been informing you of the affair. An evil which may be repaired is not a great one, and even if it were irreparable, we should submit with becoming resignation. Sit down and write."

The bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean was then drawn up, and given to Regnault to correct. Napoleon now paced the room with rapid strides, biting his nails, and taking snuff every instant. Maret appeared cold and reserved; Regnault was more affected. He stood at the table unconsciously drawing lines with his pencil on the bulletin which lay before him. Now and then he raised his eyes, and regarded Napoleon with a look of mingled anxiety and pity. The Corsican continued to pace the room with more rapid strides; at length he suddenly stopped, and exclaimed, "Well! this bulletin?"

"Here it is corrected," replied the Count.

"Let us see," said Buonaparte.

Regnault began to read it. Napoleon frequently interrupted him by exclaiming, "It was gained! It was gained! The victory was mine." When the bulletin was concluded, he added with a sigh, "It is lost, and with it my glory."

Count Regnault.—"You can oppose fifty victories against one defeat."

The Duke of Bassano.—"But this defeat is decisive; the emperor is right."

Buonaparte.—"They are not accustomed to conquer; they will abuse their victory."

The Duke.—"Those to whose cowardice Wellington's bravery has given a triumph, are more your enemies than the English and Prussians."

The Count.—"The republicans will lament, but they will endeavour to profit from the circumstance."

Buonaparte.—"They will do well, at least the glory and liberty of the country will remain uninjured. If the royalists should prevail, it is only from their being supported by the foreigners."

The Duke.—"The courage of the royalists is in the head of Wellington, and in the arm of Blucher."

The Count.—"That which is most pressing is to stop Wellington and Blucher."

The Duke.—"How? the army no longer exists, and the frontier is uncovered."

The Count.—"The frontier is uncovered, but the army exists; nothing more is requisite than to rally it."

Buonaparte.—"The army will rally of itself; we must re-organize it, and repair its losses."

The Duke.—"Can you depend on Marshal Soult and Grouchy?"

Buonaparte.—"Grouchy is an honest but weak man; Soult has given pledges."

The Count.—"The army will re-organize itself, but the brigades are incomplete."

Buonaparte.—"Let the ministers be immediately convened. I wish the chambers to be made acquainted with every thing this very night."

The Duke.—"The parties are about to put themselves in motion."

The Count.—"The parties have been in motion for a considerable time past; and are now about to recognise each other, to compare their strength, and to make attempts."

Buonaparte.—"So much the better: their masks will fall off, and the public will know them; as for me, I have, long since——Call the ministers. A report must

be drawn up:—the truth must be told. If all patriotism, if all honour be not dead, will the chambers refuse me men and money?"

The Duke.—"They will speak of sparing the engine and water, when the house is in flames."

The Count.—"A dictatorship has been foolishly objected to. It is the only measure which would now save every thing."

Buonaparte.—"I have commenced a constitutional monarchy.—Convoke the ministers."

The Duke.—"No dictatorship! but at the same time no indignities!—If we are attacked, we will defend ourselves."

Buonaparte.—"Ah, my old guard! will they defend themselves like you?"

Regnault now retired, but Maret remained with Napoleon, who, notwithstanding his fatigue, gave audience to Cambacéres, Decrés, Caulincourt, and Carnot, who hastened to him as soon as they heard of his arrival, and proffered their services. The dictatorship was again discussed, but Buonaparte was afraid to consent. The danger of the chambers proceeding to extremities against him, and even depriving him of the crown was hinted. To this, however, he would not listen. He said that the thing was impossible; they could not so soon forget the oath which they had taken to him. At all events, the truth should be told them; he would put their fidelity and patriotism to the test, and he did not doubt that he should afterwards be able to frustrate any attempt which they might make against him.

The usurper had never placed implicit confidence in any of his ministers. The police had been long under the direction of Fouché, the son of a biscuit-baker at Nantes. He received his first education at an Oratoire, and, as soon as he arrived at the proper age, entered into holy orders. His talents soon raised him to the honours of a professorship. In the early period of the revolution, and in the public agitation which preceded it, Fouché became an active partisan of the popular party, and, mingling too much political discussion with his theological lectures, he was justly suspended, and imprisoned by his superiors. This measure, however, only increased his zeal, and such was his influence over the minds of his pupils, that, early in 1788, most of them quitted Nantes and joined the revolutionary standard at Rennes.

When all monastic institutions were abolished by the national assembly, Fouché renounced his profession, and sealed his abjuration by marrying. He also united with the atheists of the day in publicly *ridiculing* Christianity, and, on one occasion, actually *caused an ass to drink out of a communion-cup*, as a burlesque on the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper!!

In 1789, the Jacobin club was established at Nantes. Fouché was one of its earliest and most violent members. He was immediately chosen secretary to the club, and soon afterwards was elected president.

In 1792, he was elected a member of the national convention for his native town. He had no sooner taken his seat in that chamber than he united with the most violent party, and recommended or supported all the sanguinary acts which disgraced that dreadful period of the revolution. He made his debut by seconding the motion of Marat, who demanded the trial of the unfortunate Louis and his Queen.

He was soon afterwards sent with the infamous Collot d'Herbois to Lyons, which had resisted the conventional authority; and the atrocities which he there committed were too awful ever to be forgotten.

The destructive guillotine was too slow in its office. Hundreds of persons who were merely *suspected* of incivism, or whose property was desirable to the assassins, were huddled together in some open field, and swept down by the discharge of cannon. Sometimes the relatives of the condemned were compelled to dig the graves which were to contain the lifeless remains of those whom they fondly loved. The destined victims were then placed on the edge of the grave, and precipitated into it by a discharge of musketry or cannon. The relatives of those who had been murdered were again dragged forward, and compelled to throw the earth over the mangled bodies of their best and nearest friends. Three hundred were sometimes thus destroyed in a single day.

The following is an authentic extract from a letter of Fouché and his worthy colleague on one of these occasions:—"We listen only to the voice of the nation, which demands that the blood of the citizens which the rebels have spilled should be avenged at once in *the most summary and dreadful manner*. We are convinced that this infamous city contains *not one innocent person;* we are therefore steeled against the tears of repentance, and nothing shall or can disarm the terrors of our severity. We will respect your decree for *the annihilation of the city* of Lyons. Little has yet been done to execute it. *The ordinary mode of destruction is too slow.* Republican impatience demands more speedy and effectual measures. The explosion of the mine and the devouring activity of fire, can alone express the omnipotence of the people."

From Lyons, Fouché proceeded to Toulon. He thence writes to his former sanguinary companion in the following terms:

"And we likewise, my friend, have contributed to the surrender of Toulon, by spreading terror amongst the traitors who had entered the town, and by exposing

to their view the dead bodies of thousands of their accomplices. Let us shew ourselves terrible; let us annihilate in our anger, and at one single blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture of punishing them as kings would do. Let the perfidious and ferocious *English* be assailed from every quarter; let the whole republic turn into a volcano, and pour forth the devouring lava upon them. May the infamous island that produced these monsters, who no longer belong to the human species, be buried for ever in the waves. Farewell, my friend!—tears of joy run from my eyes, and overflow my heart.

"P.S. We have but one way of celebrating our victory; we shall send *two hundred and thirteen* rebels this evening to the place of execution; our *loaded cannon* are ready to salute them."

In a letter from La Vendée, this unfeeling monster says,—"The day before yesterday *I had the happiness to see eight hundred dwellings of the brigands destroyed by fire;* to-day I have witnessed the shooting of *nine hundred* of these brigands; and, for to-morrow, I have prepared a *civic baptism* (drowning) of one thousand two hundred women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons, of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. *In two days, three impure generations* of rebels and fanatics *have ceased to be* any more."

When the monster Robespierre met his fate, accusations poured in so rapidly against this the most sanguinary of all the instruments of his cruelty, that Fouché was expelled from the convention as a disgrace to any assembly of which he might be a member.

In 1797, he again appeared in public life as a commissary; in the following year he was appointed ambassador in Holland; and, in 1799, he was made minister of police, which situation he retained until 1802. He was then dismissed, in consequence of his opposition to some of Napoleon's plans; but the vast machine of the French police could only be managed by him who had first arranged its complicated parts, and, in 1805, he was re-instated in his former situation.

The perfection to which the police of France was brought by Fouché was truly astonishing. It is supposed that upwards of three hundred thousand persons were employed by him,—none of whom were known to each other, and from whom he received weekly, and almost daily, accounts of the actions, and most private conversation, of nearly every individual in the empire.

Buonaparte once expressed some doubt of the accuracy of his intelligence, and the possibility of his arriving at many of the facts which Fouché pretended to know. The minister was piqued, and pledged himself to relate to his master every action which he performed, and every conversation which he held during the following day. Napoleon used every precaution to prevent the possibility of being seen or overheard. He shut himself in his cabinet. He admitted no domestic to wait upon him whose fidelity had not been tried by many years service. He wrote several despatches with his own hand, and committed them to messengers who had never deceived him.

The next morning Fouché entered his cabinet, and laid before him a detailed account of the preceding day. He named every person who had been admitted to his presence, and related the nature of their conversation. Some of the conferences had passed without witnesses, and were of the most delicate nature. He gave him the substance of every despatch, and related a hundred little contrivances of Napoleon to elude inspection; but he acknowledged that he knew not what became of him after a certain hour; that he could not extort this from his agents, but that they were ready to relate the whole, if required, to Napoleon himself. The Corsican hastily replied that this was perfectly unnecessary,—that he was quite satisfied, and added, that the latter part of the evening had not been spent in the best company.

On the restoration of Louis XVIII., Fouché was continued in his office, and no doubt contributed essentially to the return of Buonaparte, in whose service he again engaged with alacrity. Yet, on the return of Louis from Ghent, this wretch was unaccountably suffered to retain his situation; and, under his influence and that of his associates, the unfortunate king has subsequently been induced to adopt measures calculated to repress all true loyalty, and to nourish the monsters who only wait an opportunity to subvert his throne.

But to return to Buonaparte.—In addition to the general police under Fouché, he had established a private police of his own, by whose means he was enabled to appreciate their fidelity, and to ascertain many facts which they would willingly have concealed from him. An agent of this police was now introduced, who reported to him the proceedings of the different parties during his absence, and their present strength and designs.

At this juncture, Fouché arrived. He professed his deep regret at the events that had occurred, and his unshaken fidelity. He endeavoured to calm the agitation of his master, by assuring him the evil was not irremediable; that the parties were perfectly tranquil, and that he might rely on their zealous co-operation in re-organizing the army and defending the nation. On these grounds he opposed the dismissal of the chambers, and the assumption of the dictatorship, as mea-

sures which were unnecessary in themselves, and which must occasion much dissatisfaction.

Buonaparte listened to him with doubt and embarrassment. He hoped that the report given by the minister of police might be correct; but he had private reasons for suspecting it. After some consideration, he expressed his resolution to adhere to the forms of the constitution, and to respect the privileges of the chambers; and he rather abruptly dismissed the minister, appointing a meeting of the council at eight o'clock.

"In this proceeding," says a respectable historian, "Fouché acted with much dissimulation. He had long determined, that, if reverses attended Napoleon, he would abandon his cause, and court the favour of the Bourbons. Knowing the decided and impetuous character of Napoleon, and his latent inclination towards despotic power, he feared that he might assume the dictatorship, and dissolve the chambers before any preparation could be made to resist him. His object, therefore, in this visit was to impose upon his master by a false report of the state of parties. He hoped that time might thus be gained;—that the chambers might be on their guard;—that they might be able to rally round them a sufficient defence; and that the ambitious projects of Napoleon or his advisers might be rendered abortive. He succeeded. The favourable moment for assuming the dictatorship was lost, and France was saved from devastation and ruin. In this Fouché displayed some dexterity; but it will be difficult to deny that he wilfully and deliberately deceived and betrayed the man whom he had sworn faithfully to serve."

When Fouché had taken his leave, Napoleon remained absorbed in thought. "Every thing," said he to himself, "is according to him tranquil, and I have only to speak to obtain all that I can wish. Which then is right, this report or he? Ah! Fouché is perfidious. I have long suspected him. I must believe this report, which accords so completely with my own anticipations, and which have never deceived me." He then ordered his secretary to take three copies of the report, one of which he sent to Carnot, and another to Regnault, requesting their advice. The third copy he retained himself, and committed the original to the flames. The document was in substance as follows:—

"A spirit of uneasiness is universal, but concealed in proportion as it becomes general. Meetings are held almost every night at the house of C——, a principal agent of the party of the Fedéres. Another meeting at the house of L—— consists entirely of royalists. The latter, however, is by no means dangerous, nor will it become so, but in case of the success of the allies. The deputies are more daring. Yesterday one of them proposed that, during the emperor's absence, a commission of *surveillance* should be appointed, composed indifferently of members of the chambers, or other persons, to which commission Prince Joseph and the council of regency should be obliged to render an account. This motion will be made on the first news of success, under the pretext that the emperor will embrace that opportunity of extending his authority. The royalists and the republicans of the assembly will come to an understanding. They will come to a much more perfect understanding should there be a reverse. It is believed that the royalists will organize more than one reverse, which will be imputed to the emperor; whose spirit, they say, begins to droop. This is what they also say of Carnot, on account of his recent report. The patriots, however, do not wish for disasters; but if any should happen, they are determined to profit by them."

In this paper the public feelings were correctly described; and Napoleon might have predicted what subsequently occurred. But his vanity would not let him believe that the chambers even thought of his abdication. He would not suppose that they or France could do without him: and he merely anticipated some rigorous exactions in favour of liberty as the price of the assistance which they would afford him.

Whilst Buonaparte was meditating on this important subject, his sister Hortensia was announced. She had always been a favourite with Napoleon; and report had confidently spoken of the *incestuous* connexion which subsisted between them. It was acknowledged, however, that she never exerted her interest with him for any purpose of national or individual oppression.

On taking her seat, she appeared strongly agitated, and nearly fainting. With all the eloquence of which she was mistress, she urged him to endeavour to obtain a peace. She painted in melancholy colours the calamities which hung over the country, and the dangers which menaced himself; and she conjured him, by his attachment to her, and by his regard for his own safety, to dismiss every ambitious project, and, before it was too late, save the country and himself from ruin. To these entreaties he listened with anger and impatience. He often strode across the room, then suddenly seated himself, and in a moment started up again, and replied to her only by broken and incoherent sentences. He often repeated with vehemence, "The Bourbons! the English! dishonour!" till at length, in a paroxysm of rage, stamping with his foot, and furiously striking on the table with his hand, he threw down some books on her foot, and put her to considerable pain.

Unconscious whether this violence were designed or accidental, her tears redoubled, and she could hardly support herself. The Corsican was sensibly affected.

He took her tenderly by the hand, expressed his sorrow at the consequences of his passion, and promised that, as far as the interest of France and his own honour would permit, he would endeavour to accede to her request. Her countenance immediately brightened; her fears and pain seemed forgotten; and the cloud which overhung Napoleon's brow suffered a momentary dispersion, whilst he dismissed her with an affectionate salute.

The clock now struck eight, and the ministers assembled in council. Napoleon joined them with greater cheerfulness than he had felt since his disgraceful overthrow at Waterloo. The question of the dictatorship was again discussed. Lucien vehemently urged it as the only mean of averting from his brother the disgrace which his enemies were preparing, and the only thing which could possibly save the country. This was opposed by Fouché, on the ground that the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the chambers rendered such a measure altogether unnecessary. It was also opposed by Carnot, as resembling too nearly the despotism which had marked Napoleon's former government: but he added that, having professed himself the adherent of Buonaparte, he would defend him to the last extremity, and would rather see him assume the dictatorship, and dissolve the chambers, than suffer the reins of government to be wrested from his hands by external or internal violence. The assumption of the dictatorship was supported by Regnault, Decrés, and Davoust; Cambacéres sided with Fouché and Carnot. Napoleon listened attentively to the arguments of both parties, and at length expressed his determination to throw himself on the loyalty of the chambers, and concert with them such measures as the critical situation of the country might render necessary.

While the members of the council were deliberating on the message to be delivered to the chambers, the deputies met, and Buonaparte ordered a bulletin of their proceedings to be forwarded to him by a confidential agent every quarter of an hour. The first bulletin was calculated to alarm the friends of Napoleon. La Fayette had appeared in the tribune, and had proposed that the sittings of the chambers should be declared permanent, and that any attempt to dissolve them should be resisted and punished as high treason. All question respecting the dictatorship was now at an end, unless Buonaparte were resolved to add the horrors of civil war to the calamities which were already devastating the frontiers.

This bulletin overwhelmed the council with astonishment, but the next intelligence recalled them to their recollection, and shewed them all the danger to which they and their master were exposed. The ministers were ordered to appear in the chamber of deputies, and answer to any interrogatories which might be put to them. At first they hesitated whether they would obey this unexpected and peremptory summons. Napoleon felt indignant at the insult, and at first insisted that they should not appear. He even spoke of putting himself at the head of the few troops in Paris, on whose fidelity he knew he might depend, and marching to the hall, to dissolve the chambers by force. No person but Lucien, however, was found sufficiently bold or unprincipled to second this rash proposal. His ministers warmly urged the impolicy of a step which, if not attended with complete success, must prove fatal; and begged that he would at least delay any decisive measure until he had ascertained the real views of the chambers, and the relative strength of the different parties;—a proposition which he readily consented to adopt.

The council now turned their attention to the form of the communication which Napoleon should make to the chambers, of the events which had transpired, and the nature of his present wishes and intentions, when a second and more peremptory summons arrived, requiring the *immediate* attendance of the ministers in the chamber of the deputies. The council broke up in dismay, and nothing conclusive was settled, except that an extraordinary meeting should be convened in the evening, consisting of the ministers, the presidents and secretaries of the two chambers, and the principal civil and military authorities.

We have already stated that the deputies assembled while the council of the ministers continued their deliberations. La Fayette had received intelligence of the subject which engaged their attention, and which had been so repeatedly discussed in the private assemblies at the palace. He was sufficiently experienced in the manœuvres of revolutionary times to know that no time was to be lost, and that all depended on striking the first blow. He therefore contrived that the chamber should meet at an earlier hour than usual; and, on the president taking the chair, he immediately presented himself at the tribune. He had hitherto mingled with none of the parties, but had stood aloof, as if he were conscious of disgrace in belonging to the government of the usurper. His appearance therefore excited great surprise, and a profound silence reigned in the assembly, while he spoke to the following effect:

"Gentlemen, for the first time during many years you hear a voice, which the old friends of liberty may yet recognize. The country is in danger, and you alone can save it.

"The sinister reports which have been circulated during the last two days, are unhappily confirmed.

This is the moment to rally round the national colours, —the tri-coloured standard of 1789,—the standard of liberty, equality, and public order. It is you alone who can now protect the country from foreign attacks, and internal dissensions. It is you alone who can secure the independence and the honour of France.

"Allow a veteran in the sacred cause of freedom, and a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some resolutions, which the dangers of the present crisis demand. I am assured that you will feel the necessity of adopting them:

"Art. I. The chamber declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

"II. The chamber declares its sittings permanent. All attempts to dissolve it, shall be considered high treason. Whosoever shall render himself culpable of such an attempt, shall be considered a traitor to his country, and condemned as such.

"III. The army of the line, and the national guards, who have fought, and still fight, for the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

"IV. The minister of the interior is invited to assemble the principal officers of the Parisian national guard, in order to consult on the means of providing it with arms, and of completing this corps of citizens, whose tried patriotism and zeal offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity, of the capital, and for the inviolability of the national representatives.

"V. The minister of war, of foreign affairs, of police, and of the interior, are invited to repair to the hall of the assembly."

These bold and alarming resolutions met with no opposition. The court-party was taken by surprise, and overwhelmed with consternation. The leading members were with their master, and the others had not sufficient courage to face the impending storm.

After an observation from M. Flaugergues, that "the minister ought to be summoned without delay, and required to communicate every particular of the defeat which the army had sustained, and the real designs of Napoleon,"—and a still bolder remark from another member, "that in a few moments the chamber might be dissolved, and that they might lose, by their delay, an opportunity which might not be regained,"—the propositions were all carried by acclamation, except the fourth. This was, for the present, suspended, as conveying an invidious distinction between the troops of the line, and the national guards.

The national guard were no sooner apprised of the fourth proposition, than they availed themselves of the hint. They immediately assembled at their respective rendezvous, and a picquet was despatched from each arrondissement to do duty at the hall of the deputies, and to protect the national representatives.

The resolutions of the deputies were transmitted to the chamber of peers, and were adopted after a short discussion, without amendment.

The speedy termination of Napoleon's authority was now obvious to all but himself. He saw, in these measures, only the expression of the fears which the deputies entertained, lest he should dissolve them, and re-establish his former despotism; and he believed that, when these apprehensions were removed, they would readily assist him in endeavouring to save the country.

The day passed without any event of importance. The chambers exacted from the ministers the most solemn assurances that no designs were harboured against them: and the minister of war was, in particular, repeatedly obliged to deny that the troops had received orders to surround and dissolve the assembly. The opposite parties regarded each other with suspicion. They were collecting their respective forces, and an explosion was expected every hour.

The Parisians awaited the result of the impending struggle with great anxiety: numerous groups assembled on the walks, on the bridges, on the quays, and on the boulevards. At the approach of the police they dispersed, and then formed again without ceasing. The passengers looked at each other with distrust; they addressed each other with caution; and answered with hesitation. No one ventured to express his hopes, his fears, or his expectations. Silence and timidity pervaded most of the crowds, who were collected together by an irrepressible curiosity, and disunited by a terror still more alarming. At length their desire of intelligence, and the interest which they felt in the passing events, unsealed their lips. Some ventured to hint at the abdication, the trial, the death of the usurper. Others fondly anticipated the return of their legitimate sovereign, and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were occasionally heard: but the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were the most prevalent, and drowned every other acclamation. The *federés*, and the inhabitants of the suburbs, were loudest in their vociferations. Many broils ensued, and some blood was shed; but the firm conduct of the national guard prevented much serious mischief.

The funds, which had experienced a gradual depression ever since the departure of Napoleon for the army, and which, on the first news of the defeat of Waterloo, had been as low as fifty, began rapidly to rise, in proportion as it became evident that some attempt was in contemplation to subvert the existing government.

Two persons were tried in the course of the day, for distributing seditious libels, and, though the facts were substantiated by the clearest evidence, they were acquitted. It is also worthy of remark, that their advocate, in the course of his defence, made use of many expressions against the character and government of Napoleon, the least offensive of which, in other times, would have doomed him to a dungeon for life.

In the evening the imperial committee assembled; consisting of the ministers holding departments; the ministers of state; the president and four members of the chamber of peers; the president and four vice-presidents of the representatives; the heads of the civil and military authorities of Paris, and some counsellors of state, peers, representatives, and citizens, who were invited by Napoleon.

The scenes which had occurred in the streets were here repeated as the members gradually assembled, and awaited Buonaparte's arrival. Some were silent, and wrapt in meditation;—others endeavoured artfully to sound the designs of their associates, and all most carefully disguised their own thoughts.

One of the members of this committee was Maret, (the Duke of Bassano,) of whom so much has been said by different parties, that the following account of him (for which we are indebted to a work styled, "*Histoire de l'Ambassade en Pologne*," by M. Pradt, archbishop of Mechlin) will, no doubt, be acceptable to the reader:—

"Who, then, is this Duke of Bassano, who, unfortunately for France, has been connected with every period of her revolution, from the box of the short-hand writer, in the national assembly, where he first became a politician, to the highest honours of the ministry, and who embarrasses the world to solve the problem of the real worth of an upstart journalist.

"A mediocrity of talent united with insatiable ambition,—a high opinion of himself, exhibited in the most minute trifles,—an apparent display of sensibility without the possession of the smallest portion of it,—a pretension to universal knowledge and talents,—a vulgar imitation of his master,—the refinement of servility,—the morality and the eloquence of the Moniteur,—such is the Duke of Bassano, one of the scourges of the age!

"These imputations are so severe, that they require proofs; I feel that justice demands them. When we attempt to subvert the reputation which a man has gained,—when we rob him of the treasure of his good name, we ought to be armed at all points; but when the influence of a man is found to be connected with the public calamities of his country,—when his fortune and his fame are nourished by the disasters of his fellow-creatures,—when, blinded by pride, a little puppet atlas attempts to charge himself with a part of the burden of the world, and, when his vanity persuades him that he can sport himself with that weight, too heavy for ordinary powers,—a weight, in reality, not so oppressive as his person is sacred,—when he sports with the interests of so many nations, and sacrifices them to his caprice or his folly, can we be too severe? Is it not our duty to invoke, and to cause to speak, with a voice of thunder, those three sisters who ought never to be separated, justice, morality, and history. Is it not our duty to tear off the mask from a juggler, who scatters around innumerable calamities, with an impudent and undisturbed countenance, and who often obtains the homage, even of his victims. These cold-hearted ambitious men, these slaves of every master who will sufficiently bribe them,—who pursue, as their only object, the increase of their fortune, or the gratification of their passions,—who trample without remorse on their equals, and regard their superiors as idols; these men have been too much spared,—let us render to every one that which is his due, and let the Duke of Bassano, who has so often had recourse to flattery to deceive others, and who has succeeded only in deceiving himself, know that his character has been justly esteemed.

"The Duke of Bassano made his debut in 1790, in the box of a journalist in the constituent assembly. His only support was derived from reporting the debates in the Moniteur. He at length ingratiated himself with the proprietor of the paper, and obtained a small share in it. This introduced him to the society of some of the leading members. His flatteries and his servility soon gained him the patronage of Roland, Brissot, and Lebrun, and he accompanied M. Chavelin in his embassy to London, at the period of the death of Louis XVI., and was on the point of supplanting his superior, when they were all driven from England. He was sent back on a second mission, but was not permitted to proceed further than Canterbury.

"The diplomacy of the convention had nothing in it to alarm him, or to shake the strong fibres which form the tissue of his heart. He was soon afterwards despatched on a mission to Naples; but the Austrians disconcerted his schemes, by arresting him, together with Semonville, the ambassador to Constantinople, and some other incendiary at the entrance of the Valteline. When the consulate was established, he was restored to France, by being exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI., and succeeded M. de Lagarde as secretary to the council of government. That situation he retained until he was appointed minister of foreign affairs in the room of M. de Champagny. This office had long been the object of his ambition. The labours of the cabinet,

always somewhat obscure in their nature, presented a scene too limited, for the exertion of his superior talents. He would be the minister of France, and of Europe; for, in the situation of politics at that time, the French minister of foreign affairs was nothing less.

"The Duke of Bassano conceived, that a fine appearance, a politeness too common to be flattering to him to whom it was addressed, and too general to be capable of being applied to any particular person, formed the grand essential of a minister, and would conceal every defect.

"His eloquence is dull, embarrassed, obscure, and tedious. His principles vary with the circumstances of every case, or are comprised in present convenience, force, and the long catalogue of sophisms, of which French diplomacy has been composed during twenty-five years. His days are spent in hunting, in attendance at the palace, in repasts prolonged to excess, and in lounging with every one who will give him his company. At length the time of business arrives, and that is generally the period when nature requires repose. When the hour of midnight sounds, he thinks of the duties of his office, shuts himself up in his cabinet, calls his clerks, and gives them no respite. Woe to him whom sleep then overpowers. Towards five o'clock in the morning the minister retires to repose, and leaves to his unfortunate dependents the labour of reducing to some luminous order, the sublime conceptions of which they had been made the depositaries.

"Flattery is the surest way to gain the favour of the Duke of Bassano. With him every thing must be flattered, every thing admired, even the little dog of the Duchess. A person well acquainted with the foibles of this minister has said, that that dog has made many senators and many prefects.

"The Duke of Bassano is celebrated for the steadiness of his friendships. This is with him a point of religion; but I have detected him in one flagrant instance of impiety towards this divinity.

"Towards the latter end of June, M. D'André, formerly well known as president of the constituent assembly, arrived at Warsaw. He had been sent for from Vienna by the Duke of Bassano, where he resided. The reason of his journey he knew not, neither did I. The duke told him to stay near me, and to wait for orders. M. D'André was the author of all the duke's good fortune, by causing a box to be fitted up for him and his journal in the body of the assembly.

"He shewed me a letter from the duke, which was to serve as his credentials with me. It was filled with expressions of affection, and professions of eagerness to see him. It stated that a wish to see him again, and to be of service to him, was nearest the heart of the duke. I was persuaded that M. D'André was an intimate friend of the duke, and that his fortune was secure. I had only known M. D'André by seeing him in the assembly, and we were then attached to different parties. I have since regretted that I knew him so late, for I found him, in every respect, one of the most worthy men with whom I was ever acquainted.

"Some weeks passed over without any intelligence from the duke. Several letters were written to him, but they remained unanswered. I endeavoured to calm the impatience of M. D'André, who sometimes determined to set out for Wilna, and at others to return to Vienna. In short, the whole campaign passed away without the duke communicating any message, or writing a single line. On the retreat from Moscow, the duke arrived at Warsaw, and dined with me four days, in company with M. D'André, without addressing one word to him, or giving any reply to his demand of an audience; and, when indignant at this forgetfulness, not only of the duties of friendship, but even of common politeness, I endeavoured to impress him with the necessity of not departing without taking some notice of a friend so dear, he acquiesced in the propriety of my observation, and, taking him aside, addressed to him a few words at one of the windows, coolly proposing to pay the *travelling expenses* of a man whom he had brought more than two hundred leagues, who had quitted every employment, at his request, and whom he was now sending back when the thermometer was twenty-five degrees below the freezing point. Thus ended the drama of his friendship for M. D'André!

"I am ready to acknowledge that the Duke of Bassano possesses all that sensibility which his friends attribute to him, and which they extol so highly; but let them explain to me in what that sensibility consists, which commands a secretary to write and reproach me, because I testified some regret at the burning of Moscow, which inculcates the horrible principle that I ought to regard the calamity with enthusiastic feelings, and use it as the means of exciting the enthusiasm of others—enthusiasm excited by a calamity, a parallel to which has not afflicted the human race since the burning of Troy! Let them explain to me in what his sensibility could consist, who, when he was informed that thirty leagues of country were laid waste, and every habitation reduced to ashes, on the entrance of the French army into Lithuania, coolly replied, 'This is nothing, they have yet scarcely passed the frontiers.'—Who, while French and Russians, friends and enemies, were perishing by thousands, and by every horrible kind of death, enjoyed undisturbed the comedy of Wilna,—for the company which acted at his command, and for his amusement, did not cease to play a single

evening, during the whole of that unfortunate campaign,—and who, to fulfil the orders of his master, will inflict on his fellow-creatures a thousand indignities, and overwhelm them with every species of misfortune, —and to whom the misery of nations is nothing, and blind obedience to his master, the highest object of his ambition.

"The only act of the Duke of Bassano was to read the secret thoughts and wishes of Napoleon. It was curious to see with what an air he contemplated and listened to him. It seemed as if he were gazing on the countenance of a divinity. He comprehended, he admired every thing. I never saw a more perfect devotee. The repression, the annihilation of his own powers of thought, were carried to a state of absolute perfection. He saw and felt only as Buonaparte pointed the way. He wrote to me on the 6th of July, 'The despatch which you sent me, charmed me; but the emperor said that it was bad, and he is right.'

"As to his talents, we may judge of them not only from the Moniteur, of which he was one of the principal editors, but from the acts which have emanated from him in the course of his ministry. Among other articles, I entreat the reader to peruse his report on the declaration of war against Prussia in 1813. Because the emperor was about to make war against Russia, it was necessary that Prussia should be erased from the list of nations. This is a fair specimen of the *logic* of the Duke of Bassano

"He carried to perfection that system of juggling and deception by which the political *charlatans*, who have governed during so many years, have constantly endeavoured to pervert and mutilate facts, and to extract poison from them. A system invented in an age of liberty and illumination, to assist one man in precipitating millions of men to ruin and death, by means of ignorance and darkness. 'My throne is founded on the gazettes!' said the emperor.

"These disastrous and destructive deceptions arrived at their height at Wilna. When the army was perishing on the snows of Russia, and its wretched remains were endeavouring to escape from the horrors which pursued them, the Duke of Bassano was giving fêtes, and proclaiming victories. Thus all suspicion of the truth was lulled to sleep. The diplomatic corps was completely deceived, and, at the close of one of his festivals, he gave them but six hours' notice to prepare for their departure. They travelled when the thermometer was twenty-five degrees below the freezing point, and the American minister, Barlow, died eight days afterwards of an inflammation of the lungs.

"The duke boasted to me of this political manœuvre. He esteemed it the master-piece of diplomatic art. But he heard not the execrations which were lavished on him by those whom he deceived and betrayed.

"The Duke of Bassano prided himself in imitating Napoleon in every thing. Because the emperor was a warrior, the Duke of Bassano fancied himself a general. Because the emperor had charged him with the correspondence of the army in Poland while he proceeded to Moscow, he began to lecture the generals, and to direct their operations. I have often heard military men say, that his audiences and military projects were perfectly ridiculous. He had embroiled and perplexed every thing.

"Because the emperor was concise and abrupt, the Duke of Bassano thought it a mark of genius to speak with the utmost positiveness on every subject. I will give one example. As he passed through Warsaw, he spoke to me of the remounting some of the regiments which he had ordered in Moldavia. I answered, that the horses, being brought from a great distance, and not being broken in, could not be serviceable before the month of May. He answered with briskness, 'Sir! we take a horse, we place a man on its back, and immediately we have a body of cavalry.' Because Napoleon was always accustomed to attend to his own wants before those of any other person, Maret thought that every one ought to sacrifice his dearest interests to him.

"Public opinion has charged him with the most violent inclination for every proceeding which could foster the ambition of his master at the expense of every European nation. He is reproached with having declared against the peace which Buonaparte might have obtained at Dresden, which would have left France in a flourishing situation, notwithstanding the reverses of the Russian campaign. He also persisted in the same hostile disposition after the battle of Leipsic, and during the negotiations at Chatillon. Finally, he bore a considerable part in the return of the usurper from the isle of Elba, and made every possible effort to retain at the head of the French government one who would be as mischievous to France as useful to himself."

But to return from this digression.—After some time a secretary announced the approach of the emperor, who was preceded by his three brothers. All the assembly rose. He saluted them respectfully, but with some embarrassment. They then resumed their seats without waiting for any command, and a profound silence succeeded.

Napoleon attempted to speak, but his voice was stifled by agitation, and his hand, which he extended on the table, was almost convulsed. The distress under which he laboured, affected his audience, and produced a favourable impression on his behalf.

He spoke, at first, in a low and almost unintelligible tone. His sentences were disjointed and imperfect; but by degrees he became tolerably calm. He acknowledged the full extent of the disasters which the army had experienced. He spoke, with admiration, of the courage and devotion of his troops. He acknowledged the faults which he had committed in the opening of the campaign, and on the fatal day of Waterloo. He praised the unconquerable bravery of the British, and the unrivalled talents of their commander. Finally, he confessed that he had now no resource but in the affection and fidelity of his people; and entreated that the committee would advise him as to the measures which it was necessary to adopt.

A murmur of approbation ran through the whole assembly, and several of his auditors, who had come to the meeting with hostile feelings, felt inclined to espouse his cause.

The debate was opened by Count Regnault, who was an advocate before the revolution, and practised at the town from which he has taken his title. He was deputy to the states-general, and, though he took no leading part in the dissensions of that assembly, established his character for moderation and liberality. Under the reign of Robespierre, he shared in the persecution which awaited every rational patriot. He was proscribed, and with difficulty escaped. He appeared no more on the political theatre until the consulate of Buonaparte, whose cause he zealously espoused. For this he was made counsellor of state, and president of the council.

"The glory of France," said this speaker, "is in the army. Her honour depends on the restoration of our losses. Her liberty and independence are connected with the strength of her defenders. The safety of the country consists in their number, their discipline, and their exploits. A great reverse is to great souls but a salutary warning. Let us turn to the triumph of principles, that misfortune which, at first sight, may appear to compromise them. If victory have ceased to crown our standards, are there not other palms besides those which are sprinkled with blood? The olive of peace may still flourish upon our menaced frontiers; but, that it may bear permanent fruit, it must be planted by the hands of heroes. The army already begins to rally; but our astonished eagle, afflicted at the absence of its defenders, demands that we should fill up those vacancies, which unheard-of sacrifices have made in their ranks. Will you refuse to recruit with heroes this gallant army? By enlarging its battalions, or, at least, by filling them up with devoted men, you will second the public enthusiasm—you will crown the wishes of the nation. Far, however, be from us the desire of revenge. The only conquest which we desire is that of peace: but, in order that we may not be compelled to beg it on our knees, it is necessary that the number of our soldiers should correspond with their courage. A nation defeated, but which never will be utterly vanquished, should only present the reed of peace, when leaning upon the massive club of her combats. I conclude with moving, that the chambers make an appeal to French valour, whilst the emperor is treating of peace in the most steady and dignified manner."

La Fayette next rose. Every eye was fixed upon him, and the most profound silence reigned through the assembly. Napoleon was violently agitated; but he soon recovered himself, and assumed an appearance of unconcern.

"In love for my country," said he, "and ardent wishes to save it from the dangers which threaten to overwhelm it, I will not yield to the last speaker. I am not disposed to doubt the sincerity of his patriotism; but I am compelled to say, that the measures which he proposes, would hasten and aggravate the calamities that we all deprecate. The fine army with which our northern frontiers were recently covered exists no longer. It can oppose no effectual resistance to the hordes of foreigners, who have already passed our borders, and whose course is marked with blood and devastation. It is under the walls of Paris alone that our scattered troops will be able to unite, and dispute with the enemy the possession of the capital of the empire.

"Respecting the *issue* of the contest, I should not be doubtful. At the voice of their government, and to defend the liberty, the integrity, and the independence of his country, every Frenchman would fly to arms, and the invaders would be chased from our soil with disgrace. But, though the triumph would be certain, the contest would be long and terrific. Our fertile fields would be laid waste, and our rivers be mingled with blood. Is it necessary to expose our country to these calamities? Is it necessary to fill it with widows and orphans? Are there no means by which peace may be obtained without compromising our honour?

"The last speaker has proposed that pacific overtures should be made to the allies; that, while an appeal is made to French valour, the emperor should treat for peace in the most dignified manner. But with what prospect of success can he treat? Have not our enemies pledged themselves to a line of conduct which, adopted when the issue of the contest was uncertain, and while all France appeared to have rallied round the sovereign of their choice, will not be readily abandoned now that victory has crowned their efforts?

"Sentiments of united respect and affection prevent

me from being more explicit. There is but *one* measure which can save the country, and if the ministers of the emperor will not advise him to adopt it, his great soul will reveal it to him."

This speech excited many murmurs from the court party, and much applause from others. At the close of it, Napoleon cast his eyes down, and immediately raised them again with a smile of disdain.

The Duke of Bassano (to whose character we have already called the reader's attention) appeared highly indignant. He proposed, with little preface, that all who for twelve years had belonged to different factions, whose common object was the subversion of Napoleon's authority, should be placed under the *surveillance* of a more severe police. "Let those chiefs be punished," said he, "who from Paris, from Lisle, from La Vendée, from Marseilles, from Thoulouse, and from Bourdeaux, encourage the hopes of the court of Ghent, and enflame the animosity of Europe, which they have resolved to unite in one coalition. Exclude from public functions their accomplices of the greatest influence, and watch more strictly over their inferior agents; and you will not only disconcert the plans of the enemy, but will strengthen the hands of all who are attached to the government. Had this conduct been previously adopted, a person who now hears and clearly understands me, would not smile at the misfortunes of France, nor would Wellington be marching towards the capital."

This insinuation was received with a burst of disapprobation, which even the presence of Napoleon could not check; and when the Duke of Bassano attempted to explain what he had said, his voice was drowned in hisses, and the most violent expressions of censure.

M. Lanjuinais and Benjamin Constant supported the sentiments of La Fayette; and another member spoke of the necessity of a change in the form of the government. "When the question," said he, "is how to defend the independence of the nation, the *liberties* of the nation should not be chimeras, nor her *rights* words without a meaning."

As the republican tendency of this speech was sufficiently obvious, it was favourably received by part of the assembly, and severely condemned by others. Napoleon could not refrain from many sneers of contempt during the progress of the harangue; but, fearing the turn which the debate was now taking, he beckoned to his brother Lucien and Carnot, and conversed with them a few minutes in a low voice. The latter then addressed the assembly, earnestly deprecating violent measures, and endeavouring to conciliate all parties. He also proposed, that the chambers should be invited to treat with the allied sovereigns, through an embassy of their own choosing, and that measures should be immediately adopted for the raising of men and money.

The impracticability of this scheme was apparent to all. The allies had formally declared that they would never treat with Napoleon or his family; it was absurd, therefore, to imagine that they would be deluded by a mere quibble, and treat with any deputation from the chambers, while he retained the supreme authority. They had also declared, that they would never lay down their arms until Napoleon was rendered incapable of disturbing the repose of Europe. And it was obvious that this purpose could not be effected while he retained the imperial title, and had all the resources of France at his command.

By adopting this measure, however, the object of both parties was answered. They mutually wanted time to strike some decisive blow, for which neither was yet fully prepared.

Before the council separated, one of the members who had taken no part in the debate, exclaimed, with a voice evidently meant to reach the usurper's ear, "M. de la Fayette has struck at the root of the evil. I admire Napoleon; but, in order that all France and that posterity may think as I do, one great act is still wanting. Is there no one so much a friend to our happiness and glory as to point out to him how he may still add to it?" The assembly then broke up, with evident marks of mutual dissatisfaction and distrust.

Several parties of the defeated combatants of Waterloo began now to arrive in Paris; and, though vexation and despair lowered on their brows, they still vociferated, with unabated enthusiasm, their favourite shout of "*Vive l' Empereur!*" The inhabitants of the suburbs began to be agitated, and were supposed to entertain some designs against the independence of the chambers: deputations were even sent to the palace of Elysée, demanding arms, and stating that they were ready to assemble at the command of the emperor, and repeat those terrific scenes which had marked the former periods of the revolution.

It was necessary to adopt some decisive measure before more troops arrived, or the banditti of the suburbs had been enabled to arrange themselves in terrible array. The national guards were already embodied, and had avowed their determination of defending the national representatives; and, if the opposition did not become too formidable, their patriotism might be relied on. Buonaparte, however was already in a situation to offer much resistance; and in a few days he might collect a force which would render abortive all the efforts of the real friends of France.

The deputies met at an early hour the next morning, and the opening of the debate was so tumultuous, that

the president was obliged to declare that he must adjourn the assembly, if order were not observed. A committee had been nominated, on the preceding day, to concert with the ministers the measures of public safety. Two hours elapsed, and they did not appear with their report. In fact, while Napoleon refused to adopt the only plan by which the country could with certainty be saved, and any attempt to *compel* him to abdicate would probably have led to the most serious consequences, it was almost impossible to advise any measures which were likely to be successful.

The delay of the committee excited the utmost impatience in the chamber. One member declared, that the deputies were responsible to the nation for the time which they were losing; another, without either preface or apology, proposed that the chamber should immediately proceed to adopt such measures as the perilous situation of the country rendered necessary. The agitation and tumult increased every moment, and some violent proceeding would have taken place, had not General Grenier, the reporter of the committee, suddenly appeared.

This person stated, that, after a deliberation of five hours, the committee had resolved, "that the safety of the country required that the emperor should consent to the nomination, by the two chambers, of a commission, charged to negotiate directly with the coalesced powers; stipulating only that they should respect the national independence, the territorial integrity, and the right which belongs to every people, of adopting such constitutions as it may think proper; and that these negotiations should be supported by the prompt developement of the national force."

Murmurs of disapprobation immediately burst from all parts of the hall. But the reporter anticipated the objections which were ready to be made, and continued: "This article, gentlemen, appears to me insufficient. It does not fulfil the object which the chamber proposes to itself, because it is possible that your deputation may not be admitted. I would not therefore urge the adoption of this measure, had I not reason to believe that you will soon receive a message, in which the emperor will declare his wish, that the effect of this should first be tried, and that, should he then prove an invincible obstacle to the nation being admitted to treat for its independence, he will be ready to make whatever sacrifice may be demanded of him."

The murmurs of the assembly were now redoubled, and broke out into the most violent exclamations of disapprobation. The majority of the members considered this proposal as an artful attempt of Buonaparte to gain time, and to induce the chambers to adopt a plan of proceeding which he knew would be unsuccessful, hoping that, in the interim, some opportunity would present itself of rushing upon them, and establishing his former despotism on the ruins of their independence. In this interpretation of Napoleon's conduct the chambers were fully justified by his former character, and the dangers of the country were too urgent to admit of any delay in removing the only obstacle to its safety.

After much tumult, M. Duchesne presented himself in the tribune, and spoke to the following effect: "I do not believe that the project proposed by the committee is capable of attaining the desired end. The greatness of our disasters cannot be denied: they are sufficiently proved by the presence of the chief of our armies in the capital. If there are no bounds to the national energies, there are limits to its means. The chambers cannot offer negotiations to the allied powers. The documents which have been communicated to us demonstrate that they have uniformly refused all the overtures which have been made to them; and they have declared that they will not treat with the French as long as they shall have the emperor at their head."

Here the president interrupted the orator, to announce an assurance that they would speedily receive the message to which the reporter of the committee had referred. This interruption, at the moment when the speaker was come to the very point at which they were so anxious to arrive, occasioned a fresh scene of tumult. "It is a concerted plan," vociferated some, "to make the assembly lose time." "Some plot is concerting," cried others. "Proceed, proceed," exclaimed the majority, "there is no middle course."

Duchesne continued, "It is necessary that we should be certain of finding in the developement of the national force, a defence sufficient to support our negotiations, and to enable us to treat with success concerning our honour and independence. Can that force be developed with sufficient rapidity? May not circumstances again lead victorious armies to the capital? then, and under their auspices, will re-appear the ancient family." ("Never! never!" exclaimed several voices.) "I freely express my opinion. What may be the consequences of these events? We have only *one* certain mean left, which is, to engage the emperor, in the name of the safety of the state, in the sacred name of a suffering country, to declare his abdication."

The whole assembly suddenly rose. "Seconded! seconded!" burst from a hundred voices. The uproar was incessant, and the president's bell was unheard or disregarded. At length, during a short pause, the president said, "I cannot hope to arrive at any result, unless the agitation of the assembly be repressed. The safety of the country depends on the determination

of this day. I entreat the chamber to wait for the emperor's message."

"And I also," exclaimed General Solignac.

At the sound of his voice, silence was instantly restored. His courage, inflexibility, and patriotism, were acknowledged by all parties; and the remembrance of the hatred with which he had been pursued by Napoleon, who, during five years, had eagerly availed himself of every opportunity to mortify and insult him, because he had refused to be the servile instrument of his ambition, excited the greatest curiosity to hear what measures he would advise.

"And I also," said the General. "I share the uneasiness of him who has preceded me at this tribune. Yes! we ought to consider the safety of the empire, and the maintenance of our liberal institutions; and, while the government is inclined to present to you such measures as tend to this end, it appears important to preserve to the chamber the honour of not having proposed an object which ought to be the free concession of the monarch. I move that a deputation of five members shall be appointed to proceed to the emperor, which deputation shall express to his majesty the urgency of his decision. Their report will, I trust, satisfy at once the wish of the assembly, and that of the nation."

This proposal gave universal satisfaction, and the president was about to put it to the vote, when the general again appeared in the tribune. "I wish," said he, "to propose an amendment to my motion. Several persons have intimated to me that we shall soon be informed of his majesty's determination; I consequently think it necessary that we should wait for *one hour*, to receive the message, which it seems is to be addressed to the chambers: I therefore move that we adjourn for that time. (*Much disapprobation was here expressed.*) Gentlemen!" continued the general, "we all wish to save the country: but can we not conciliate this unanimous sentiment with the laudable desire that the chamber should preserve the honour of the chief of the state."

"Yes! yes!" exclaimed most of the members.

"If I requested that we should wait until this evening or to-morrow, some considerations might be opposed—but one hour."

"Yes! yes! to the vote," was the general exclamation, and the chamber adjourned.

We must now turn our attention to the Corsican, whose abdication was, at this time, equally desired by the friends of the Bourbons, the moderate constitutionalists, and the federal republicans.

When the council broke up on the preceding evening, the ministers remained at the palace, and many of them urged, in the most earnest though respectful terms, their master's abdication. They painted in glowing colours the impossibility of checking the progress of the invaders, and the devastation to which the country would be exposed by a protracted resistance. They insisted on the avowed resolution of the allies never to treat with him, or to lay down their arms, while he held the reins of power. They stated that they had served him with unshaken fidelity;—that they had placed all the resources of France at his disposal;—and that their warmest wishes had followed him to the field of battle;—but that since fortune had decided against him, though their affection and respect remained unabated, they had an imperative duty to their country to discharge, and they could no longer conceal that he formed the only obstacle to the salvation of France. They spoke of the glory which would attach to a sacrifice so great, so magnanimous; they reminded him that his name would be pronounced to the latest posterity with grateful emotions; and expressed their confidence that his future life would be crowned with inexpressible happiness, when he witnessed or heard of the blessings which his country would derive from his generous self-denial;—a happiness which the most prolonged or victorious reign could never bestow, if founded on the tears and blood of the French.

All these arguments, however, were urged in vain. Napoleon's ruling passion was an insatiable and vicious craving after extended power. To regain the throne from which he had been driven, and to maintain himself in his second usurpation, he had dared much. He had obtained the prize at which his efforts were directed: and now to resign the object in which all his desires were concentred, was more than he could resolve to do.

The night was passed in discussion; and it was not until the chambers had assembled in the morning, that Buonaparte agreed to promise, that, if the negotiations of the chambers should prove unsuccessful, he would make the sacrifice which was required.

Napoleon now retired to his cabinet, and anxiously awaited the proceedings of the chambers. He wrote a number of notes to his ministers, sometimes retracting his conditional promise, and sometimes confirming it; at one moment resolving to terminate the business by dissolving the chambers, then shuddering at the peril of the attempt. Every note was torn to pieces as soon as written, and the apartment was strewed with the fragments. Bulletins were regularly brought from the two chambers every quarter of an hour, and the countenance of Buonaparte brightened up, or became clouded, according to the nature of the news. Several of the ministers, counsellors of state, and other functionaries, entered the apartment; but he was too agitated

either to listen to them, or to address them. He then began to employ himself in signing some of the numerous papers which covered the table. He particularly selected many promotions in the legion of honour, to be conferred on those who had distinguished themselves at Waterloo; and he searched the whole heap for every pardon, which he signed without reading.

The sound of a chariot driving rapidly was now heard, and Prince Lucien was announced. He alone, with Bertrand, had strenuously opposed Napoleon's abdication, and urged him to dissolve the chambers, and crush his enemies by one decisive blow. He had heard of the tumultuous scene in the chambers that morning, and was aware that a motion would soon be made, that his brother had forfeited the crown. He now came to make one last effort before it was too late. As soon as Napoleon saw him, he guessed the purport of his visit, and, turning suddenly pale, he seized him by the arm, and hurried him into a shady walk in the garden, that their conference might be undisturbed. The writer to whom we are indebted for this account followed at some distance, through the windings with which he was acquainted, and got behind a close shade, where he overheard the concluding sentences of their discourse. Napoleon was greatly agitated; and Lucien's voice betrayed an emotion, in which affection for his brother, and anger at his obstinacy, appeared to be united.

Lucien.—"Where is your firmness?—Lay aside these irresolutions—you know what it will cost not to dare."

Napoleon.—"I have dared too much."

Lucien.—"Too much and too little—dare this last time."

Napoleon.—"What! another eighteenth Brumaire?"

Lucien.—"By no means—a decree quite constitutional. The constitution gives you this right."

Napoleon.—"They do not love the constitution; they term it old blotted waste paper. And, if they oppose the decree——"

Lucien.—"They are in such a case rebels, and, what is still better, they are more easily dispersed."

Napoleon.—"They have appealed to the national guard, which is not attached to me; it will come to their succour."

Lucien.—"The national guard possesses no force but that of resistance; when called upon to act, the shopkeepers will think on their wives and their business."

Napoleon.—"An eighteenth Brumaire might, if it should fail, lead to a thirteenth Vendemaire."

Lucien.—"You are deliberating when you should act; they are acting, not deliberating."

Napoleon.—"What can they do? They are mere talkers."

Lucien.—"Opinion is on their side;—they will pronounce a forfeiture."

Napoleon.—"Forfeiture! They dare not."

Lucien.—"They will dare any thing, if you dare nothing."

Napoleon had never conceived that the chambers would have either the power to effect, or the boldness to attempt, the measure to which Lucien alluded. He believed that it was only necessary to persist in his refusal to abdicate, and when they saw that their object could not be accomplished, they would unite with him in endeavouring to repair the losses of the campaign. The hint, however, at the probable declaration that he had forfeited the crown, irritated him to madness, and he sent in great haste for Davoust, the minister of war, and abruptly inquired what force he could lead against the assembly, if he were compelled to proceed to extremities. Davoust was convinced that the fortunes of his master were declining, and that, by any violent measure, he might involve himself in his ruin. He, therefore, at first, hesitated, and finally replied, that he was too well acquainted with the patriotic views of Napoleon to believe that he seriously meditated any attack on the representatives of the nation; and that no force, which he could possibly muster, would be able permanently to triumph over the independence of France.

"I understand you," replied Buonaparte. "My sun is set!" and he abruptly quitted the apartment.

Lucien, greatly agitated, got into his chariot, and said to a secretary, "What would you have? The smoke of the battle of St. Jean has turned his head: he is a lost man!"

Napoleon, hermetically closed in his cabinet, did not stir out of it for an hour, and no one dared to interrupt him. He was heard incessantly pacing the room, and uttering the most violent exclamations. At length he rung for some coffee, which a valet de chambre sent up to him by a child whom Napoleon had particularly distinguished, and who was often commissioned to wait on him when his servants dared not expose themselves to his furious and ungovernable temper.

The usurper was now sitting in a fixed posture, with his head leaning on his hands. He did not observe the entrance of the child, who stood some minutes before him, afraid to disturb him. At length he approached nearer, and affectionately said, "Eat some! eat some, sire! it will do you good!"

Napoleon gazed stedfastly upon him, but made no reply.

The child again presented the refreshment, which was now accepted.

"Are you not from Gonesse?" said Buonaparte.

"No, sire! I am of Pierre Fête."

"Where your parents have a cottage and a few acres?"

"Yes, sire!"

"Ah! they are happy!"

Napoleon, having returned to the chamber of audience, found two of his secretaries there, opening despatches.

"Is there any news?" he enquired.

"Here is a letter," said one of the secretaries, "which came under an enclosure, addressed to your majesty."

Napoleon took the letter, and read as follows:

"Nature had done much for you, fortune still more. Born in an age which enjoys the inheritance of ages, of genius, and philosophy, you yourself, the heir of all the revolutions, comprehended in the French revolution; you should have established that epoch which was always the object of our wishes, in which genius would employ revolutions, for the purpose of infusing philosophy into the science of politics, and conducting nations to happiness. That happiness exists in the stability and dignity of legitimate governments, by means of that possession which is guaranteed by a free choice: it consists in the independence of nations, and in the liberty of their citizens—independence without conquests—liberty without licentiousness—property without privilege—an enjoyment of rights honoured by the performance of duties. Behold the benefits which France, which Europe expected from your judgment, your talents, and your gratitude. France demanded a government, which, democratical in its origin, and monarchical in practice, might temper with mixed institutions, the aristocracy of its intermediate bodies. Germany called for a stronger tie, which might unite, under a more uniform centre of action, the enervated members of her gigantic body. Italy demanded that a sacred confederation, under the holy yoke of opinion, should bind together its states, divided as to legislation, but closely united to each other by language, taste, and manners. Switzerland wished for the repose of her mountains—Holland for the protection of her commerce. Spain, connecting with the love of political liberty, prejudices which severe philosophy combats, and which a more accommodating policy renders useful—Spain invoked, at the same time, the maintenance of her worship, the restoration of her monarchy, and the emancipation of her citizens. It was almost the same with the rest of Europe. The light which illumined her during the last years of the eighteenth century, was like that of a conflagration, flaming and terrible. A mild light proceeding from the North, had given the signal for a progressive regeneration, without convulsions and without re-actions. Instead of your seizing upon this for the safety of all, what have you done?

"The mechanical spring of intellect, which prudence could only have converted into genius, is weakened in your head. You understood that the energy of your character would receive additional strength from the energy of circumstances; and these two instruments affording mutual assistance to each other, you have given to the attentive world an example of an ambition always devouring, and never satisfied.

"To nations stirred up by our revolution, you promised liberty and independence; to kings, the restoration of their governments, and the dignity of their thrones; to religion, rank and respect; to commerce, capital, liberty, and protection; to proprietors of lands, laws and securities; to fathers of families you have given desires and hopes. Thus addressing principles, rousing parodoxes, and cherishing the passions, you have united the most opposite minds; you have concealed intentions most widely separated. Each was in search of happiness—you have promised it to every one.

"To whom have you given it? To nobody! In room of that shadow of liberty which enchanted the first period of the revolution, you have substituted the phantom of glory. Slaughter was spread under the colours of the one, in order to reach the other, which was always flying from us: men were flying to death. Of these brilliant theories, the most evident result is *death.*

"What did it signify to you, provided that, at the sound of your name, the earth would be silent?—What did it signify, provided that Europe, shared between your brothers, should become, as it were, a field of corn, divided between heirs? Your federative system was the means of these divisions; the humbling of England was the pretext. Perhaps that was also the motive: for I do not deny to you, neither an egotistical species of patriotism, nor a cosmopolite ambition. What then was wanting to your genius? Common sense!

"Yes, sense has deserted your understanding, and sensibility has forsaken your soul. Endowed with either one or the other, you might have comprehended, you might have felt, that, in working with men, you were not working with rude matter. What has resulted from this contempt of your species? That the minority may remain your accomplices; but that the majority, which at first had followed you, preferred becoming your victims.—This is what honour prescribed. But, if honour forbids sometimes calling in aid, it oftentimes prescribes to profit by it when offered. This is what your enemies are doing. The powers of the earth have put arms in the hands of their soldiers, in their own defence—we shall make use of them to punish you.

"The chastisement of a hero (for if *Attila*, *Gengis*, and *Tamerlane*, were heroes, *you* are one also) always consists in his fall. Yours is resolved upon; and that history may find it legal, as well as your contemporaries may think it legitimate, it is the public authority which is about to pronounce it—Your accomplices cannot exclaim that it is the work of Kalmuck bayonets. You may, however, anticipate it. Reserve to yourself the honour of descending from a throne, that you may not be torn from it.—This is the advice of an honest enemy, who often admired, but who never feared you; and who, at the price of his blood, would have wished to have reverenced in you the saviour of the world, of which you have been the scourge. That enemy cannot leave him whom his own genius and the national will have made a sovereign, without pronouncing that word which a friend (provided he has one remaining) should not withhold, *Abdicate.*

"PHILADELPHIN."

"I *abdicate!*" exclaimed *Napoleon*, pressing his lip, and crushing the letter between his hands.—"What think you of it?" said he to two of his ministers of state, who just entered. These were M. de Boulay and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely.—The first was silent.

"I understand you," said Napoleon, turning pale, "you are of the same opinion as the anonymous writer."

Boulay was silent.

"And you, Count Regnault, what is your advice?"

"With men and money your majesty might make resistance; but, without them, what can you do but yield?"

"I can resist—"

"Opinion is on the side of the chambers, and the chambers think a sacrifice should be made."

Here Lieutenant-general Solignac, a member of the chamber of representatives, was announced.

"Solignac!" exclaimed the Corsican; "I have not spoken to him for five years; what does he want with me?"

The ministers left the room, and the general entered.

Solignac immediately explained the object of his mission. He stated the disposition of the chambers, and the method by which he had succeeded in averting for *one hour* the fatal decision, and he entreated Napoleon to prevent the disgrace of forfeiture, by a voluntary abdication.

The word *forfeiture* again excited a storm of ungovernable passion in the breast of Buonaparte. He lavished every species of abuse on the chambers and on the general. But Solignac was determined to take no offence. He therefore suffered the tempest to pass over, and again returned to the charge. He reminded Napoleon, that, by a voluntary abdication, his *glory* might be preserved and heightened; but that a decree of forfeiture would for ever tarnish it. He appealed to his feelings as a brother and a father. By sacrificing his own greatness to effect the salvation of his country, he would secure the gratitude of France, and that could not be more naturally displayed than in the honours which would surround his family; and, on the other hand, Solignac reminded him, that all connected with him must share in his disgrace, and be involved in his ruin. All these arguments, however, proved unavailing, and the Corsican appeared determined to brave his fate.

This resistance, which lasted upwards of half an hour, suggested to Solignac the idea of proposing that Buonaparte should abdicate in favour of his son. He would not then have exerted himself to no purpose in reclaiming the throne which he had before abdicated in favour of the Bourbons. Napoleon would yet live and reign in the person of his son; or, if he were at first excluded from any share in the government, yet his brothers would be the most natural guardians of the infant prince, and, by degrees, the affection and gratitude of the son might open a way for the return of the father, if not to the imperial dignity, yet to public life, and though not the ostensible, yet he might become the actual ruler of France.

These ideas were either stated by Solignac, or presented themselves to the mind of the usurper; and, as the latter now began to perceive that his situation was desperate, he consented to abdicate in favour of his son. A secretary was accordingly summoned, and the following declaration was immediately drawn up:—

"Frenchmen! In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the allied powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to be changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power. My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., emperor of the French.

"The present members will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to form the regency by a law without delay.

"Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

From the Second Abdication of Napoleon Buonaparte to the Return of Louis XVIII.

SOLIGNAC hastened to the assembly with Napoleon's abdication, which was received with every mark of respect. Those members who had been most eager in their cries for Buonaparte's abdication or forfeiture, were the foremost in expressing their gratitude for the sacrifice which he had now made. La Fayette proposed that his person and interests should be placed under the protection of the nation, and this resolution was carried by acclamation. Regnault, who had already proved his love to his country by the advice which he had lately given at the palace, was eager to shew that no change of circumstances could diminish his affection for his former master.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I am no longer a minister; but I am a representative of the people, and I have a right to claim this title, for I have proved myself such even in the cabinet of the prince, towards whom you have still a duty to perform; and I feel confident that no one will disavow the sentiments which I am about to express.

"You have had at your head a man whom you have proclaimed great. This man posterity will judge. He was invested by the people with sovereign power. He has laid it aside without reserve, and without personal consideration. The chamber should become the interpreter of the sentiments which are due to him, and which the nation will preserve towards him. I propose that the president and his bureau shall wait upon Napoleon to express to him, in the name of the nation, the gratitude and respect with which it accepts the noble sacrifice which he has made for the independence and happiness of the French people."

This motion was unanimously carried, and the president, Lanjuinais, attended by the vice-presidents and secretaries, proceeded to the palace Elysée. Buonaparte received them surrounded by all his former ministers, by all the grand officers of his household, and by a strong body of his guard; as if anxious once more to appear as a sovereign before he retired for ever into the private walks of life. He was pale and exhausted from the effect of previous agitation, but his deportment was firm and collected.

Lanjuinais approached with more than usual respect, and with evident emotion. He said, he was commissioned to express the gratitude which the deputies unanimously felt for his generous compliance with their wishes, and the imperious demand of circumstances. When his throne was connected with the glory and the felicity of France, or while it could be supported without the hazard of completely ruining their native land, they had rallied round him, and would have defended him with their lives. But the fatal defeat of Waterloo had again exposed their country to the invasion of a million of armed foreigners, who had sworn never to make peace with Napoleon, but who, in other respects, had solemnly promised to guarantee the independence of France, and to permit them to choose their own government. Napoleon's abdication was the only expedient which could disarm the fury of the enemy, who could no longer consistently carry on the war, when the object against whom alone they professed to have drawn the sword had terminated his political existence; and in proportion as the sacrifice which he had made was important to France, their gratitude to him increased. Though, in consequence of his own generous abdication, he was no longer their sovereign, they loved and honoured him as the first and most illustrious of their citizens. His safety and his dearest interests would be the object of their tender solicitude, and would be ever considered as a sacred deposit committed to their care.

To this address Napoleon replied,—"I thank you for the sentiments you express. I recommend the chambers to reinforce the armies, and to place them in the best state of defence. Those who wish for peace, ought to prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigners, lest your hopes should be disappointed. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be happy if France be free and independent. In transferring the right which France has given me to my son, I consult only the welfare of the nation, and the interest of my son, whom I therefore proclaim emperor."

The president observed that the assembly had not deliberated on this point, and had charged him with no commission.

"I told you so," said Buonaparte aside to Lucien: "I did not think that they would do it." "Tell the assembly," he continued, turning to the president, "that I recommend to them my son: that I abdicate only in favour of my son."

The first business of the chambers was to appoint a committee who should provisionally assume the chief command. This committee consisted of the Duke of Otranto, (Fouché,) minister of the police; the Duke of Vicenza, (Caulincourt,) minister for foreign affairs;

Carnot, minister of the interior; General Grenier; and M. Quinette. Of these, three were appointed by the chamber of deputies, and two by the peers.

The proceedings of the provisional government were opened by the following proclamation:

"Frenchmen!

"Within the period of a few days, brilliant successes and dreadful reverses have marked your destinies.

"A great sacrifice appeared necessary to your peace and that of the world; and Napoleon abdicated the imperial throne. His abdication forms the termination of his political life. His son is proclaimed.

"Your new constitution, which possesses as yet only good principles, is about to undergo its application, and even those principles are to be purified and extended.

"There no longer exist powers jealous of each other. The space is free to the enlightened patriotism of your representatives; and the peers feel, think, and vote, as they are directed by the public opinion.

"After twenty-five years of political tempests, the moment has arrived when every thing wise and sublime that has been conceived respecting social institutions may be perfected in yours. Let reason and genius speak, and from whatever side their voices may proceed they shall be heard.

"Plenipotentiaries have been despatched, in order to treat in the name of the nation, and to negotiate with the powers of Europe that peace which they have promised on one condition, which is now fulfilled.

"The whole world will, like you, be attentive to their reply. Their answer will make known whether justice and promises are accounted any thing on earth.

"Frenchmen! be united. Let all rally under circumstances of such vast importance. Let civil discords be appeased. Let dissensions be silent at this period, in which the great interests of nations are to be discussed. From the northern frontiers to the Pyrenees, and from La Vendée to Marseilles, let all France be united.

"Who is the man, that, born on the soil of France, whatever may be his party or political opinions, will not range himself under the national standard, to defend the independence of the country?

"Armies may in part be destroyed, but the experience of all ages, and of all nations, proves that a brave nation, combating for justice and liberty, cannot be vanquished.

"The emperor, in abdicating, has offered himself as a sacrifice. The members of the government devote themselves in accepting the reins of government from your representatives.

(Signed) "The Duke of OTRANTO.

"*June* 24." "T. BERLIER, secretary."

The second paragraph in this proclamation occasioned a warm debate in both chambers, and a very curious one in the chamber of peers. From the silence of both houses respecting the condition on which Napoleon had abdicated, and the observation of the president of the deputies, that he had no commission to speak on that head, the friends of Buonaparte began to fear that some plot was in agitation unfavourable to his dynasty: they suspected that the delusive theory of a republic would be again attempted, or that the recall of the Bourbons was in contemplation. They, therefore, resolved to ascertain this important fact, and, the very evening of the day on which Napoleon had abdicated, Prince Lucien opened the business in the chamber of peers.

"We have," said he, "to consider how civil war is to be avoided. Is France an independent or free nation? The emperor is dead—*Vive l'Empereur!*—The emperor has abdicated—*Vive l'Empereur!* There can be no actual cessation between the emperor who dies or abdicates and his successor. Such is the maxim which forms the foundation of a constitutional monarchy. Any interruption is allied to anarchy. I move, therefore, that, in conformity with the constitutional act, the chamber of peers, which has sworn fidelity to the emperor and the constitutions, and which lately, in the Champ de Mai, proclaimed them in the face of France and of all Europe, shall, by a spontaneous and unanimous vote, declare before the French people and foreign nations that it recognises Napoleon II. as Emperor of the French. I shall give the first example, and swear fidelity to him. If a factious minority should attack the dynasty and the constitution, it is not in the chamber of peers that traitors will be found. It is not in the chamber of peers, which has given examples of devotedness, that the factious will find a support."

The first person who rose to reply to this motion was Count Pontecoulant, who, at the commencement of the revolution, was a sub-lieutenant in the body-guards, of which his father was major. He espoused the popular cause with all the violence of youthful ardour, and excited the displeasure of his family on that account. He was elected a member of the national convention for the department of Calvados, and voted that the king was guilty; but proposed that he should be imprisoned until a general peace, and then banished. When the Mountain party prevailed, he narrowly escaped destruction, and made his escape from Paris. After the fall of the tyrant Robespierre, he resumed his seat in the convention, and gained much credit for the zeal with which he defended the colleagues of the monster who had so lately thirsted for his blood. In that he was assisted by Carnot, and they succeeded in laying that

spirit of re-action which threatened to deluge France with blood.

Under the directory, he was elected a member of the council of five hundred, and distinguished himself by his zealous opposition to every arbitrary measure. When he perceived the despotism at which the directory aimed, he was so deeply implicated in a plot to overthrow them, and preserve the liberties of his country, that he was sentenced to be transported to Cayenne, with Pichegru and Barthelemy. He again effected his escape, and never afterwards deemed it prudent to resume his seat in the council.

Buonaparte recalled him from his retirement, and appointed him prefect of Brussels, which situation he filled during many years, with honour to himself, and advantage to those over whom he presided.

In 1805, he was appointed senator, and on the return of Louis created a peer. Towards the latter part of the king's short reign, he took little share in the discussions of the peers. He deeply lamented the folly of the court, and the ill-concealed intentions of the royal family, and would not sanction those proceedings whose evident tendency was to prepare the way for the establishment of the ancient despotism. He shared in the general uneasiness; but he does not appear to have been implicated in any plot against the state, or to have been privy to the design of recalling Napoleon.

"It is painful for me," said the count, "to give an opinion in opposition to the last speaker. What I would not have said during the prosperity of the emperor, I shall now state when adversity has struck him. Napoleon is my benefactor; and to him I am indebted for every thing. I remained faithful unto him, until he released me from the obligations of my oath, and gratitude for his benefits will bind me to him as long as I live. But it is proposed that we should act in a manner contrary to the practice of every deliberative assembly. If I rightly understood what was said, it is wished that we should adopt a proposition without even deliberating on it. But I ask the prince, by what title does he speak in this chamber? Is he a Frenchman? I cannot recognise him as such. I should certainly acknowledge him as such, on account of his sentiments, his talents, and the services he has performed on the behalf of national independence. I wish to adopt him as a Frenchman; but he who invokes the constitution, has no constitutional title. He is a Roman prince, and Rome does not form any part of the French territory.

Lucien.—"I wish to reply to what immediately concerns myself."

Pontecoulant.—"You may reply, when I have concluded. Respect, prince, the equality of which you have often set an example.

"The preceding speaker has advanced a proposition which is inadmissible. We cannot adopt it without forfeiting the public esteem, and betraying the country whose safety is placed in our hands. The first thing to be considered is, whether, when a resolution has passed one chamber, and been adopted by the other, it can be altered by one of the fractions of the legislative authority, while the only question is its execution. The deliberation of this morning is conformable to the laws, to the emperor's declaration, and to the interests of the French nation. What measure is now proposed? The proclaiming of Napoleon II. I would not object to that course, but I must declare that, great as is my respect for the emperor, I cannot recognise an infant, or one residing out of France, as my sovereign. In such a situation, some old senatus consultum would soon be revived. We should be told that the emperor was to be considered either as a foreigner or a captive, that the regency was foreign or captive, and another regency would be formed which would kindle the torch of civil war. I propose that the question be taken into consideration, unless it be of such a nature that it may be set aside by the order of the day which prejudges nothing. A factious minority has been mentioned. Where is that factious minority? Are we, who wish for peace, the factious? I am far from supposing that it can be a minority which desires to reject a resolution which would close the door against negotiation, and which would tend to make us recognise as a sovereign an individual who is not in France. I move, therefore, that the chancellor do either proceed to the discussion, or pass to the order of the day."

Lucien.—"If not in your opinion, I am in that of all the nation a Frenchman. The moment that Napoleon abdicated, his son succeeded him. There is, therefore, no ground for any deliberation. The emperor has abdicated in favour of his son, and we have accepted his sacrifice. But is he now to lose the fruit of that sacrifice? We want not the opinion of foreigners. In recognising Napoleon II. we shall merely perform our duty. We call to the throne him whom the constitution and the will of the people have already called to that exalted station."

The next speaker was Boissy d'Anglas, who was born at Anonnay, in 1756, and was an advocate of the parliament of Paris, and *maître d'hotêl* to Monsieur, now Louis XVIII. In early life he distinguished himself by some literary papers presented to the academy of inscriptions. He was successively a member of the constituent assembly, the national convention, and the council of five hundred. He was named a peer of

France by Louis XVIII, and afterwards by Napoleon. He was some time president of the convention, and his conduct in that situation cannot be justified. He was president on the day in which his colleague Ferrand was assassinated. He was the author of the preliminary discourse to the constitution of the year 3.

"I foresaw," said Boissy, "the difficulty which has arisen, but I expected that our decree of this morning would have averted it. That decree prejudged nothing, but it terminated the question. Have we not had enough of foreign war, but is it necessary to add to it the horrors of civil war? Let us not divide ourselves. We accepted the abdication unanimously. The only thing now to be done is to appoint a provisional government. I hope we shall be able to stop the progress of the foreigners, but let us not risk the being deprived of the means of treating with them."

Labedoyere.—"Napoleon abdicated only in favour of his son; and, unless Napoleon II. be proclaimed by the chamber of peers, and by that of the representatives, the abdication is null and void. I have heard the voices of those surrounding the throne of the emperor in prosperity, who withdraw from it now that he is in misfortune. There are persons who will not acknowledge Napoleon II, because they wish to receive the law from foreigners, to whom they give the name of allies. The abdication of Napoleon is inseparably connected with the succession of his son. If his son be not recognised, he ought to draw his sword, surrounded by Frenchmen who have shed their blood for him, and who are still covered with wounds, though he may be abandoned by some base generals who have already betrayed him. The emperor owes this to the nation. We have abandoned him once; shall we abandon him a second time? We have sworn to defend him even in his misfortunes. If we declare that every Frenchman who quits his standard shall be covered with infamy—shall have his house rased, and his family proscribed, we shall then have no more traitors; no more of those manœuvres which have occasioned the late catastrophes, and some of the authors of which are perhaps within these walls."

This speech excited a great tumult, and universal cries of Order! Order!

The Prince of Essling.—"Young man! you forget yourself!"

Lameth.—"You forget, general, that you are no longer in the guard-house."

Labedoyere.—"Hear me!"

Valence.—"I will not hear you until you have disavowed what you have said."

Labedoyere.—"It was not to you, Count, that I referred."

Here the tumult increased, and the voice of Labedoyere was drowned amidst the most violent exclamations. The president, at length, covered himself, and tranquillity was restored.

Count Cornudet then arose, and said—"We are disputing about words. The minutes of the chamber recognise the abdication of Napoleon. They will also record the claim of Prince Lucien. That precaution will suffice to guard the rights of Napoleon II, but at present he is out of France. To speak plainly, he is a prisoner. Under these circumstances, what does the public safety and the national independence require? The establishment of a provisional government, capable of adopting measures for the public safety."

After a protracted and tumultuous debate, Cornudet's proposition was carried. The provisional government was nominated, and the question respecting the succession of Napoleon II. was disposed of by the order of the day.

This inattention to the condition on which Buonaparte had abdicated, alarmed and enraged him. When the termination of the debate was reported to him, he broke out into a transport of passion, declared that he revoked his abdication, and proposed to march immediately on the chambers, and disperse them by force.

In this resolution he was confirmed by the movements of the inhabitants of the suburbs, who had been wrought up to a pitch of madness by the intelligence of Napoleon's abdication. They hastily assembled, furiously vociferating, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" It was in vain replied, that there was no emperor. "He *is* our emperor—he shall be our emperor," they exclaimed; "and woe to those who would injure or disgrace him." Crowds of them ran to the Palace Elysée, and eagerly demanded that Napoleon would put himself at their head, and lead them against his enemies. On this occasion, Bertrand came forward; and, in his master's name, thanked them for the affectionate zeal which they expressed, and assured them that, if it should prove necessary, Napoleon would accept of their assistance, and confide himself to their protection. He, however, requested them at present to disperse, promising that they should be called upon when their services were required. By this artful harangue Bertrand avoided committing his master—the chambers could not say that resistance was meditated, and the co-operation of the federates was secured for any purpose to which their efforts might be subsequently directed.

The conduct of the few regular troops who were in the capital was of more importance, as it indicated the sentiments of the army. The soldiers, and even the officers, became perfectly ungovernable. They insulted all who were supposed to be connected with the lead-

ing members of the chambers, and compelled every person whom they met to shout "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The shops were hastily shut, the greatest alarm prevailed, and some dreadful scene was universally anticipated.

On receiving fresh intelligence of the disinclination of the peers to proclaim his son, Napoleon became more furious. He ordered arms and money to be distributed to the federates, who continued to crowd to the palace; and mustered all the little force which then constituted his body-guard; resolving to sally out, and decide the matter by force. Many of his best friends, however, earnestly besought him not to rush on his fate. "The glorious sacrifice of the morning," they said, "secured to him the gratitude of France, and the approbation of Europe; but this impolitic and insane proceeding could not fail of being attended by the most ruinous consequences."

"I abdicated," he violently exclaimed, "I abdicated, in favour of my son. Have they proclaimed him, or will they proclaim him? They break their faith with me, and my resignation is null and void. Have I not the army;—have I not the federates at my command. Can I not now crush them in an instant? And shall I suffer myself and my family to be betrayed and destroyed?"

To this it was replied, that he might certainly accomplish his purpose of dispersing the chambers, and that the resistance of the national guard would be insufficient to oppose him; but that it was by no means probable his power would last three days. "Besides," said one of his friends, "the peers constitute but one chamber. You know not what course the deputies may pursue. Indeed you have reason to expect better things from them, and their example will be speedily followed by the peers. At least, wait the result of to-morrow's debate, and do not be guilty of the injustice of violating the independence of the representatives, when probably you may have no reason to complain of them."

This appeal had its desired effect. The usurper started at the intimation that he would not retain his power three days, and he appeared deeply to meditate on it.

"Well!" said he, after a pause, "I will wait the event of to-morrow; but let them beware how they trifle with me, or forget the terms of my abdication."

The night passed over without any riotous movement. Upwards of thirty thousand national guards were under arms at their respective depôts, and strong patroles paraded every street, and behaved with the greatest firmness. They dispersed every group, compelled every loiterer to walk on, and arrested all who attempted to cause any disturbance.

The next morning the deputies met at an early hour, and, after disposing of the orders of the day, M. Berenger moved that the provisional government should be declared collectively responsible.

M. Defermon immediately ascended the tribune.—"That the provisional government should be responsible to the nation," said he, "cannot admit of a doubt; but in whose name does this government act? Do we, or do we not, acknowledge an emperor of the French? There is not a man among us who does not answer,—we have an emperor in the name of Napoleon II."

"Yes! yes!" exclaimed the majority of the members.

"I am a representative of the people, and devoted to the interests of my country. My opinion is, that the constitution should be our rallying point. How shall we appear in the eyes of France and of Europe, if we do not faithfully observe our fundamental laws? Napoleon I. reigned in virtue of these laws. Napoleon II. is therefore our sovereign."

"Yes! yes!" was again re-echoed.

"When it is seen that we rally around our constitutions, and that we have pronounced in favour of the chief whom they indicate to us, it can no longer be said to the national guard that we deliberate, because we expect Louis XVIII. Let us re-assure the army, which desires that our constitution should be preserved. There is no longer any doubt as to the maintenance of the constitutional dynasty of Napoleon."

This speech was received with the most lively enthusiasm. The deputies all rose, and, waving their hats, continued for some time to shout, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" It was afterwards moved, and ordered, that the general emotion which had been manifested, should be recorded in the minutes.

M. Boulay de la Meurthe next presented himself; and the speech which he delivered will serve to throw considerable light on the state of the existing parties.

"The abdication of the emperor," said he, "such as you have accepted it, is indivisible, and cannot be taken only in part. I respect my colleagues, but I perceive that we are surrounded by a multitude of intriguers, and by many who wish to have the throne declared vacant, in order to place the Bourbons upon it. —(*Cries of No! no!*)

"Gentlemen, if the throne should be declared vacant, you may anticipate the absolute ruin of France. This country would soon experience the miserable fate of Poland."—

("And of Spain," exclaimed one of the members.)

"The allied powers would divide our finest provinces, and, if they assigned to the Bourbons a corner of the

empire, it would still be in the hope of eventually obtaining that last portion for themselves.

"I appeal to the sentiments of all good Frenchmen. Nothing can prevent me from speaking the truth. I fear nothing. It is long since I have offered the sacrifice of my life. I will now go further, and lay my finger on the sore! An Orleans faction exists. Yes! I know it. It is vain to interrupt me. I speak from certain information. It is, however, doubtful, whether the Duke of Orleans would accept the crown, or, if he did, it would perhaps be to restore it to Louis XVIII."

("I can positively assert it," said a member.)

"I move that the assembly declare and proclaim that it recognises Napoleon II. for emperor of the French." —(*Cries of Yes! yes!*)

Several members now delivered their opinions, and M. Manuel concluded the debate in the following speech:

"Gentlemen, on the question which occupies our attention, opinions are divided. Some think that it is necessary immediately to proclaim Napoleon II; others conceive that political circumstances require delay, and that the chamber ought not to explain itself till negotiations shall have made us acquainted with our true interests. The powers who have already once declared that they will not treat with Napoleon, nor with his *family*, are not likely to consent that his son shall reign. Such is the objection made.

"But in thus publishing our fears before all Europe, in a discussion which may be considered as a real calamity, are we not teaching them to require such a sacrifice? Is it necessary to enlarge on this point?

"I wish to believe that all the members of this assembly have but one object, the salvation of the country. But it must not be dissembled that France contains more than one party. Would you suffer each of them to flatter itself that your secret design is to labour for it? Would you desire, that, in order to determine your decision, the different parties should raise each their standard, and collect their adherents? What then would become of the safety of the country?

"Gentlemen, since this discussion has been opened, it is necessary, it is urgent upon us, to recognise Napoleon II. as our emperor; but, at the same time, it is proper that France should know the motives which influenced us in the nomination of the executive commission, and that, in composing it of wise and upright men, we designed to form a council of regency.

"I will finally address myself to those who seem to think that political circumstances require delay. I will tell them that this discussion has sufficiently made known our firm resolution to do every thing henceforward for France, and not for a family. If the foreign powers refuse to acknowledge Napoleon II, there will still be time to come to a determination, and no one will balance between one man and twenty millions of men.

"I move that we pass to the order of the day on the following grounds:

"I. That Napoleon II. is become Emperor of the French by the act of abdication of Napoleon I, and by the power of the constitutions of the empire.

"II. That the two chambers desired and intended by their decree of yesterday, in nominating a commission of provisional government, to assure the nation a guarantee necessary under the existing extraordinary circumstances, for its liberty and repose."

It was afterwards proposed that a deputation should be sent to Buonaparte to communicate this decision, and that the members of the provisional government should take an oath of obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and of fidelity to Napoleon II. This, however, was opposed as unnecessary, and the chamber adjourned.

The measures thus adopted by the chambers were rendered absolutely necessary, by Napoleon's refusal to abdicate except in favour of his son. Had not Napoleon II. been acknowledged, Buonaparte would have revoked his conditional surrender of the crown, dispersed the chambers, and kindled a civil war; or, with all the convulsive energies of despair, have prolonged the foreign contest until the capital was reduced to ashes, and the whole of France laid waste. But while the representatives avoided this evil, they incurred the danger of another, apparently as great. The allies had positively declared that they would not treat with Napoleon or his family. It was not probable, therefore, that they would enter into negotiations with an executive committee governing in the name of the son of Napoleon. They would naturally conceive that Buonaparte's abdication was merely designed to ward off the present danger, and sow the seeds of dissension among the allies. Under the nominal government of the child, or under the regency of the mother, the real power would be vested in Napoleon himself. And, if Napoleon still directed the affairs of France, the reasons for war continued precisely the same. The world would yet have to fear the consequences of his unbounded ambition. The allies would have no security against his perfidy; and their solemn compact, made after the wisest deliberation, never to lay down their arms until Buonaparte was effectually prevented from again troubling the repose of Europe, would be rendered abortive.

This evil, therefore, attended the decision of the chambers to proclaim Napoleon II, that there was no

prospect of peace. They were sensible of this, and the commissioners who were despatched to the allies, to enter into negotiations, were intrusted with the fullest powers to treat on terms most consistent with the honour and independence of France, without limitation to any particular chief or family.

It is probable, however, that Buonaparte's obstinacy saved the country from the most aggravated calamities. Had he unconditionally resigned, and had the chambers appointed an executive committee to govern provisionally in the name of the nation, all the different factions would have taken arms, and struggled for the ascendancy; and France would have been exposed to the horrors of civil dissension, as well as to those of foreign hostility. Or, had the firmness of the government repressed the factions, the commissioners who were sent to the head-quarters of the allies would not have been received. The coalesced sovereigns had resolved to treat for peace only within the walls of Paris: nay, Louis XVIII. had become a partner in the coalition, and the monarchs had pledged themselves to effect his restoration. A secret treaty had been made between him and them, in which he had re-purchased the crown at the price of resigning some of the bulwarks of France, and levying on it heavy contributions. The allies would therefore have pressed on, and Louis would have followed in their train.

This open violation of their declaration, that they made war on Napoleon and his family alone, and would not otherwise interfere with the right of the French to choose their own form of government, would have excited a universal feeling of indignation. The whole population would have flown to arms. The war would have become national, and it would have probably terminated only in the utter ruin of France: or, if a united people had repelled the innumerable bands of their invaders, a military spirit would have been rekindled in France, and a military government established, which would again have shaken every throne in Europe.

The provisional government having acknowledged Napoleon II, Buonaparte was deprived of every excuse for revoking his abdication. He therefore seemed tranquilly to resign himself to his fate, and dismissed the federates of the suburbs. But the mischief produced by the encouragement which they had received on the preceding evening was not easily repaired. They had formed themselves into regular bands, had procured arms of every description, and, on the night of the 23d, they paraded the streets, insulted the peaceable citizens, and attacked some picquets of the national guard. In one instance they even overpowered a considerable detachment of the guard; but, assistance timely arriving, the ringleaders were taken into custody, and the rest dispersed.

The officers and troops of the line no longer indulged in violent conduct. Since Napoleon had confirmed his abdication, they had no plea for outrage. But their dark and ferocious countenances shewed that they were ready to obey the first signal for insurrection. Though they violently abused Napoleon for abandoning them on the field of battle, they felt indignant at his resignation of the throne, and unanimously declared that it would be his own fault if he were not yet their emperor; as they were ready to rally round him, and defend him with their lives.

The provisional government watched these movements with the greatest anxiety, and, from their acquaintance with Buonaparte's ambition and caprice, feared that there might be some stratagem in his pretended resignation, or that he might yield to the evil counsellors who yet surrounded him, and endeavour to resume the crown.

To such an attempt they knew they were unable to oppose any effectual resistance. The Duke of Otranto therefore waited upon him in the name of the committee, and, representing that his continuance in Paris kept alive a dangerous fermentation in the minds of all parties, urged his removal to some palace at a distance from the capital. Fouché also hinted the propriety of a proclamation from him to the army, acknowledging the fact of his abdication, and transferring the allegiance of the soldiers to the provisional government.

With this request Buonaparte could not refuse to comply; he therefore set out for Walmaison, after issuing the following proclamation to the army:

"Soldiers!

"While obeying the necessity which removes me from the French army, I carry with me the happy assurance that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps though absent. I know all the corps; and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it may have displayed.

"Both you and I have been calumniated. Men, very unfit to appreciate our labours, have seen, in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.

"Let your future successes convince them that it was the country, above all things, which you served in obeying me; and that, if I had any share in your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

"Soldiers! Some efforts more, and the coalition will be dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are about to strike. Save the honour, the independence of the French! Be the same men which I have known you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The members of the provisional government were by no means satisfied with this proclamation. It contained no formal acknowledgment of having abdicated the crown. On the contrary, it merely spoke of a *retirement*, which existing circumstances rendered necessary, but which might be only temporary, or might depend on the continuance of the circumstances which first occasioned it. The appeal to the affection of the French army also seemed calculated to keep alive that devoted attachment to Buonaparte, which had been the source of all the miseries of France and Europe. When he spoke of having been calumniated, and of the fidelity of his soldiers to him being imputed to them as a crime, his intention could hardly be misunderstood. So far, however, as it contained an actual acknowledgment of his retirement, it answered some useful purpose, and the provisional government caused it to be promulgated.

It was now expected that Napoleon would have withdrawn from France, and sought an asylum in some distant land; as it was not probable that the coalesced sovereigns would treat with any government which might be established in France, while his residence in the country would be the source of many delusive and dangerous projects, suspicions, and apprehensions.

Had Buonaparte been actuated by patriotic views in his recent abdication, he would have immediately withdrawn himself from the kingdom with whose happiness his presence was inconsistent. But, though he had resigned the throne, and seemed to have relinquished all idea of resuming it either by force or stratagem, he had not abandoned every hope of ultimately regaining it. He also imagined that, though he should no more wield the imperial sceptre, his military talents and the attachment of his soldiers would induce the government to appoint him generalissimo; little recollecting how unwilling they who knew his character must be to intrust him with so formidable a power. He actually applied to the provisional committee, requesting that he might be permitted again to combat at the head of his troops, no longer as emperor, but merely as a general.

This accounts for the reluctance with which he quitted Malmaison, notwithstanding the hints of some of his counsellors that he was yet too near the metropolis, and the urgent entreaties of others, to provide for his own safety before it might be too late.

Some of his old ministers had provided a swift-sailing vessel, in which he might now have fled from Rochfort, and sought refuge on the shores of America. But, as a contemporary writer has justly remarked, "It was fortunate for Europe that his indecision, and the longing lingering look which he still cast on the crown prevented him from escaping while the opportunity was afforded him. Under the protection of the American government, he might have maintained a secure correspondence with those who yet adhered to his cause, and would have been regarded as a constant object of terror and alarm; the coalesced sovereigns must still have maintained a military attitude; and, availing himself of the first disturbances which occurred in France or any other country, he would have appeared in some unlooked-for moment, and renewed the scenes of devastation and blood from which Europe could be delivered only by the absolute destruction of his political existence."

In the mean time, crowds of fugitives from Waterloo poured into Paris; and, as their numbers increased, their disposition became more obvious. Their rage at Napoleon's abdication was unbounded. They openly expressed their determination to force him, even against his will, to appear once more at their head. Many tumults occurred, and human blood flowed, almost every night, in the streets of Paris.

These events were clearly traced to have originated with some of the inhabitants of Malmaison. Buonaparte himself was not suspected; but the rash zeal of some of his officers was accused: and it might be urged as their apology, that, if they did not act under the orders of their former master, they knew that he would not have been displeased had their efforts to reinstate him been crowned with success.

Some of the members of the government, therefore, waited upon Buonaparte, and urged, in strong terms, the necessity of his departure for Rochfort. Much altercation ensued. Buonaparte accused them of violating their promise to respect his person and interests. "Could this," he asked, "be reconciled with their present wish to hurry him from the kingdom like a transported felon? Was this the gratitude which they vowed, to banish him for ever from his family and friends, and drive him to seek a precarious asylum in a foreign and distant land?"

These arguments were urged by the Corsican with more than his accustomed violence; and the deputation, in return, treated him with very little respect. At length the conference broke up without any amicable result, and the commissioners retired, declaring, that

if he persisted in refusing to adopt the measure which they recommended, they should immediately take such steps as the safety of the country demanded.

This menace had its desired effect, and Napoleon soon afterwards despatched a courier to say that he acceded to their request, and would complete the sacrifice which he had begun. He then set out for Rochfort, with a train of officers and domestics, amounting to forty persons, who seemed resolved to share his fortunes.

The chambers, in the mean time, had selected five commissioners, at the head of whom were La Fayette, and Count Ponticoulant, with B. Constant as their secretary, who were despatched to the head-quarters of the allies, to treat for peace. The interests of the nation were committed without reserve to their discretion. The inutility of resistance was universally acknowledged, and the instructions of the commissioners were comprised in one sentence; to "obtain peace on as advantageous terms as possible, without violating the integrity, or tarnishing the honour, of France."

But it is now necessary to revert to the *military operations* which accompanied and followed the memorable battle of Waterloo.

On the morning of the 17th of June, General Grouchy had been detached in pursuit of the Prussians, while Buonaparte formed a junction with Ney, and attacked the Duke of Wellington. He obeyed his orders with alacrity, and several skirmishes took place between the rear-guard of the Prussians and the advanced troops of the French. Marshal Blucher avoided a general engagement with his pursuers, and continued his retreat to Wavre, which he accomplished with a trifling loss. But towards the evening a serious conflict commenced in the neighbourhood.

The French briskly attacked the position of the Prussians, and, as Marshal Blucher had despatched Bulow's corps towards St. Lambert, and some other corps had also advanced to some distance, that part of Wavre, on the right of the river Dyle, which intersects the centre of the town, was carried after an obstinate resistance. Night, however, came on, and suspended the contest.

The next morning Blucher reinforced the corps of General Thielman, whom he charged with the defence of Wavre; and, to conceal his design of proceeding with the main body of the army to join Lord Wellington at Waterloo, ordered him to commence a furious attack on General Grouchy, and, if possible, occupy his attention during the day.

Thielman accordingly advanced to the attack, and charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that he had nearly succeeded in driving them into a defile from which they were debouching, taking all their artillery, and forcing them to repass the Dyle, which a corps had crossed at Limale to take the Prussians in flank. The excellent dispositions and heroic bravery of the Prussian general, however, did not long avail in restraining an enemy equal in courage, and decidedly superior in numerical force.

The adjacent village of Bielge was forced by the French; new corps crossed the river at that point, and the conflict was maintained for several hours in the centre of Wavre, till the whole town was on fire, and nearly consumed. At length the Prussians slowly evacuated it, and the French, carrying the heights beyond it, pushed on to Rozierne, four miles on the road to Brussels, which they expected soon to enter, as triumphant conquerors, not doubting that Napoleon had completely defeated the British army.

As General Grouchy was making his arrangements for marching on Brussels, and even calculated on arriving there before night, he received a message from Buonaparte at seven o'clock in the evening, ordering him to proceed as rapidly as possible towards St. Lambert, and attack General Bulow. This intelligence startled him, for he had no idea that the Prussians could be in force in that direction; on the contrary, he supposed that he had been engaged with the whole remains of the army which had escaped from Ligny, and was entirely ignorant of the manœuvre which had been so successfully practised by Blucher.

After a momentary pause, he prepared to execute his emperor's orders. when fresh intelligence arrived which overwhelmed him with confusion and despair. It was announced that the French were defeated at Waterloo; that the whole army was dispersed; that Napoleon was missing, and that all were flying in irreparable disorder towards the Sambre. All thoughts of advancing to Brussels were now abandoned, and Grouchy hastened to retreat before the victorious enemy should despatch any strong columns on his flank and rear, and cut him off from France. Buonaparte, with his accustomed rashness, and calculating only on success, had directed no plan of retreat in case of a reverse. Grouchy was therefore left to make his own dispositions, without knowing how far he should coincide with the movements, or compromise the safety, of the other corps of the French army.

Scarcely had he commenced his retrograde march, when the Prussians, inspired with fresh confidence by the news from Waterloo, turned on their pursuers, and attacked them with the utmost impetuosity. In the first moment of surprise and despair, the French were unable to stand before their assailants. Several columns were thrown into confusion; a dreadful slaugh-

ter ensued, and some pieces of artillery were lost. General Vandamme was wounded, and Grouchy's army had nearly suffered the same catastrophe with the main body under the command of Napoleon.

On his arrival at Namur, Grouchy committed the defence of that place to Vandamme, while he continued his retreat with the main body, the ammunition, and the wounded, through an extensive defile which leads to Dinant. Here the narrowness of the road, for many miles, would only permit the march of single columns. The passage of the long train of carriages principally laden with wounded was slow and tedious, and, if the progress of the enemy could not be restrained a few hours, the whole must fall into their power.

The French were pressed so closely by their pursuers, that they had scarcely time to close the gates of Namur, before the Prussians attempted to enter with them. The French hastily lined the ramparts, and commenced a destructive fire on their assailants: and the contest continued until the arrival of the main body of the Prussians under General Thielman, who had now been joined by considerable reinforcements which were detached from the pursuit of the grand French army.

About six o'clock in the evening, the Prussians attempted an escalade; and, though completely repulsed in the first assault, they again mounted the ladders with determined valour, and carried the place. A most sanguinary conflict now commenced in the town, and every inch of ground was disputed, until the streets were piled with dead bodies. The French were at length completely driven from the place, and obliged to retire with precipitation towards Dinant. In the defile between Namur and Dinant the contest was renewed with increasing fury. The narrowness of the defile delayed the retreat of the French, and enabled the Prussians to press upon them with accumulated masses; and, though the real scene of action was limited in extent, the engagement was more bloody, where the contending parties came in contact.

Beyond Dinant, the fury of the pursuit began to abate, and Grouchy and Vandamme arrived at Rocroi with about twenty-five thousand men; having lost fourteen thousand in the affair of the 18th, and the disastrous retreat by which it was succeeded.

The grand French army, in the mean time, continued its disgraceful flight; and even at Mesieres, where Soult attempted to rally the fugitives, not more than four thousand men could be collected. Under the walls of Laon, the efforts to recall them to their standards were more successful, and, when Soult and Grouchy at last formed a junction, their united forces amounted to forty thousand men: Grouchy's troops had retained the principal part of their artillery and *materiel*, but those of Soult were destitute of cannon, and almost without arms of any description.

The heroic Blucher, as might have been expected, determined to afford the French no respite. On the day after the battle he crossed the Sambre, and penetrated into France by Beaumont, where he published the following energetic proclamation to his army:

"Brave Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Lower Rhine!—You have done great things. Brave companions in arms! You have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken.

"You have had to struggle with privations, but you have supported them with fortitude. Immoveable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a sanguinary battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your commanders, as well as of perseverance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory.

"With these sentiments you advanced to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this important struggle has struck, and has shewn who was to conquer and to reign in Europe, whether an adventurer, or governments who are the friends of order. The fate of the day was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, firmness, and confidence, which characterise experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced two days before. There, with the rapidity of lightning, you penetrated his already wavering columns. Nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy, in his despair, turned his artillery upon you; but you poured death into his ranks, and rushing upon him with irresistible fury, you threw his battalions into confusion, scattered them in all directions, and put them to a complete rout.

"The enemy found himself obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon; and his army is dissolved. A few days will suffice to annihilate these perjured legions, who were attempting to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe.

"All great commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army: you have proved that this opinion is ill-founded; you have proved, that resolute warriors may be vanquished, but that their valour cannot be shaken.

"Receive, then, my thanks, incomparable soldiers!—objects of all my esteem! You have acquired a great

reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immoveable columns of the Prussian monarchy! that the destinies of the king, and his august house, will for ever repose. Never will Prussia cease to exist, while your sons and your grandsons resemble you.

(Signed) "BLUCHER."

From Beaumont the Prussians proceeded to Avesnes, where an obstinate resistance was made; but the place was finally carried by escalade, and forty-five pieces of cannon were taken. The town suffered considerably; for the Prussians were resolved to avenge the horrible devastation which the French troops had committed in their country in former campaigns. And Blucher himself was anxious to make the people sensible of the calamities which the inordinate ambition of their chief had inflicted on every surrounding nation;—calamities from which the impolitic generosity of the sovereigns had saved them in the campaign of the former year, but which it was now necessary to retaliate upon them, in order to crush the turbulent spirit which recent events had shewn still existed, not only in the French army, but through the mass of the French population. By giving them an actual experience of the horrors of war, he adopted the only measure which was calculated to humble their national vanity, and to extinguish their military propensities. When Paris was first entered by the allies, the French had boasted that they had never been *beaten*, and that treason alone had rescued the confederates from complete destruction; it was necessary, therefore, now to convince them that they were a conquered nation, and to give them proofs of that fact which would not soon be obliterated.

For these reasons, Blucher despatched the following letter with the escort of the garrison of Avesnes:—

"*To Major-General Dobschutz, Military Governor, &c.*

"Sir,—I inform you by this letter that the fortress of Avesnes fell into our power this morning, and that the garrison are prisoners of war. They will be conveyed to Juliers. It were to be wished that some troops could be detached to relieve the escort on the road. As for the prisoners, the officers are to be conducted to Wesep, and strictly guarded in the citadel. The soldiers are destined for Cologne, that they may be employed in working in the fortifications. All are to be treated with the necessary severity.

"BLUCHER."

This letter has been censured, by some writers, as too severe; and the conduct of the Prussians, on their advance into the French territories, has been severely censured, as barbarous and inhuman. The perverted character of the French, however, and their egregious self-conceit, required the severest chastisement, to reduce them to a temperature consistent with the safety and tranquillity of Europe; and, in addition to this, it should be recollected, that the excesses committed by the Prussians, in their progress through France, bore no comparison to the wanton and horrible devastation which seemed to form the favourite and studied employment of the French troops, during their occupation of Prussia. It is also a well-authenticated fact, that many of the atrocities which were laid to the charge of the Prussians were actually committed by the French, who, dispersed in their flight from Waterloo, became the objects of terror to those whom they should have defended; and pillaged, and even massacred the defenceless inhabitants without mercy.

From Avesnes, Prince Blucher marched towards La Fere and Laon, at which places the wreck of the French army was collecting, and which were on the direct road to Paris. Detaching a corps on his right, he took possession of St. Quentin, which had been evacuated by the enemy.

Lord Wellington remained at Waterloo on the 19th, to provide for the accommodation of the wounded, and to re-organize his troops for further operations; and on the 20th he marched thirty miles, to Binche, where he issued the following order of the day:—

"*June* 20, 1815.

"As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his majesty the King of France, and that France, on that account, ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken, either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and neither officers nor soldiers will be suffered to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorized, either by the marshal, or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed) "J. WATERS, A.A.G."

These regulations were so strictly observed by Lord Wellington's troops, that, while the population of the north of France was exposed to the almost unrestrained licentiousness of the Prussians, and to the worse atrocities of their own disbanded and ferocious soldiers, the progress of the English army was not disgraced by one scene of unnecessary devastation or cruelty. But, on the contrary, France was indeed treated "as a friendly country."

The British soldiers were necessarily quartered on the inhabitants of the different towns through which they passed, but they rendered themselves as little burdensome as possible to their hosts. They punctually paid for every thing which they required; and many instances are recorded of their sedulous care to lighten the horrors of war, and to treat as friends those who resisted not their progress. The harvest was advancing to maturity. Their road often lay through fields of corn, where the path was narrow, and over which a friendly army could scarcely march without doing much involuntary injury; but the passage of the British troops was scarcely to be distinguished even here. Where the path would not admit of their marching in solid columns, they uniformly halted, and broke into files of three or two abreast; or even proceeding singly, left behind them no other traces than the grateful admiration of the astonished peasantry, who had been taught to consider the English as their most inveterate foes.

On the 21st, the Duke of Wellington marched seventeen miles to Malplaquet, the scene of the celebrated victory gained by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough over the French, under Marshals Villars and Boufflers, on the 11th of September, 1709. He there crossed the French frontier, and immediately published a proclamation, which, referring to the order of the day, as containing an explanation of the principles by which his conduct would be guided, more explicitly stated that Louis was the ally of the sovereigns, and that they had pledged themselves to restore him to his throne.

"*Head-Quarters, Malplaquet, June* 21.

"I acquaint all Frenchmen that I enter their country, at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom neither peace nor truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination, I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen! know that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorised, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partisans, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

From Malplaquet his lordship proceeded to Cateau-Cambresis, a distance of twenty-five miles, whence he despatched a corps, under the command of Genera. Colville, to take Cambray. The town was at first summoned in the name of Louis XVIII, but this being rejected, a few cannon-shot were fired on each side, without doing much mischief. Night put an end to the firing, when another conference took place between the general and the besieged; but this also terminated ineffectually; and the British commander, knowing that the circumstances of the allies would not admit of a regular siege, determined to attempt the reduction of the place at once by escalade.

The walls were in most places fifty-five feet in height; but this presented no discouragement to the British troops, who, taking advantage of some places where the ramparts were rather lower, attacked the town at four different points, at each of which they were crowned with complete success. The town was very soon in their possession, and the garrison retired into the citadel, with the loss of a hundred and thirty prisoners.

It must be acknowledged, that, on this occasion, the garrison did not make the resistance which was expected, and, in some of the points of attack, the inhabitants, who were not observed by the garrison, actually handed ladders to the British over the walls, and assisted them to ascend the battlements.

Some depredations followed the entrance of the British into Cambray, but no more than were unavoidable, considering that the place was carried by storm. These, however, soon ceased, and the troops did not disgrace the character which they had acquired for humanity, as well as for valour.

The town being in the possession of the allies, and the citadel not appearing disposed to give much annoyance, a messenger was despatched to Louis to hasten his progress, and to give him the honour of summoning and taking the place.

On the 23d the king arrived at Mons, and the next day proceeded to Cateau-Cambresis, from which place he despatched an officer to summon the citadel of Cambray in his name. The garrison obeyed the summons and capitulated: and the next morning his majesty entered Cambray, which the Duke of Wellington delivered in form to him as King of France.

The inhabitants of Cambray were not at first easily reconciled to the usurpation of Buonaparte, yet they had submitted without resistance, and, when some of his troops passed through the town to proceed to the frontiers, they departed amidst the acclamations of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" But, on the entry of Louis, they exhibited one of those instances of versatility with which the history of France abounds. As soon as intelligence arrived that the king approached the town, the young men of the most respectable families formed themselves into a guard of honour, who immediately proceeded to meet him, while a triumphal arch was hastily erected at the entrance of the place. The principal young ladies assembled at the arch, and scattered flowers before the monarch on his way to the Hotel de Ville. The progress of the king had been impeded by crowds of people who flocked from all the adjacent villages to gaze on the procession, and welcome him back to his dominions; and, when he entered the city, the acclamations of the populace were so loud, so universal, and so rapturous, that it was difficult to believe that, not a fortnight before, the same people had hailed with shouts as loud, and as universal, the troops who were marching to fight against their legitimate prince, and to consolidate the power of the usurper.

The populace unharnessed the king's horses, and drew his carriage in triumph to the Town-hall. The whole town was illuminated for two nights, and, during that time, the squares, the streets, and the boulevards, were filled with groups, who expressed their pleasure by songs, dances, and acclamations, without intermission. The whole population seemed to have abandoned itself to a delirium of joy. Such is the versatility of the French!

The following proclamation, published at Cambray, was well calculated to allay the fears of those who were conscious of their recent defection, and to unfold the future designs of the prince who was returning to the throne of his ancestors:

Louis XVIII. to the French People.

"The gates of my kingdom at last open before me. I hasten to bring back my misguided subjects to their duty,—to mitigate the calamities which I had wished to prevent,—and to place myself a second time between the allies and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which I may be the object, may tend to their preservation.

"This is the only way in which I have wished to take part in the war. I have not suffered any prince of my family to appear in foreign ranks, and have restrained the courage of those of my servants who had been able to range themselves around me.

"Returned to my native country, I feel a peculiar pleasure in speaking confidence to my people. When I first re-appeared among you, I found men's minds heated and agitated by conflicting passions. My views encountered difficulties and obstacles on every side. My government was liable to commit errors: perhaps it did commit them. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct, and sometimes they even mislead. Experience alone could teach: it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish.

"My subjects have learned by cruel experience, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of social order;—the only one upon which, amidst a great nation, a wise and rational liberty can be established. This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my charter, and I will add to that charter all the guarantees which can secure the benefits of it.

"The unity of the ministry is the strongest that I can offer. I design that it should exist, and that the frank and firm march of my council should guarantee all interests and calm all inquietudes.

"Some persons have spoken of the restoration of tithes and feudal rights. This fable, invented by the common enemy, does not require confutation. It will not be expected that the king should stoop to refute calumnies and lies. The success of the treason has too clearly indicated their source. If the purchasers of national property have felt alarm, the charter should suffice to re-assure them. Did I not myself propose to the chambers, and cause to be executed, sales of such property? This proof of my sincerity is incontrovertible.

"In these latter times, my subjects of all classes have given me unequivocal proofs of their love and fidelity. I wish them to know how sensibly I feel them, and that it is from among all Frenchmen I shall delight to choose those who are to approach my person and my family. I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe.

"In the plot which they contrived, I perceive many of my subjects to have been misled, and some guilty. I promise—I who never promised in vain (as all Europe

can witness)—to pardon to misled Frenchmen all that has transpired since the day when I quitted Lille, amidst so many tears, up to the day when I re-entered Cambray, amidst so many acclamations.

"But the blood of my people has flowed in consequence of a treason unprecedented in the annals of the world. That treason has summoned foreigners into the heart of France. Every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it, therefore, to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, and to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble.

"Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he brings among you, whom time has not been able to change, nor calamities, fatigue, nor injustice made to stoop. The king, whose fathers reigned for eight centuries over your's, returns to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling you.

"Given at Cambray, the 28th of June, 1815, and of our reign the twenty-first.

'LOUIS."

The troops of Prince Blucher, in the mean time, were continuing their march to Paris; and the miserable wreck of the French army, under Soult and Grouchy, was hastening in a parallel direction, by forced marches, to outstrip the enemy, and assist in the defence of the capital. At Villars-Coterets the two armies came in contact, and a severe engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and one thousand prisoners. They were also chased from the road of Soissons, by which they had hoped to penetrate to Paris.

They then attempted to take the road of Meaux, but here they were opposed by Bulow's corps, and repulsed with the loss of five hundred prisoners. They, however, finally succeeded in arriving at the metropolis before the invaders, and Grouchy brought with him the greater part of the artillery which he had at Wavre. The Prussians continued to advance, and on the 29th of June had arrived in the vicinity of Paris.

Lord Wellington halted at Cateau Cambresis, to await the arrival of the pontoons and some necessary stores; and on the 26th he attacked Peronne. The horn-work which covered the suburb on the left of the Somme was carried by storm with a trifling loss, when the town surrendered on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be allowed to retire to their homes. On the 28th the Duke of Wellington was at St. Just; on the 29th he passed the Oise; and on the 30th established himself with his right at Rochebourg, and his left at the Bois de Bondy.

Having thus narrated the advance of the allies to the immediate vicinity of Paris, it is now necessary to glance at the proceedings of the provisional government.

The commissioners appointed to treat for peace repaired to the head-quarters of Marshal Blucher, whose army had advanced one day's march before that of the Duke of Wellington, and requested a suspension of arms while they proceeded to the head-quarters of the allies with pacific overtures. But to this the Prussian hero gave a decided refusal. They represented that the ostensible object of the war no longer existed; that they possessed unlimited powers, and were ready to discuss any proposition; and that they were ready to give the most solemn pledges of the honesty of their intentions. But all proved unavailing. He would not agree to an armistice for a single hour; but, on the contrary, asserted that he would only listen to overtures of peace within the walls of Paris. They then pressed him to state the object for which he now fought, and what the allies really required. He would explain nothing, he would listen to nothing short of unconditional submission and the possession of their capital. After much unpleasant altercation, therefore, they demanded their passports, and proceeded to Haguenau, where the coalesced sovereigns had now arrived.

The allied monarchs received them with apparent kindness, and the conferences commenced immediately. The French plenipotentiaries related the events which had recently happened in France. They stated that Buonaparte had not only abdicated the throne, but that the government was adopting measures to prevent his ever exerting the least influence on the affairs of France. Here they were interrupted by the demand of the British minister, that Napoleon should be delivered unconditionally into the power of the allies. This proposition was received with mingled astonishment and indignation; and La Fayette replied, that Napoleon having voluntarily resigned the crown, that he might be no obstacle to the welfare of France, his person was under the protection of the national gratitude and honour, and that the French people would never consent to commit an act of unexampled treachery.

The monarchs felt the impolicy of this demand, and immediately waved it. It was not, however, their wish to enter into any negotiations, or explain their real designs. They therefore delayed the conferences on various pretexts. In fact, they had determined to pursue a line of conduct which they did not yet think proper to avow. They had not only determined to restore Louis XVIII., if it could be possibly accomplished, but they

were fully resolved to humble the vanity, and cripple the power, of the French. The avowal of these designs would have excited a universal indignation throughout France, and might have proved fatal to the projects of the allies, and to the future welfare of Europe.

Two conferences passed without producing any result, or even making the commissioners acquainted with the wishes and demands of the allies. They felt that a longer delay might be fatal to their country, as the allied armies were pressing on to the capital with Louis in their rear. In a third conference, therefore, they urgently required some *ultimatum* from the allies, unequivocally stating that no question was prejudged in their minds, and that they were empowered to treat on every point relative to every thing and every person. This appeal certainly appeared calculated to produce some explanation. But the objection was now started, that it was useless to enter into any discussions from which no decisive result could follow, because the British ambassador was not invested with power to treat with the provisional government.

This objection was fatal to all further proceedings, and the commissioners departed, entirely ignorant of the demands of the allies, but having received a positive assurance, that "the foreign powers made no pretensions to interfere with the form of the French government."

Paris, in the mean time, was more tranquil than could have been imagined. Napoleon had removed to a considerable distance, and the intrigues and tumults of his partisans had subsided. The measures of the provisional government were firm and moderate; and the different parties appeared to repose on its wisdom and patriotism, and awaited, in awful suspense, the result of the contest.

Many of the citizens seemed perfectly aware that Louis would return to his capital. Every offensive caricature against him and his family disappeared. Yet no loyal exclamations were heard in the streets, and no factious tumults disturbed the proceedings of the chambers. The representatives commenced an examination of Napoleon's *additional act*, and proceeded to arrange, with perfect calmness, the principles of that constitution which the reigning prince was to be required to subscribe.

All parties were agreed in the confidence which they reposed in the government, and in their determination to resist the invaders. Those who had been implicated in the various scenes of the revolution, and in its last fatal period, naturally trembled at the declaration of the king, that he would punish the instigators of the plot: the army felt uneasy, because Blucher had required as a primary condition, that they should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and because they dared expect no favour from a monarch who had been driven from his throne by their shameful defection:—and even the royalists began to fear that the cause of the allies was different from that of the monarch, since they refused every kind of explanation; and altered, or even suppressed, the royal ordinances, as it suited the convenience or pleasure of any of the allied generals.

The fortifications which Buonaparte had begun were now hastily completed; the remainder of the army of the north under Soult and Grouchy arrived; other troops poured in from the south; the national guards volunteered their services; the federates armed themselves with avidity; and, if some of the citizens evinced much indifference, none openly denied the propriety of the measures adopted.

Whilst the government assumed a firm attitude, it neglected no means of averting the impending storm, and procuring that peace which circumstances rendered so truly desirable. Repeated overtures were made to Blucher and Wellington to obtain an armistice; and, on these proving unavailing, Fouché despatched the following letter to the Duke of Wellington:

"My Lord, "*Paris, June* 27, 1815.

"You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French. It is you especially who can appreciate the French nation.

"In the council of sovereigns, united to fix the destinies of Europe, your influence and your credit cannot be less than your glory.

"Your law of nations has always been justice, and your conscience has invariably been the guide of your policy.

"The French nation desires to live under a monarch, but it wishes that that monarch should live under the empire of the laws.

"The republic made us acquainted with the extreme of liberty. The empire with the extreme of despotism. Our wish now (and it is immoveable) is to keep at an equal distance from both these extremes.

"All eyes are fixed upon England. We do not claim more liberty than she possesses, but we do not wish for less.

"The representatives of the nation are incessantly employed on a civil compact, of which the component powers, separated but not divided, all contribute, by their reciprocal action, to harmony and unity.

"From the moment this compact shall be signed by the prince called to reign over us, the sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation.

"In the existing state of Europe, one of the greatest calamities is hostility between France and England.

"No man, my lord, has it more in his power than yourself to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position.

"Accept," &c.

To this letter no answer was returned; nor indeed was it possible for Lord Wellington to notice it without deviating from his resolution to follow up, as a general, the advantages which he had obtained, and to leave the discussion of every political subject to the coalesced sovereigns. He could not have sent a reply without stating that it was the determination of the allies to restore Louis to his throne unfettered by any conditions, and to defend him against all who would abridge his prerogative.

The Prince of Eckmuhl, as the head of the French army, likewise addressed a letter to Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington, of which the following is a translation:

"*Head-Quarters, La Villette, June* 30, 1815.

"My Lord,

"Your hostile movements continue, although, according to their declarations, the motives of the war which the allied sovereigns make upon us no longer exist, since the Emperor Napoleon has abdicated.

"At the moment when blood is again on the point of flowing, I receive from Marshal the Duke of Albufera a telegraphic despatch, of which I transmit you a copy. My lord, I guarantee this armistice on my honour. All the reasons you might have had to continue hostilities are destroyed, because you can have no other instruction from your government than that which the Austrian generals had from theirs.

"I make the formal demand to your excellency of ceasing all hostilities, and that we proceed to form an armistice, awaiting the decision of congress. I cannot believe, my lord, that my request will be ineffectual; you will take upon yourself a great responsibility in the eyes of your fellow-countrymen.

"No other motive but that of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the interests of my country, have dictated this letter.

"If I present myself on the field of battle with the idea of your talents, I shall carry the conviction of there combating for the most sacred of causes—that of the defence and independence of my country; and, whatever may be the result, I shall merit your esteem.

"Accept, my lord,

"The assurance of my highest consideration,

"The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl, minister at war."

The heroes to whom this communication was addressed, returned no answer to its contents, but pressed on to accomplish their grand object, and speedily arrived under the walls of Paris.

The following address was now sent up by the army to the French chambers.

"Representatives of the People!

"We are in presence of our enemies. We swear before you and the world to defend, to our last breath, the cause of our independence and the national honour.

"It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, but these princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen. If their return could be agreed to, recollect, representatives, that you would sign the annihilation of the army, which, for twenty years, has been the palladium of French honour. There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes, we have appeared great and generous. If it is wished to humble us in our reverses, we shall know how to die.

"The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation. We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence; we forgot all the calamities they had caused us in their rage to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well! what return did they make for this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives! these reflections are terrible because they are true. History will one day relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also narrate the conduct of the army, of that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

"*Camp at Villette, June* 30*th*.

(Signed) "The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl, minister at war.
"Count Pajol, commanding the first corps of cavalry.
"Count D'Erlon, commanding the right wing.
"Count Vandamme, general in chief; and fifteen other generals."

Addresses were also received from the national guard, from the federates, from the municipal body, and from all the constituted authorities; all breathing a spirit of determined resistance against the allies, though many of them secretly wished for the restoration of the prince who was following in the rear of the invading armies.

In these circumstances, the chambers resolved to make another exposition of the principles by which they were actuated, and the following proclamation was

published, as an appeal to the courage and patriotism of the people:

"FRENCHMEN!

"The foreign powers proclaimed, in the face of Europe, that they were only armed against Napoleon, and that they wished to respect our independence, and the right which belongs to every nation to choose a government suitable to its manners and its interests.

"Napoleon is no longer the chief of the state. He has renounced the throne, and his abdication has been accepted by your representatives. He is removed from us. His son is called to the empire by the constitutions of the state. The coalesced sovereigns are informed of this; and the war ought to be terminated, if the promises of kings have any foundation in truth.

"While plenipotentiaries have been sent to the allied powers to treat for peace in the name of France, the generals of two of those powers have refused any suspension of arms. Their troops have accelerated their marches under favour of a moment of hesitation and trouble. They are now at the very gates of the capital, and no communication has stated for what object the war is continued. Our plenipotentiaries will soon declare whether we must renounce peace. In the mean time resistance is not only legitimate but necessary; and humanity, in requiring an account of the blood uselessly shed, will not accuse those brave men who only combat to repel from their houses the scourges of war, murder, and pillage;—and to defend with their lives the cause of liberty, and of that independence, the imprescriptible right of which has been guaranteed to them even by the manifestoes of their enemies.

"Amidst these circumstances, your representatives cannot forget that they were not chosen to stipulate for the interests of any individual party, but for the whole nation. Every act of weakness will dishonour them, and will only tend to endanger the future tranquillity of France. While the government is employing all the means in its power to obtain a solid peace, or, should that not be obtained without compromising our honour, to repel the battalions of foreigners, what more advantageous to the nation can be done than to collect and establish the fundamental rules of a monarchical and representative government, destined to secure to all citizens the free enjoyment of those sacred rights, which sacrifices so numerous and so great have purchased; and to rally for ever, under the national colours, that great body of Frenchmen who have no other interest, and no other wish, than an honourable repose and a just independence.

"Meanwhile the chambers conceive that their duty and their dignity require them to declare, that they will never acknowledge, as legitimate chief of the state, him, who, on ascending the throne, shall refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation, and to consecrate them by a solemn compact. The constitutional charter is drawn up; and, if the force of arms should succeed in temporarily imposing upon us a master;—if the destinies of a great nation are again to be delivered up to the caprice and arbitrary will of a small number of privileged persons, then, in yielding to force, the national representation will protest in the face of the whole world against the oppression of the French people.

"Your representatives will appeal to the energy of the present and future generations to renew their claim both to national independence, and the rights of civil liberty. For these rights they now appeal to the reason and the justice of all civilized nations."

Blucher, in the mean time, had proceeded on the direct road from Senlis to Paris, and, on the 30th of June, attacked the village of Aubervilliers, where an obstinate conflict took place between the Prussians and the French, who, having rallied under the walls of their capital, seemed resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The village was taken and retaken several times, but it finally remained in the possession of the Prussians.

Had Prince Blucher followed up his successes, he would next have arrived at the heights of Montmartre and Belleville, the scene of the principal engagement in the former campaign. But these heights, and the whole of the north of Paris, were strongly fortified, and could not have been carried without great loss on the part of the allies. Sluices had also been formed on the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mar, which flow to the north of St. Denis; and which enabled the French to lay the whole of that part of the country under water. The obstinacy with which the village of Aubervilliers had been defended, likewise shewed the danger of attacking Paris on that side. On the afternoon of the 30th, therefore, the Prussians filed off to the right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain, to attack the city on the south, where it had been left undefended.

Many of Buonaparte's officers had remonstrated with him on the folly of confining his whole attention to the north of Paris, which was already strong by nature, and entirely neglecting the plains on the south. With his usual obstinacy, he asserted that it would never be attacked on the south; but that, should the allies again penetrate to the capital, they would advance on the same points which they had forced in the preceding campaign. It was only, therefore, before he set out for the north, that he ordered some slight fortifications to

be commenced on the plains of Meudon, and these were never completed.

Blucher had no sooner crossed the Seine at St. Germain, than he advanced on Versailles; and, as the French army had rapidly traversed the city, in order to meet him at this point, a most obstinate and sanguinary conflict ensued. During the day, the town of Versailles was alternately in the power of the Prussians and the French; but at length it was evacuated by the latter, and Blucher succeeded in establishing his right wing on the heights of Meudon, his left at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles.

The opposition which the invaders met with was now no longer confined to the French army. Numerous battalions of national guards mingled with the troops of the line, and emulated their courage and discipline; and the federates furnished seven thousand men, who, acting principally as sharpshooters, and being intimately acquainted with every feature of the country, harassed the Prussians incessantly, and caused the most horrible destruction in their ranks. The war appeared to assume a national character. The defenders of Paris were not exclusively the partisans of Napoleon, or those whose crimes had exposed them to merited punishment. All parties, even the royalists themselves, indignantly rejected the unconditional submission which the allied generals demanded, and united in the resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Lord Wellington and Blucher had not expected this opposition, yet, relying on the superiority of their numbers, and the near approach of powerful reinforcements, they felt no inclination to alter their plan. They therefore again replied to the renewed overtures from the French, that they would only treat within the walls of Paris, or for the immediate possession of the city. Wishing, however, to spare a needless effusion of human blood, they would not lead on their troops to an immediate assault, though this might now have been attempted with great probability of success, but they continued slowly to invest and surround the capital. They carried the principal outposts, and seemed inclined to wait until the arrival of the numerous battalions, which were hastening to join them on every side, should render further assistance unavailing.

While Blucher took up his position at Meudon and St. Cloud, Lord Wellington filed off to the right, and, throwing a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, sent forward a corps towards the bridge of Neuilly. Paris was now completely invested, for some small corps of observation had been previously stationed on the north to restrain the excursions of the garrison, and maintain a communication with the troops which were advancing to join the allies. Surprised at the cautious proceedings of the enemy, the Parisians, who had expected an immediate assault on the city, began to respire. Their apprehensions vanished as suddenly as they were raised, and they who took no active part in the operations of the troops, abandoned themselves to their characteristic frivolity. The promenades were as much crowded as in a time of peace; and, although the roar of the cannon was incessantly heard, and long trains of the wounded passed frequently through the city, the theatres were filled every evening.

Some ideas of approaching famine now began to be entertained, and immense crowds ran to all the markets, and eagerly purchased every article of provision which they could possibly procure. In a few hours neither bread nor meat could be obtained at any price; but the houses of the greater part of the inhabitants were filled with provisions which they had bought up. The next morning, however, the city was surprised by the arrival of the usual supply, which the illustrious Wellington, with his characteristic humanity, had suffered to pass through the British camp without impediment.

"This measure," says an interesting writer, "was as politic as generous. It shewed that the object of the British commander was the capture of the city; and not the infliction of unnecessary misery. It disarmed the hostility of a numerous party, who, indignant at the inexplicable conduct of the allies, had almost resolved to join the ranks of the army and the federates. It assured them that the intentions of the allies could not be very formidable, when they thus relieved the distresses of the place which they besieged. The Duke of Wellington likewise prevented those tumults and excesses which famine would have produced, and which would have hazarded the entire destruction of the city, or excited some desperate attempt equally fatal to the besiegers and the besieged."

On the 2d of July, the contest was renewed; and the French attacked their invaders with such irresistible fury, that the Prussians retired in disorder. Versailles was once more taken, and several of the inhabitants, who had, on the preceding evening, hoisted the white flag, were cruelly insulted, and one individual was literally cut to pieces. A similar disposition was shewn by an infuriated mob in Paris, which threatened the property and the lives of some zealous friends of the Bourbons, who had expressed their loyalty rather prematurely. A proclamation was immediately issued by Prince Blucher, denouncing the most severe retaliation if these outrages did not immediately cease.

The Prussians soon rallied, and the French not only lost all the ground which they had gained, but were driven through the village of Issy, and under the very

walls of Paris. A grand council of war was now held by the French government, at which all the marshals and generals of division were invited to attend. The question of a protracted resistance was solemnly argued, and it was almost unanimously decided that it must be fruitless. Soult (Duke of Dalmatia) and Massena (Prince of Essling) spoke at considerable length, and urged pacific measures. The latter observed, "That his defence of Genoa would give some idea of his tenacity in maintaining a post confided to him, but, situated as Paris was, it appeared to him impossible to defend it any longer, and that he believed there were no other steps to be taken, than again to solicit a suspension of arms."

Other officers remarked, that a suspension of arms had been solicited repeatedly, and as uniformly refused, and that they appeared to have no alternative but either to surrender at discretion, with the army prisoners of war, or to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital. At length it was resolved, on the suggestion of Carnot, that one battle more should be attempted, and, if the issue of that were unfortunate, commissioners should be immediately sent to the allies, proposing the surrender of Paris, on condition of a universal amnesty, and the safe retreat of the army behind the Loire. Should this be refused, the army was desperately to cut its way through the enemy, and withdraw behind the Loire, while the provisional government and the municipal body should surrender the capital on the best terms which they could obtain.

The surrender of the city was now, indeed, become indispensable, unless the government and the army had resolved to expose it to complete destruction. The main body of the allies had reached the left bank of the Seine, where the city was unprotected; and they were in possession of the village of Issy, immediately under the walls. The first serious attack which they made would, in all probability, render them masters of the place; or, should they fail in a first or second attempt, they would naturally return to the charge until they succeeded. Their rear being completely free, they could always re-commence their attacks with fresh troops, and choose the most favourable moment. The French, on the contrary, were obliged to be constantly on their guard at all the avenues of the immense space which they had to defend, and always with the same troops, numerically inferior to the enemy, and exhausted by the forced marches which they had made from the memorable plains of Waterloo.

When it was finally resolved to surrender the capital, a new ground of debate arose, as to the persons to whom it should be surrendered. Fouché and Caulincourt proposed that the city should be surrendered to Louis XVIII., and argued that this would be the most probable method of conciliating a family under whose power it was evident they must return. To this, however, Carnot and Quinette strongly objected. They represented the good effects which had already resulted from the cautious mode of proceeding which had been adopted. By neither pledging themselves to accept or to reject the Bourbon dynasty, and by continuing to deliberate on a constitution suited to the wishes and the character of the nation, and which was to be offered to the acceptance of the prince who might ultimately be chosen, they prevented the formation of political factions, and saved the country from a civil war. They argued, that a surrender to Louis would be the signal for revolt. The army and the federates, who were adverse to the return of the Bourbons, would immediately rise, and abandon themselves to every excess. The safety of the city would be compromised, or probably the enemy from without and the rebels within would unite to reduce it to ashes. They added, that the offer to surrender in the name of Louis would be rejected by the allies, who were still bombarding many fortresses which had displayed the white flag. Finally, they professed that they could not yet discredit the promises of the allied sovereigns to respect their independence; that if they finally submitted to the Bourbons, they might, by delay, extort some concessions in favour of liberty, and that, at all events, it would be more conciliating to invite them back when their deliberations were free, than to recall them as the only method of eluding the destruction with which the capital was now menaced.

Grenier seemed at a loss which party to espouse, but at length he decided in favour of Carnot and Quinette, and it was determined to offer the surrender of the city as a mere military transaction, without reference to any political question

The action commenced at an early hour on the morning of the 3d, and the troops who were not yet apprised of the resolution of the government, fought with all the fury of despair. They were repulsed, however, at every point, and pursued to the very gates of Paris. The ramparts, and the windows and tops of the houses near the walls, were crowded with spectators, who viewed with unutterable agony this last struggle for the safety of the capital. Some persons ventured over the bridge of Jena in their carriages, but they were immediately requested to alight, and their equipages were put in requisition to convey the wounded to Paris.

No sooner were the French seen to give way, and the gates to become crowded with the fugitives and the wounded, than many of the spectators fled from the

ramparts, and spread the report that their countrymen were flying; that the Prussians, flushed with victory, and eager for revenge, were closely pursuing them, and were actually entering the gates *pêle-mêle* with them. Had it not been for the firmness of the national guards, this report would have occasioned the most dreadful scenes of confusion and pillage.

The public consternation was, however, relieved by the sudden ceasing of the firing about two o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the government perceived that the engagement was taking an unfavourable turn, they despatched a herald to the allied generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat respecting the surrender of the city. To this Wellington and Blucher consented; and the commissioners, named by the commanders-in-chief of the respective armies, immediately met at St. Cloud. The conference was carried on in the favourite palace of Buonaparte; and, in the very chamber which had so often been the scene of discussion for the destruction of England and the subjugation of Europe, British and Prussian commissioners were now negotiating for the surrender of Paris, and the final overthrow of French ambition.

The negotiations were entered into with earnestness on both sides. The allied generals were eager to obtain possession of Paris, before the violence of faction, or the fury of despair, had commenced its ruin, or compelled them to join in the work of destruction; and the French were eager to bring the negotiation to a close, before their city was carried by assault.

The following convention was therefore soon arranged, and signed by the respective commissioners:

"This day, the 3d of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders-in-chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the portfolio of foreign affairs; the Count Guillemont, chief of the general staff of the French army; the Count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on one side; and Major-general Baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of Marshal Prince Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army; and Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:

"I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

"II. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up a position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

"III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field-artillery, military-chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depôts shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of the administration which belong to the army.

"IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

"V. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

"VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

"VII. The officers of the line employed with the *Fédéres*, or with the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

"VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

"IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gens-d'armerie.

"X. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

"XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected; and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

"XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

"XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

"XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms at least ten days beforehand.

"XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

"XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependent.

"XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

"XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

"Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

"The Baron Bignon.
"Count Guillemont.
"Count de Bondy.
"The Baron de Muffling.
"F. B. Hervey, colonel.

"Approved and ratified the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815.

"Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl."

This convention has been censured, by some, as too favourable to a set of men who had renounced their allegiance to their legitimate prince, and involved their country in the most awful disasters, by calling the usurper from his retreat. On mature deliberation, however, it must be considered equally politic and humane on the part of the allied generals.

The grand object of these commanders was now obtained in a way most likely to secure the restoration of Louis and the permanence of his throne. The Parisians had been sufficiently intimidated by the troops of his allies, but they had suffered comparatively little. They were convinced of the impracticability of successfully opposing the conquerors; but no irreconcileable hatred, no unconquerable desire of revenge, had been generated in their minds. On the contrary, emotions of gratitude were mingled with those of alarm. But had the capital been taken, pillaged, and partly reduced to ashes, the remaining wretched inhabitants would have held the name of the Bourbons in detestation; whilst those who fled into the different departments, would have roused the whole population to vengeance. Neither the federates nor the national guard would ever have consented to an unconditional surrender. They would have unanimously joined the ranks of the regular troops; and, in the dreadful conflict which must have followed, all the advantages which the allies had previously gained might have been lost. Fifty thousand regular troops, and an equal number of citizens, armed with all the energies of despair, might have proved invincible; or, had they been subdued, they would have perished encompassed by the ruins of the capital which they had sworn to defend; and, amidst the scenes of pillage and confusion which must have ensued, the discipline of the allied troops would have been destroyed, their corps would have been separated, one glowing spirit of revenge would have animated the whole of France, and the conquerors might ultimately have been exposed to destruction.

To have compelled the army to cut their way to the position to which they wished to retire, would have occasioned a horrible effusion of blood; and those who escaped would have carried with them hatred and defiance: but by permitting them to retire peaceably, their asperity would be softened; and, removed from the defence of the capital, and the immediate presence of the government, no common object would hold them together; desertion might be expected to thin their ranks, and the remnant would probably submit to the monarch whom they could no longer oppose.

The result of the affair demonstrated that the allied commanders acted on principles of sound policy. The provisional government, deprived of its only support, soon resigned the supreme power; the chambers separated without resistance, and, in five days, the king returned to his capital, not only without opposition, but welcomed by the acclamations of thousands who had not previously dared to avow their sentiments.

During the morning, the Parisians had felt all the horrors of anxious and gloomy suspense. The shops were shut, the streets were thronged, the most valuable property of many who were preparing to fly from the impending ruin was packed up; and, as the fortune of the day declared against the French, despair began to take possession of every bosom. But no sooner was it proclaimed that the allies had consented to a suspension of arms, and that the city was guaranteed from pillage and destruction, than the Boulevards were instantly crowded, groups of dancers filled every walk, and the citizens abandoned themselves to the most frantic joy.

The feelings of the army were very different. They had been kept in ignorance of the determination of

their generals to abandon a city which they could no longer defend, and had identified their own existence with the deliverance of Paris from its invaders. When they had learned, therefore, that the city was to be surrendered without any further struggle, they were overwhelmed with chagrin, succeeded by the most ungovernable indignation. They declared that they would not respect a convention which again betrayed the capital of France into the hands of foreigners. Several battalions even precipitated themselves on the out-posts of the allies, and attacked them with the most determined fury; and during the night and the succeeding day the cannon continued to fire from several of the heights. But the allies had been prepared for this explosion; and, satisfied with the assurance of the French officers that these outrages would speedily cease, they contented themselves with repelling the attack with as little bloodshed as possible.

The superior officers, in the mean time, made the greatest exertions to recall the troops to their duty.—They represented that the convention which had been concluded was most honourable to them; that their present conduct could effect no good purpose, and might endanger the safety of the city; but that retiring behind the Loire with all their *materiel*, they would again present a formidable front to the enemy, and might yet be serviceable to their country.

The propriety of these representations was gradually felt by the troops, and their attacks on the enemy ceased. Preparations were now made to fulfil the convention, and the different regiments began to put themselves in motion to evacuate the city; but, during the whole of the 4th, the streets were crowded with inebriated soldiers, who insulted every person whom they supposed had been concerned in the convention, and threatened with instant death all who refused to join in their furious cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

The federates were yet more tumultuous and more dangerous. They did not vent their rage on the enemy, but seemed resolved to discharge their full fury on those who had agreed to surrender the metropolis. They positively refused to lay down their arms, and assembled on the bridges and in the squares, wantonly firing on every one whom they suspected.

It now seemed as if the city were delivered from the fear of foreign outrage, to suffer more dreadful calamities from its own misguided inhabitants: and, for some time, its destruction appeared inevitable; but the national guard acted with most exemplary firmness. Thirty thousand armed citizens speedily assembled at their respective places of rendezvous; and by their determined conduct the refractory bands were overawed, and the city was rescued from destruction.

The next morning it was reported that the Prussians had sacked and burned Malmaison, one of Napoleon's favourite palaces. This intelligence inspired the troops with fresh fury; many of the officers sanctioned and increased their violence, and they flocked to the Thuilleries, determined that, since Buonaparte's palace had been wantonly destroyed, that which Louis intended to inhabit should not escape. The federates hastened to the assistance of the troops, and all the neighbouring squares were speedily filled with soldiers and artisans, breathing vengeance against the Bourbons and their allies. The national guard, however, occupied in great force every avenue to the palace, and, partly by entreaties and partly by force, dispersed the assailants, and once more saved the city.

Several bodies of troops now began to evacuate the capital. The regiments of the imperial guard marched through the suburbs without uttering a word; but the ferocious gloom which hung on their brows shewed the mortification which they felt, and the eagerness with which they longed to retrieve their disgrace by the destruction of the invaders. Some of the other regiments rent the air with their favourite acclamation of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and wantonly fired on the outposts of the Prussians: but, fortunately, they did little execution, and the fire was not returned.

Notwithstanding, however, the capitulation of Paris, the representatives continued their deliberations on the constitution which was to be presented to the elected prince.

Although the foreign troops were about to take possession of the city;—although the king had arrived within twenty miles, and nearly a million of soldiers were hastening from every quarter to reinstate him on the throne and to crush all opposition, not one member in either of the chambers proposed or even hinted at the restoration of the monarch; nor in the streets of Paris was scarcely a single voice heard to express a wish for his return. A reliance on the wisdom of the government, and an indifference to events which they were now altogether unable to control, took possession of every mind, and the great mass of the population awaited the result, without any tumultuous expression of their wishes.

The provisional government published a proclamation, stating the motives which had influenced them in the surrender of the city; again asserting their confidence in the promises of the allies, and their conviction that the liberties and dearest interests of France would not be sacrificed, and exhorting the citizens to peace and unanimity; but speaking in the most vague terms of the form of government, and the prince who was to reign. This proclamation was as follows:—

"Frenchmen!—In the difficult circumstances in which the reins of the state were confided to us, it was not in our power to control the course of events, and to remove all dangers; but it became our duty to defend the interests of the people and of the army, equally compromised in the cause of a prince, abandoned by fortune and the national will.

"It became our duty to preserve to the country the precious remains of those brave legions whose courage is superior to reverses, and who have been the victims of a devotedness which the country now claims.

"It became our duty to guarantee the capital from the horrors of a siege and the chances of a battle; to maintain the public tranquillity in the midst of the tumult and agitations of war; to support the hopes of the friends of liberty, in the midst of the fears and inquietudes of a suspicious foresight; above all, it became our duty to stop the useless effusion of blood. It was necessary to obtain an assured national existence, or to run the risk of exposing the country and its citizens to a general subversion, which would have left neither hope nor futurity.

"None of the means of defence which time and our resources allowed, nothing that the service of the camps and of the city required, was neglected.

"While the pacification of the west was finishing, plenipotentiaries repaired to the allied powers, and all the documents of their negotiation have been laid before your representatives.

"The fate of the capital is settled by a convention. Its inhabitants, whose firmness, courage, and perseverance are above all praise, form its guard.

"The declarations of the sovereigns of Europe should inspire us with confidence; their promises have been too solemn to excite a fear that our liberties and our dearest interests can be sacrificed to victory.

"In a word, we shall receive guarantees which will prevent those alternate and temporary triumphs of factions that have agitated us for five-and-twenty years, which will terminate our revolution, and confound in a common protection all the parties to which it has given birth, and all those which it has combated.

"The guarantees which hitherto have only existed in our principles and in our courage, we shall find in our laws, our constitution, and our representative system; for, whatever may be the intelligence or the personal qualities of the monarch, they are not sufficient to put the people out of the reach of the oppression of power, the prejudices of pride, the injustice of courts, and the ambition of courtiers.

"Frenchmen! peace is necessary to your commerce, to your arts, to the amelioration of your manners, to the developement of your remaining resources: be united, and you will reach the end of your miseries. The repose of Europe is inseparable from your's. Europe is interested in your tranquillity and your happiness.

(Signed) "The Duke of Otranto,
President."

The declaration of the representatives, which was carried by a division of four hundred and forty-eight to thirty-four, was to the following effect.

"The troops of the allied powers are about to occupy the capital.

"The chamber will, nevertheless, continue its sittings in Paris, where the sovereign will of the people has called its representatives. In the present critical situation of affairs, the chamber owes to itself, to France, and to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and principles.

"It makes the most solemn appeal to the fidelity and patriotism of the Parisian national guard, charged with the protection of the national representation.

"The chamber declares, that it reposes with unlimited confidence on the honour and magnanimity of the allied powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so unequivocally expressed in all their different manifestoes.

"The chamber declares, that the government of France, whoever may be its chief, ought to comply with the wishes of the nation, legally expressed, and so to arrange with the other governments as to form a general guarantee for the maintenance of peace between France and Europe.

"The chamber declares, that a monarch cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people: it hence follows that every government which should have no other titles than the acclamations and will of a party, or which should be imposed by force; every government which should not adopt the national colours and not guarantee

"The liberty of citizens,—the equality of civil and political rights,—the liberty of the press,—the liberty of worship,—the representative system,—the free consent of the representatives to the levying of men and taxes,—the responsibility of ministers,—the irrevocability of the sale of national property of every description,—the inviolability of all kinds of property,—the abolition of tithes,—the abolition of the ancient nobility, and the new hereditary nobility, and of feudal institutions,—the entire oblivion of all political opinions and votes to the present moment,—the institution of the legion of honour,—the rewards due to the officers and soldiers, and the relief required by their widows

and children,—the institution of juries,—the irremovability of the judges,—and the payment of the public debt: every government which would not guarantee all these things would have only an ephemeral existence, and would never secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe.

"The chamber finally declares, that, if the bases specified in this declaration be disregarded or violated, the representatives of the nation deem it their sacred duty to protest in the face of the whole world against the injustice and usurpation; and they confide the defence of the sentiments which they now proclaim to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberties, and, in fine, to all generations.

(Signed) "LANJUINAIS, president."

Agreeably to the articles of the convention, the allied troops were put in possession of the out-posts of the city on the day after the capitulation, and, on the 6th, the barriers were delivered up, and the allies entered the capital. The military posts were surrendered without disturbance. The British and Prussian picquets received the pass-word from the national troops as regularly as if they were merely relieving guard, and, after the opposite parties had saluted each other in military form, the national guard peaceably returned to their respective habitations.

Several regiments of the allies now marched in, and traversed the city, in their way to the respective quarters assigned to them. Their peaceable demeanour and modest deportment made considerable impression on every well-disposed spectator. No expression of mingled exultation and ferocity, such as used to characterise the French soldier in the hour of triumph, was visible on their countenances; and, notwithstanding they were grossly insulted by the Federates and the populace, they tranquilly pursued their march, without committing a single act of violence.

The Federates had apparently become reconciled to the evils which could not have been avoided. Their emperor having been finally separated from them, the regular troops being no longer at hand to countenance their violence, and having experienced how impotent was their rage, when opposed to the determined courage of the national guard, they had abandoned the contest, and retreated to their obscure abodes. But the actual occupation of Paris by foreign armies, rekindled all their fury. From every lane and alley they rushed in innumerable crowds; but, being now deprived of arms, they could only express their rage, by their scowling looks and abusive language.

In addition to the sprig of laurel which each soldier wore on his cap, the arm was bound with a white scarf. This might be regarded as a pledge of friendship, or the symbol of adherence to the cause of the Bourbons.

The Federates understood it in the latter sense, and, pursuing the march of the troops, vociferated, "No Bourbons! Down with the Bourbons! The representative government for ever!" To this not a few of them added, "*Vive l' Empereur!*" The allied soldiers endured this with matchless forbearance; but their patience must at length have been exhausted, and some dreadful scene would have followed, had not the national guard interfered, and dispersed the furious and drunken mob.

Some of the Prussians were quartered upon the inhabitants, and a few of them encamped in the Elysian fields; but the whole of the British army encamped under the walls, or on the Boulevards. The English soldiers here maintained that character for honour and discipline, which they had acquired during their march to Paris. No act of atrocity was laid to their charge. The inhabitants of Paris traversed the camp in perfect security, and soon regarded them rather as friends than as conquerors.

In the Prussian quarters, however, a different scene was exhibited. The occupiers of the houses in which they were billeted, were often treated with the greatest brutality; the best apartments in the house were seized; the furniture was wantonly injured or destroyed; provisions of every kind were voraciously consumed, and, when the wretched inhabitant was no longer able to supply their exorbitant demands, his house was completely stripped, and every portable article was carried away and sold.

Where these atrocities were flagrant, the superior officers interfered, and rescued the miserable inhabitants from their oppressors; but, unless the case imperiously demanded interference, it seemed to be adopted as a principle, to retaliate on the French a full share of the sufferings which they had wantonly inflicted on every part of Europe. Blucher avowed his desire of giving the French a thorough experience of the horrors of war; affirming, that this was the only way to cure them of that military mania which had been the dread and the scourge of the world. His answer, therefore, to complainants was, in general, "Let the French remember Prussia, and learn wisdom!"

In some places the conduct of the Prussians was so intolerable, that the Duke of Wellington was compelled to interfere. He warmly remonstrated with Marshal Blucher on the subject, and, not receiving from him any satisfactory assurance, he immediately wrote to the King of Prussia, complaining how much the cause in which they were engaged was disgraced by the enor-

mities committed by his troops. This remonstrance produced some effect, and, after the arrival of the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in Paris, stricter discipline was observed by the foreign troops.

It must be acknowledged, however, that many of the complaints alleged against the Prussians were unjust. A mutual hatred had long subsisted between them and the French. What a British soldier procured easily at the first request, the Prussian could not obtain without menaces or violence. The constant object of the French seemed to be, to tease and harass the Prussians; and the foreigners soon learned to disregard the feelings of the French, and to appropriate to themselves, whatever pleased their fancy, or was necessary to their subsistence.

The following anecdote is calculated to throw much light upon the conduct of the Prussians; and will, no doubt, be acceptable to the reader:—

A Prussian officer expressed a particular wish to be quartered at the house of a lady in the fauxbourg St. Germain. His request was complied with, and, on his arrival at the lady's hotel, he was shewn into a small, but comfortable apartment, with a handsome bed-chamber adjoining. He expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with this accommodation, and required the countess should give up to him the whole of the first floor, which she occupied herself, and which was most elegantly furnished. She remonstrated, but the officer was peremptory, and insisted on being instantly shewn into his new apartments. The countess had no time to remove any of the articles even of her own boudoir, and retired to the second floor.

In a short time, a new message arrived from the Prussian, that he had appropriated the second floor for his aide-de-camp, and that it must be immediately prepared for his reception. This produced an earnest and angry remonstrance from the lady. She urged not only the inhumanity of the requisition, but the impossibility of complying with it. The officer, however, was inexorable, and furiously replied, "Obey my orders, or take the consequences;" and, at the same time, he sent for a file of men from the guard-house.

He now threw himself in his dirty boots on one of the handsome sofas, and, ordering the cook to be summoned, commanded him to prepare an excellent dinner by an appointed hour, as he had invited several of his brother-officers to dine with him, and reminded the butler that the best wines which the cellar afforded must be forthcoming. He now went out, and returned at the appointed hour alone. Dinner was served. He complained that it was execrable, and violently dashed the dishes on the floor. The wine was worse, and bottle after bottle was spilled on the beautiful carpet.

At length, when he had wearied himself and the domestics with his caprice, he ordered that the lady should be summoned to attend him. She was compelled tremblingly to obey. To her astonishment he received her with respect, and addressed her in the following manner:

"You have doubtless, madam, been shocked at the conduct which you have witnessed since my entrance into your house. Have you not thought it disgracefully cruel and barbarous?"

The lady, ignorant to what this tended, and fearing some new insult, hesitated what to reply.

"I beseech you to answer me candidly," he continued, "Have you not deemed me a complete savage?"

"Indeed," answered the lady, "I was not prepared to receive such treatment, and since you will compel me to speak, I *do* think it most disgracefully barbarous."

"Have you not a son, madam, in Prussia?"

"I had a son there, but he has perished."

"No, madam, he has not perished, and I am not the savage whom you imagine. Your son was quartered at the house of my infirm mother. During *three months* he inflicted on *her* the sufferings which *you* have endured in the last *few hours*. I swore to avenge her I have kept my oath. No, madam! I am not the barbarian whom you think. It was with inexpressible reluctance that I schooled myself to act the part which I have done. You will now resume your apartments, and I will seek a lodging elsewhere. Your son will soon be in Paris. Tell him that I meant to have required of him a strict account for the sufferings of my poor mother; but I have avenged her in a nobler way, and I cordially forgive him."

Great numbers of the national guard had expressed their intention of proceeding to St. Denis, to pay their respects to the king, and it was expected that they would return, accompanied by some of the household troops, and occupy the Thuilleries in the name of Louis. Early in the morning several detached bodies of the national guard presented themselves at the barrier of St. Denis, to the amount of two thousand men, and demanded permission to pass. This was readily granted, but they were previously required to deposit their arms at the barrier. To this they objected, and seemed inclined to force their way; but, on finding that a numerous corps of gens-d'armes had been posted there, and were determined to dispute their passage, they deposited their arms, and proceeded to St. Denis.

Having offered their protestations of fidelity to their sovereign, they were requested to return to Paris, with the remark, that they might render an essential service to his majesty by disposing their comrades to welcome

his re-establishment. They accordingly returned in the evening, but were peremptorily refused admittance by order of Massena. He had permitted those who pleased to quit Paris, and he hoped by this means to get rid of every adherent of the Bourbons; but, fearful of treachery, no one was suffered, under any pretence, to enter the gates.

The same evening Fouché had an interview with the Duke of Wellington; when, it seems, the latter stated that the allies wished to respect the independence of the national choice, but that the tranquillity of Europe was an object still more sacred and important;—that, to secure this object, they should deem it their duty, if Louis XVIII. were refused, to require from France those cessions of territory as guarantees, to which the country would not submit without a protracted and sanguinary war; but that if Louis were restored to his throne, they should be satisfied with guarantees which he was already disposed to give, and which would not endanger the peace of France;—that if the nation persisted in refusing to receive the Bourbons, and the attempt to re-establish them would produce a considerable effusion of blood, they were willing to abandon the cause of the king; but that being now in possession of the capital, and able to overawe without bloodshed every attempt at resistance there, and believing that the nation would peaceably follow the example of the metropolis; believing, likewise, that Louis was sincerely disposed to devote himself to the happiness of France; and regarding the peace of Europe and the world as inseparably connected with his restoration, they were resolved to endeavour to replace him on the throne.

Fouché complained of the breach of those promises which had been made so solemnly and repeatedly by the allies; yet he felt himself constrained to acknowledge that, in the present circumstances of France and Europe, the only hope of a permanent peace depended on the return of the Bourbons, and, since their return could alone preserve the integrity of France, he expressed his willingness to assist in accomplishing that object.

He then required that Louis should give his solemn assent to the constitution, on the arrangement of which the representatives were then employed. But to this it was replied, that no middle course could be pursued. That if Louis were restored by the allies, he must be restored unconditionally, and restricted only by his own declarations, or by the virtuous intentions of his mind. To this argument Fouché might probably have replied in strong terms; but, on learning from Lord Wellington that he would be permitted to retain, under Louis, the situation which he had filled during the usurpation of Buonaparte, he laid aside all his scruples.

Astonishment is naturally excited by the reflection, that, after all he had seen and experienced, Louis should thus agree, a second time, to take his brother's murderer by the hand, and ally himself with one of the most active ministers of Buonaparte, and who had been indefatigable in upholding the power of that monster as long as it was possible. It must, however, be acknowledged, that no man was so well acquainted with the principles, views, and connexions, of all the different parties,—no man so well knew all the ramifications of the late conspiracy,—no man could therefore so readily point out the real friends of the government and their country, or so promptly and effectually warn the Bourbons of every danger by which they were menaced. And these considerations were calculated to influence the mind of the king, who was aware that his family did not possess the affections of the nation, and that the violent manner in which his restoration was effected would increase the general disaffection.

At four o'clock in the morning, the conference terminated, and it was resolved that the provisional government should publicly announce the intentions of the allies, and dissolve itself. Fouché conceived that their example would be peaceably followed by both the chambers, and that the king might, on the following day, enter his capital without opposition.

As soon as the chambers assembled, the following communication was made from the provisional government:

"Mr. President,

"Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances at their return.

"The ministers and generals of the allied powers, however, declared yesterday in the conferences they had with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. upon the throne; and that he is to make his entrance into the capital this evening or to-morrow.

"Foreign troops have just occupied the Thuilleries, where the government is sitting.

"In this state of affairs, we can only express our wishes for the country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

"The Marshal Prince of Essling, and the Prefect of the Seine, have been charged to watch over the maintenance of public order, safety, and tranquillity.

"The Duke of Otranto.
"Count Grenier.
"Quinette.
"Carnot.
"Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza."

The chamber of peers was overwhelmed with confusion and dismay. For some moments the members gazed on each other in profound silence, and then, as if actuated by one common feeling, they rose from their seats, and quitted the hall.

In the chamber of representatives the message was received very differently. After a short pause, M. Manuel presented himself in the tribune, and proposed that the chamber should continue its sitting, and await the result. "Gentlemen," said he, "this event was not foreseen, but it ought not to occasion any change in your conduct. One of two things will happen, either the enemy will respect your independence,—and if the words of kings are not vain, all hope will not be precluded,—or they will forget what they have declared, and expel the national representation from this place. To shew, therefore, that we are worthy of the confidence of our constituents, let us remain at our post, and leave to other hands the odious task of dispersing the representatives of France. These expressions once electrified France and Europe; let us repeat them a second time, "We were sent hither by our constituents, and nothing but bayonets shall remove us."

"Bravo! Bravo! Yes! Yes!" resounded from all parts of the assembly.

Count Regnault presented himself, and spoke to the following effect:

"You have recently placed yourselves under the safeguard of the nation. That declaration requires now to be modified. You are guarded by a handful of brave citizens; and if you are permitted, if you are ordered to die at your posts, they ought to be spared all danger. Declare, therefore, that the guard placed at the gates of your palace is only a guard of honour, and that, if any armed force presents itself, it shall be ordered to make no resistance."

This motion was unanimously adopted; and the assembly, having passed to the order of the day, began coolly to debate the question, whether, under the new constitution which they were framing, the peerage should be hereditary, and, at their usual hour of breaking up, they adjourned until eight o'clock on the following morning.

No sooner was it announced that the provisional government had dissolved itself, and that Louis would make his public entry on the morrow, than crowds of persons hastened to St. Denis, to congratulate the king on his return. The vagabonds of the suburbs, however, unawed by the dread of their sovereign's vengeance, and undismayed by the foreign bayonets which surrounded them, hastened to the gates, and insulted every one who appeared to be going to, or returning from, St. Denis. As soon as the loyal citizens had passed the gates, they mounted the white cockade; but this badge of fidelity was not permitted to appear within the walls of the capital. All who attempted to enter the gates, adorned with these ribands, were grossly insulted and violently attacked; several were severely injured, and some were actually murdered.

One respectable citizen was returning in his carriage with his family. He had neglected to conceal his cockade on his approach to the city, and his daughters wore white ribands in their head-dress and bosoms. This excited the most savage fury in the mob. They violently tore him from his carriage, dragged him to a lamp-post, and would have put him to death, had not a strong party of the national guard hastened to his assistance.

These outrages, however, were entirely confined to the very dregs of society. The more respectable citizens looked on in silence, and awaited the result of the morrow; though it was too evident that loyalty was at a low ebb among the former passive slaves of Napoleon. Few countenances beamed with joy; a general gloom prevailed; and the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" was heard from comparatively few voices, and was immediately drowned by the vociferations of "No Bourbons! The Nation for ever!"

In the course of the evening, the following order was issued by the new commander of the national guard:

"*To the Chief of the Eleventh Legion.*

"Sir,

"I inform you that the king's intention is, that the illegal assemblies formed in his absence should no longer meet. His majesty, therefore, charges you with the command of the palace of the Luxembourg. You will place, at day-light, posts there, and take every measure necessary to prevent assemblages.

(Signed) "Count Dessolles."

At an early hour the next morning, the representatives began to assemble at the doors of their hall: but every avenue was occupied by picquets of the national guard, who firmly, though respectfully, refused all admittance. Some of the members remonstrated with the soldiers on their conduct, reminding them that the protection of the assembly had been especially committed to the national guard of Paris, and that they little expected to find them the willing instruments of their dispersion. One of the guard replied, that "the only question which he had to consider was how he might obey the commands of his superior officer; that officer had ordered him to suffer no person to pass; and if the gentlemen were dissatisfied, they must make their complaint at the head-quarters."

A numerous crowd now began to collect around the doors of the hall, and, with the characteristic versatility of Frenchmen, the very persons who had, on the preceding day, vociferated, "The Representatives for ever!" regardless of the Prussian and English bayonets by which they were surrounded, now amused themselves with the surprise and vexation which the deputies expressed as they arrived in succession at the doors of the hall. Each member was saluted with a shout on his approach, and with a peal of laughter on his departure, if his countenance betrayed the least mortification.

Although the deputies were unable to resist the mandate by which the doors of their hall were closed upon them, they determined not to separate without protesting against the injustice of the proceeding. Accordingly, about a hundred members repaired to the house of Lanjuinais, and drew up the following declaration:

"In the sittings of yesterday, the chamber of representatives passed to the order of the day on the message by which the provisional committee gave notice that it had terminated its functions. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the constitution which it had pledged itself to frame, and, when its sittings were suspended, adjourned to this day, the eighth of July, at eight o'clock in the morning.

"In consequence of this adjournment, the members of the chamber of representatives repaired to the usual place of their meeting. But the gates of the palace being closed, the avenues being guarded by a military force, and the officers who commanded it having declared that they had received peremptory orders not to grant admittance to any of the members, the undersigned members of the chamber have assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there they have formed, and signed, individually, the present proces-verbal to authenticate the above facts.

"*8th July*, 1815." Signed, &c.

"In this affair," says a contemporary historian, "the chamber had no real cause for complaint; and, in persisting to assemble after the provisional government had dissolved itself, and after the peers had separated, they compelled the monarch to resort to an ungracious proceeding, for it was unquestionable that, when he again became king, *de facto*, he could not consent to the existence of an assembly convened by the usurper, and which had distinguished itself by such spirited opposition to the return of the legitimate sovereign. No right would have been compromised by a silent submission to irresistible necessity; no advantage could be gained by this act of obstinate defiance. In justice to Louis it must be added, that he adopted the least objectionable method of dissolving them. It was less offensive to close the door against their assembling, than to send a file of soldiers among them with orders forcibly to disperse them."

The dispersion of the chambers was immediately followed by the removal of the tri-coloured flag, and the erection of the white standard of the Bourbons on the towers of Paris. The barriers, also, were thrown open, and it was announced that the king would make his entry in the afternoon.

Paris immediately poured out its immense population. Every person, who possessed the meanest carriage, hastened to St. Denis, to behold and to augment the procession, while immense crowds of pedestrians thronged every street from the Thuilleries to the barriers of St. Denis, and thence to La Chapelle; and almost to St. Denis the road was crowded almost to suffocation. No troops had been appointed to clear the way, or to preserve order, yet no tumult occurred, and the only inconvenience which happened was the apparent impossibility for the royal procession to pass.

At two o'clock his majesty's approach was announced; when the populace, who before seemed to be wedged almost without the power of moving, opened to the right and left, and made a narrow but sufficient passage. First came the national guards of Paris, to the number of fourteen thousand: these were followed by the household troops, who had accompanied Louis in his retreat, or who had gradually collected around him during his abode at Ghent. Next came the king, attended by his ministers, and by the Count D'Artois and the Duke de Berri; a regiment of officers followed, whose loyalty had remained unshaken amidst the shameful disaffection of the army. Each wore his proper uniform as colonel, major, captain, or subaltern, but each likewise had his musket on his shoulder, and his knapsack at his back like a private soldier. A long train of coaches, chariots, cabriolets, and carts of all descriptions, closed the procession, the whole of which did not enter Paris until nearly six o'clock.

Count Chabrot, prefect of the Seine, accompanied by the municipal corps, waited for his majesty at the barrier of St. Denis; and, on the royal carriage reaching the exterior inclosure of the city, the prefect addressed the monarch to the following effect:

"SIRE!

"One hundred days have elapsed since the fatal moment when your majesty, forced to do violence to the dearest affections, quitted your capital amidst the tears and consternation of the public. In vain did the municipal body of your good city of Paris raise the una-

nimous cry of faithful subjects. They announced to all Frenchmen the imminent misfortunes with which they were threatened. But there are moments in which Heaven does not permit the voice of magistrates to be heard. It was not in their power to prevent a too-fatal distraction.

"The outrages of passion, and trouble destructive of public repose,—the cessation of commerce and industry,—the removal of so many persons whose labour was necessary for agriculture and the arts,—the exhaustion of treasure,—in fine, civil war and foreign invasion, brought about by the force of circumstances, came all at once upon your people.

"Heaven, sire! is charged with vengeance, and restores you only to pardon us. Your majesty interposes between Europe and your people, to give them peace, and to reconcile them once more to all nations. Your majesty will hasten to gather together and re-unite the dispersed elements of the political body. The passions are now calmed in all generous hearts, the voice of reason is heard, and love of our country and our king will complete the rest. A period of twenty-five years, marked by so many vicissitudes, and, like all epochs of history by glory and reverses, cannot be preferred to the recollection of eight centuries which have revolved under the sceptre of our kings, counted by long intervals of prosperity, and by the moderation and the bounty of the sovereigns of your august dynasty.

"Frenchmen, in every part of the kingdom, if the example of the capital, which has always been of such great weight, can still guide you, you will see it on the day which has followed these storms, calm amidst the numerous efforts which have been made to agitate it, forgetting all discords, abjuring the spirit of party, and hastening around a king, who, as a first pledge of his return, has proclaimed new guarantees for your happiness, and the establishment of institutions calculated to secure a wise liberty and the welfare of France. Let us protest to him, according to the wish of his heart, that the passions are about to be tranquillized, that the children of the great family are about to unite to approach him, and will henceforth only have one rallying cry."

To this address Louis replied,—"In removing from Paris, I experienced feelings of the deepest sorrow and regret. Testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me. I return to it with a heart impressed by sentiments of compassion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened, and it is my present wish to prevent and repair them."

The procession then moved on across the fauxbourg St. Denis, and the Boulevards; and the king's carriage was gradually surrounded by the municipal body of Paris, and by the marshals of the empire. As it proceeded, handkerchiefs were waved from every window, and acclamations resounded from every voice; and, at five o'clock, his majesty entered the Thuilleries, amidst shouts as loud and universal as those which marked the entrance of the usurper one hundred days before.

During the whole of the evening the garden of the Thuilleries was thronged, and the acclamations seemed truly enthusiastic. Every walk, and every lawn, were occupied by groups of dancers, and every itinerant musician found full employment. After some time, the king came down into the garden, but the populace pressed so eagerly around him, and expressed their joy in so frantic a way, that he was compelled to retire into the palace. He then appeared at one of the balconies, and exhibited himself to the public for more than half an hour. At night the whole city was illuminated, and the inhabitants seemed to vie with each other in the variety and brilliancy of the devices.

For the following remarks, on the conduct of the Parisians at this time, we are indebted to a historian of great respectability:

"Is this account of the ardent loyalty and irrepressible enthusiasm of the Parisians, consistent with the rapturous expressions of attachment to Napoleon at the Champ de Mai? or can it be reconciled with the execrations with which the Bourbons were loaded on the preceding evening, and the indignation which the appearance of a white cockade at the barriers excited in no inconsiderable proportion of the population? In no other city but Paris, among no other people but Frenchmen, could these strangely contradictory scenes occur: but to him who is acquainted with the character of the people, and versed in the history of the revolution, these circumstances will occasion no surprise.

"It has since too plainly appeared that this apparent enthusiasm afforded no proof of the affection of the French, nor even of the sincerity of the Parisians. Many of those who were active in this scene of extravagance, sincerely welcomed the return of the Bourbons, from honest attachment to the cause of royalty and legitimacy, and from unfeigned respect for the benevolent and virtuous character of the sovereign; others welcomed the Bourbons as a security from the excesses of the foreign troops, two days experience of which had almost driven them to despair; they trusted that the property and the lives of his subjects would not be outraged in the very presence of the sovereign;—many more were indifferent to the form of government and the reigning prince, but, in present circumstances, peace with Europe, and deliverance

from foreign invasion, seemed intimately and inseparably connected with the return of the legitimate government: and a very great proportion wished to palliate their former opposition, and to ingratiate themselves with the family which they could no longer resist, by the expression of sentiments to which their hearts were strangers. The hypocritical enthusiasm of these wretches was violent in proportion to the punishment which they dreaded, or the hatred which they felt. To these may be added another class of persons, not less numerous than either of the former, who, with true Parisian feelings, saw, in the entrance of the monarch, only an amusing spectacle, into the spirit of which they fully entered, and which gave them a day of recreation and pleasure, as the former entrance of the allied monarchs, the entrance of Louis, the return of Napoleon, and the ceremony of the Champ de Mai, had done before."

From the Second Restoration of Louis XVIII. to the Deportation of Napoleon Buonaparte to St. Helena.

LOUIS, being again re-seated on the throne of his ancestors, announced the nomination of his ministers on the 9th of July, through the medium of the Moniteur, as will appear from the following extract from that journal:

"*Paris, July 9.*

"His majesty has decided on the forms, which, in the constitutional system of his government, appear applicable to the administration he has adopted for France. That administration shall, in its superior part, be composed of a privy council and a council of ministers. In the privy council, the princes, the ministers of state, and the persons whom his majesty may think proper to call thereto, have seats. This council, which will only assemble by special convocation, will afford a mean for discussing before the king, in a solemn manner, a certain portion of affairs, and will, at the same time, give his majesty the opportunity of recompensing services performed, and persons for whom he may have a particular favour, the number of the members of the council not being fixed. Next to this council shall be that of the responsible ministers, which can consist only of ministers, secretaries of state, having departments.

"LOUIS, *by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, health.*

"Wishing to give to our ministry a character of unity and solidity, which may inspire all our subjects with a just confidence, we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:—

"The Prince of Talleyrand, peer of France, is appointed president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs; Baron Louis, secretary of state for the finances; the Duke of Otranto, secretary of state for the department of general police; Baron Pasquier, secretary of state for the department of justice, and keeper of the seals; Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, peer of France, secretary of state for the department of war; the Count de Jaucour, peer of France, minister-secretary of state for the marine department; the Duke de Richelieu, peer of France, secretary of state for the department of the household. The portfolio of the minister of the interior shall be provisionally confided to the minister of justice.

"Given at Paris, on the 9th of July, in the year of grace, 1815, and the twenty-first of our reign.

(Signed) "LOUIS.

"By the king. "The Prince TALLEYRAND."

The same journal contained the following

ORDINANCE OF THE KING.

"LOUIS, *by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre,*

"Desiring to restore their true names to the ancient public edifices of our good city of Paris, and to give to the new ones such names as may recal only times of reconciliation and peace, or those of particular utility to the inhabitants. We ordain as follows:—

"1. The squares (places), bridges, and public edifices of our good city of Paris, shall resume the names

which they bore on the 1st of January, 1790, and every inscription to the contrary shall be effaced.

"2. The bridge which leads from the street De la Concorde, and the place Louis XV. to the palace of the legislative body, shall resume its ancient name of Bridge of Louis XVI.; that which leads from the palace of the Thuilleries to the street du Bai, its name of Pont Royal; that which leads from the Quai des Bons Hommes to the Champ de Mars, shall take the name of *Pont des Invalids;* that which leads from La Ropee to Jardin du Roi, shall take the name of Pont du Jardin du Roi.

"Our minister of the interior is charged with the execution of our present ordinance.

"Given at Paris, the 9th day of the month of July, in the year of grace, 1815, and the twenty-first of our reign.

(Signed) "LOUIS.

"By the king. "Prince TALLEYRAND."

The next documents of importance, which appeared, relative to the submission of the French army, announced the following:

THE MARSHAL PRINCE OF ECKMUHL, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE LOIRE, TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MAX. LAMARQUE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE LOIRE.

"*Orleans, July* 11, 1815.

"The army, on quitting Paris, and retiring behind the Loire, according to the terms of the convention of the 3d of July, left near the provisional government commissioners appointed to require instructions, in case a new government should be established. These commissioners, in rendering an account to the army of the late events of the capital, and the entrance of the king, have informed me of the overtures which have been made to them to induce the army to recognise that its union with the system of the government could alone prevent the dissolution of the state. The commissioners, in their communications, give the assurance, that, under a constitutional government, no re-action is to be feared; that the passions will be neutralized; that the ministry will be one and responsible; that men and principles will be respected; that arbitrary dismissals shall not take place either in the army, or in other orders of society; and, finally, the army *shall be treated conformably to its honour:* these are the terms transmitted by the commissioners. As a pledge and a proof of what they advance, they state, as a certainty, that Marshal St. Cyr is appointed minister of war; that the Duke of Otranto is minister of police, and that he only accepts this office with the assurance that the government will proceed in a spirit of moderation and wisdom, of which he himself has always given the example. On these conditions, national interests ought freely to unite the army to the king. These interests require sacrifices; they should be made willingly, with a modest energy; the army subsisting, the army united will become, should our misfortunes increase, the centre and rallying point of all Frenchmen, even of the most violent royalists. Every one must feel that union and the oblivion of all dissensions can alone effect the salvation of France, which will become impossible, should hesitation, difference of opinion, or private considerations bring dissolution to the army, either by its own means, or those of foreign force. Let us unite, then—let us never separate. The Vendeans have given us a touching example; they have written to us, offering to lay aside all resentments, and to unite with us in the patriotic wish of preventing all dismemberment of the country. Let us be Frenchmen: you know that this sentiment always reigned exclusively in my soul: it will only leave me with my last breath. In this name I demand your confidence: I am sure of meriting and obtaining it.

(Signed) "The marshal commander-in-chief,

"The Prince of ECKMUHL."

The following is a translation of the address to the king, which was transmitted by the army of the Loire:

"SIRE!

"The army, unanimous in its views and affections, in order to be brought to a free and simple submission to your majesty's government, has no need either of receiving any private impulse, or of altering its spirits or sentiments; it is enough for it to consult the sentiments that have animated it under all circumstances, and the spirit which guided it during the last twenty-five years of political storms.

"Its opinions, its acts, the conduct of each of its members, always had for their actuating cause that love of country, ardent, deep, exclusive, capable of every effort, of every sacrifice, respectable even in its errors and wanderings, which at all times commanded the esteem of Europe, and which secures to us that of posterity.

"The generals, the officers, and the soldiers, who now surround their colours, and who are attached to them with the greatest constancy and love, even when they are most unfortunate, are not men who can be accused of regretting private advantages. To other thoughts, therefore, to motives more dignified and noble, must be ascribed the silence which the army has hitherto kept.

"From the lowest soldier to the officer of highest rank, the French army numbers in its ranks only citi-

zens, sons, or fathers of citizens: it is intimately connected with the nation; it cannot separate its cause from that of the French people; it adopts with them, it adopts sincerely, the government of your majesty; it will cause the happiness of France, by a generous and complete oblivion of all that is past, by effacing every trace of dissension, by respecting the rights of all.

"Convinced of this truth, full of respect and confidence in the sentiments expressed by your majesty, the army swears to you, with entire submission, a fidelity, proof against all trial; it will shed its blood in fulfilment of the oaths which it this day pronounces, to defend the king and France.

[Here follow the signatures.]

"*Head-Quarters, near Orleans, July* 14, 1815.

(A true copy.) "The Prince of ECKMUHL, Marshal of France, commanding the armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees."

The following order of the day was then sent by the commander-in-chief to the army of the Loire:

"*Fauxbourg d'Orleans, July* 16, 1815.

"Soldiers!—I communicate to you, by an order of the day, the submission which the generals and officers of the army, of which the command is confided to me, have made to the government of Louis XVIII.

"It is to you, soldiers, to complete this submission by your obedience; hoist the white cockade and colours.

"I demand from you, I know, a great sacrifice; we have all been connected with the national colours for these twenty-five years: but the interests of our country command this sacrifice.

"I am incapable, soldiers, of giving you an order which should not be founded on these sentiments, or which should be at variance with honour.

"Last year, under similar circumstances, the government of our country having changed, I defended Hamburgh and Harburgh to the last moment, in the name of Louis XVIII., listening then, as I do now, only to the interests of our country.

"All my countrymen have applauded my conduct; a fine army has been preserved to France; not a soldier has quitted his ranks, knowing that he serves his country, whatever be its government, and that an army cannot deliberate.

"Soldiers! continue the same conduct; defend our unhappy country in the name of Louis XVIII. This monarch, and all our fellow-countrymen, will feel themselves obliged to us for so doing; we will make common cause with those brave Vendeans who have just set us an affecting example, declaring that they would join us to fight the enemies of France; and you will, moreover, have preserved a brave and numerous army for the country.

"I expect of you the same state of discipline of which you have given proofs since your departure from Paris.

"The Marshal commander-in-chief of the armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees,

(Signed) "The Prince of ECKMUHL.

(A true copy.)

"The Lieutenant-general commanding a division of the army of the Loire, and superior commandant of the twenty-second military division,

"AUBERT."

In the mean time, a new chamber of deputies was convened by the following ordinance:

"LOUIS, *by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting:*

"We announced that it was our intention to propose to the chambers a law to regulate the elections of the deputies of the departments. Our design was to modify, agreeably to the lesson of experience, and the well known wish of the nation, several articles of the charter, relative to the conditions of eligibility, the number of the deputies, and some other dispositions concerning the formation of the chambers, the origination of the laws, and the mode of its deliberations.

"Unfortunate events having interrupted the session of the two chambers, we have thought, that now the number of the deputies of the departments is much too small for the nation to be adequately represented; it is of especial importance, in such circumstances, that the national representation should be numerous,—that its powers should be renewed,—that they should more immediately emanate from the electoral colleges,—that, in short, the elections should serve to express the actual opinion of our subjects.

"We have therefore determined to dissolve the chamber of deputies, and to convoke a new one without delay; but, as the mode of the elections has not been regulated by law, any more than the modifications to be made in the charter, we have thought it right to enable the nation to enjoy from the present moment the advantages which it ought to derive from a representation more numerous and less restricted in the conditions of eligibility. But desirous, nevertheless, that no modification in the charter shall in any case become

definitive, but according to the constitutional forms, the dispositions of the present ordinance shall be the first subject of the deliberations of the chambers. The legislative power, collectively, shall decide upon the law of elections, upon the changes to be made in the charter in this part, changes of which we here assume the origination in such points only as are the most indispensable and the most urgent, at the same time that we impose upon ourselves the obligation to adhere as closely as possible to the charter, and the forms previously in use.

"For these causes, we have declared and declare, we have ordered and order, as follows:

"Art. I. The chamber of the deputies is dissolved.

"II. The electoral colleges of arrondissement shall meet on the 14th of August next.

"III. The electoral colleges of the departments shall meet eight days after the opening of the colleges of the arrondissement.

"IV. The number of deputies of the departments is fixed conformably to the annexed table.

"V. Each electoral college of arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of the deputies of the department.

"VI. Our prefects shall transmit to the president of the electoral college of the department the lists of candidates proposed by the electoral colleges of arrondissements, which lists shall be furnished them by the presidents of these colleges.

"VII. The electoral colleges of departments shall elect at least half of the deputies from among these candidates. If the total number of the deputies of the department be unequal, the division shall be made to the advantage of the portion which is to be chosen from among the candidates.

"VIII. The electors of the colleges of arrondissements shall be qualified to sit, provided they have attained the age of twenty-one years. The electors of the colleges of departments shall be qualified to sit at the same age, but they must have been chosen from the list of those who pay most taxes.

"IX. If the number of the members of the legion of honour, who, agreeably to the act of the 22d of February, 1806, may be adjoined to the colleges of arrondissements and departments, is not complete, our prefects may, on the application of the members of the legion, propose new adjunctions, which shall be provisionally carried into execution. At the same time, all members of the legion admitted to the electoral colleges of the departments must, agreeably to Art. 40 of the charter, pay at least eight hundred francs in direct contribution. All adjunctions made since the 1st of March are null and illegal.

"X. The deputies may be elected at the age of twenty-five years.

"XI. Conformably to the laws and anterior regulations, every election which shall not be attended by one more than the half of the college, shall be void. The absolute majority out of the members present is necessary for the validity of the election.

"XII. If the electoral colleges of arrondissement should not have completed the election of the number of candidates which they are empowered to choose, the college of department shall nevertheless proceed in its operations.

"XIII. The reports of elections shall be examined at the chamber of deputies, which shall decide on the regularity of the elections. The deputies elected shall produce to the chamber the register of their birth, and a statement of their contributions, to prove that they pay taxes to the amount of at least one thousand francs.

"XIV. The articles 18, 25, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46, of the charter, shall be submitted to the revision of the legislative power, in the next session of the chambers.

"XV. The present ordinance shall be printed, and posted in the place of meeting of each of the electoral colleges.

"The articles of the charter above mentioned shall be printed along with it."

This ordinance was succeeded by others, respecting the punishment of the principal traitors concerned in the second usurpation of Buonaparte: they were to the following effect:—

"Louis, *by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greeting:*

"An account has been laid before us, that several members of the chamber of peers accepted seats in the self-styled chamber of peers, nominated and assembled by the man who had usurped the power in our states, from the 20th of March, up to our re-entrance into the kingdom. It is beyond doubt that peers of France, so long as they are not made hereditary, could and can give in their demission, because, in so doing, they only dispose of interests which are purely personal to them. It is equally evident that the acceptance of functions, incompatible with the dignity with which they are invested, supposes and leads to the demission of that dignity, and consequently the peers who are in the situation above announced, have really abdicated their rank, and have, in fact, demitted the peerage of France.

"For these causes we have ordained, and do ordain, as follows:

"Art. I. The under-named no longer form part of the chamber of peers:

"Count Clement de Ris, Count Cornudet, Count D'Abouville, Marshal Duke of Dantzic, Count de Croix, Count Dedelay d'Agier, Count Dejean, Count Febre de l'Aude, Count Gassenui, Count Lacepede, Count Latour Maubourg, Duke de Praslin, Duke de Plaisance, Marshal Duke of Elchingen, Marshal Duke of Albufera, Marshal Duke of Conegliano, Marshal Duke of Treviso, Count Barral, Archbishop of Tours, Count Boissy d'Anglas, Duke of Cadore, Count Canclaux, Count Casabianca, Count Montesquiou, Count Pontecoulant, Count Rampon, Count Segur, Count Valence, Count Belliard.

"II. Those, however, of the above-named, may be excepted from this arrangement, who shall prove that they have neither sat, nor wished to sit, in the self-styled chamber of peers, to which they were summoned, they being bound to prove this within a month after the publication of the present ordinance.

"III. Our president of the council of ministers is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

"Given at the Thuilleries, this 24th of July, in the year of grace, 1815, and of our reign the twenty-first.

(Signed) "LOUIS.

"By the king. "Prince TALLEYRAND."

"LOUIS, *by the grace of God*, &c.

"Wishing, by the punishment of an outrage without example, but by graduating the penalty and limiting the number of the guilty, to conciliate the interest of our people, the dignity of our crown, and the tranquillity of Europe, with what we owe to justice and the entire security of all other citizens without distinction,

"We have declared and do declare, ordained and do ordain, as follows:

"Art. I. The generals and officers who betrayed the king before the 23d of March, or who attacked France and the government with force and arms, and those who by violence gained possession of power, shall be arrested and brought before competent courts-martial, in their respective divisions; namely:—Ney, Labedoyere, the two brothers Lallemand, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton-Duvernot, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, Lavalette, Rovigo.

"II. The individuals whose names follow:—Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Fressinet, Carnot, Lobau, Harel, Barrere, Pommereuil, Arrighi (of Padua), Garrau, Bouvier Dumolard, Merlin (of Douay), Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Garnier de Saintes, Hullin, Courtin, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Mehée, Thibaudeau, Vandamme, Lamarque (General), Le Lorgne-Dideville, Piré, Arnaolt, Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), Dejean, jun., Réal, Durbach, Dirat, Felix Desportes, Mellinet, Cloys, Forbin Janson (the elder son), shall, within three days, depart from the city of Paris, and shall retire into the interior of France, to the places which our minister of general police shall indicate to them, where they shall remain under his superinspection, until the chambers decide as to which of them ought either to depart the kingdom, or be delivered up to prosecutions before the tribunals. Those who shall not repair to the spot assigned to them by our minister of general police, shall be immediately arrested.

"III. The individuals condemned to depart the kingdom shall be at liberty to sell their goods and property within a year's interval, to dispose of and transport the produce out of France, and, in the mean time, to receive the revenue in foreign parts, on furnishing proof of their obedience to the present ordinance.

"IV. The lists of all the individuals to whom articles 1 and 2 may apply, are and remain closed with the nominal designations contained in these articles, and can never be extended to others for any cause, or under any pretext whatever, otherwise than in the forms and according to the constitutional laws, from which there is nothing expressly derogated but in this case only.

"Given at Paris, this 24th of July, 1815, &c.

(Signed) "LOUIS.

"By the king. "The Duke of OTRANTO,

"Minister-secretary of state for the general police."

The first person who was brought to justice, in consequence of the promulgation of these ordinances, was Colonel Labedoyere; of whose trial the following particulars were related in the Paris journals:

"*Paris, August* 15.

"Though the day fixed for Colonel Labedoyere's trial was not yet known, though several newspapers had positively stated that it was to commence on Wednesday, yesterday morning a great crowd besieged the doors of the council of war, and formed a double row from the prison of the Abbaye to the place where the council sits in the Rue du Cherche-Midi. It was remarked that Labedoyere had given the first example of the criminal desertion which had had such fatal results, and by a concurrence of circumstances, which it seemed could not be entirely attributed to chance, he was the first brought before justice to expiate his crime. It was late before the court met, and it was reported that the trial would be put off to another day. There was a report of an attempt having been made

yesterday morning, or on the evening before, to favour the prisoner's escape. It appears certain, that an offer had been made to the gaoler of the Abbaye of ninety thousand francs, and that the person who undertook this indiscreet and dangerous negotiation, having been arrested by the police, has already undergone a first examination.

"By nine in the morning, many strangers of distinction, among whom were the hereditary Prince of Orange, the Prince Royal of Wurtemburg, Prince William of Prussia, and a greater number of persons than the hall of the council of war could contain, had assembled to hear this trial. M. Berthier de Sauvigny was president of the tribunal.

"At eleven o'clock the court was formed, and the proceedings commenced. M. Viotti, *capitaine-rapporteur*, in the absence of the accused, read the documents connected with the charges against Charles Angelique Huchet de Labedoyere, aged twenty-nine; M. Bexon, the prisoner's counsel, being present.

"The first paper read was an order from Lieutenant-General Maison, dated August 8, for bringing to trial M. de Labedoyere, accused of *treason*, *rebellion*, and *military seduction*.

"From the first examination before M. de Cazes, prefect of the police, it appeared that the accused had left Riom after the submission of General Excelman's corps, which he had joined, without, however, doing any duty therein. On arriving at Charters, in a stage-coach, he hired a carriage, which conveyed him to Paris, where he repaired to the house of Madam de Fonteries, a friend of his family.

"The first plan of the accused was to have taken refuge in America. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, he procured a letter of credit for fifty-five thousand francs on Philadelphia. On being informed of the king's ordinance, dated July 24, he considered that it would be difficult for him to embark, or even to go to Switzerland. He therefore repaired to Paris, without any other intention than that of consulting his family respecting his ultimate destination. In the course of the investigation, he observed, that he would perhaps have surrendered himself, and appeared voluntarily before the council of war.

"The prefect asked him why he had not followed the example of General Excelmans and his troops, in assuming the white cockade?

"The prisoner replied, that he was travelling in the dress of a citizen; had it not been for that, he would not have hesitated to have worn the white cockade.

"In answer to interrogatories respecting the events of the month of March, he protested that he had no sort of intercourse with the Isle of Elba; that he had never been present at any meeting in which the recal of Buonaparte had been agitated. He had, indeed, often heard vague suggestions, and some expressions of discontent, but he knew nothing of any determined plot.

"*Q.* Did you participate in their discontents?

"*A.* I did on certain points. I had nothing personally to complain of; I had obtained nothing from the king, but I had done nothing for him.

"*Q.* What could induce you to violate your oaths to the king, and to join Buonaparte, for the purpose of overthrowing his majesty's government?

"*A.* The answer to that question belongs to my defence before the council of war.

"In this examination the prisoner simply designated himself a *military person;* but, before the *capitaine-rapporteur*, he called himself a *general officer*, officer of the Legion of Honour, and of the Iron Crown. The following is an extract from the latter examination:

"*Q.* Why do you call yourself a general officer?

"*A.* Because that rank was given me, on the 20th of March last, by the emperor. I have no knowledge of the king's ordinance relative to officers in my situation.

"*Q.* Did not General Devilliers, on the 7th of March, make representations to you to prevent you from joining Napoleon, and to remind you of your family-connexions, and the interest of the country?

"*A.* I formed my resolution according to my country's interests, such as it appeared to me in the existing state of things.

"*Q.* Are you the author of a proclamation from the seventh regiment of the line to their brethren in arms?

"*A.* Yes; the seventh and eleventh of the line, the fourth horse-artillery, and the third sappers, having made addresses, the major-general (Bertrand) requested me to publish one also.

"After this interrogatory, the prisoner said, 'I should wish to have all persons called as witnesses, who can give precise information on the circumstances which preceded and followed this transaction. The law permits witnesses to be heard for the verification of facts; does it not also authorise their examination as to the legitimacy of facts?'

"After these papers had been read, the prisoner was introduced.

"*President.*—What are your names, your age, your rank, and the place of your birth?

"*A.* I am called Charles Angelique Francois Huchet de Labedoyere; I am twenty-nine years of age, a general officer, and a native of Paris.

"*Q.* What rank did you hold on the 1st of March, 1815?

"*A.* I was lieutenant-colonel of the seventh regiment of the line.

"*Q.* From whom did you hold your commission?

"*A.* From the king.

"*Q.* What flag did your regiment receive?

"*A.* A white flag, ornamented with *fleur-de-lis.*

"*Q.* Where was the flag received?

"*A.* At Chambery; I was not present.

"*Q.* An oath was taken with the flag?

"*A.* I suppose so; I was not there.

"*Q.* What decorations had you?

"*A.* I was an officer of the Legion of Honour, and a knight of the Iron Crown.

"*Q.* Had you not likewise the Cross of St. Louis?

"*A.* I never received the Cross of St. Louis.

"*Q.* Where did you learn the embarkation of Buonaparte?

"*A.* At Chambery, where I received from Field-marshal Devilliers orders to proceed with my regiment to Grenoble.

"*Q.* Where was your regiment placed?

"*A.* It bivouacked on the ramparts.

"*Q.* By what order did it quit its post to proceed towards Gap, by which route Buonaparte arrived?

"*A.* By no order, except mine.

"*Q.* What word did you give on ordering the regiment to march forward?

"*A.* Vive l'Empereur.

"*Q.* When did you present the eagle to your regiment?

"*A.* On quitting the fauxbourg of Grenoble.

"*Q.* Did you not tear off your white cockade, and assume the tri-coloured one?

"*A.* No; I had no tri-coloured cockade.

"*Q.* Did not General Devilliers hasten after you, and use both persuasive and authoritative measures to bring you to your duty?

"*A.* Yes; General Devilliers spoke to me of the bonds which I was breaking, and the probable consequences of my proceeding: but I answered that the interest of my country prevailed over all other considerations.

"Labedoyere here wished to submit to the council an observation connected with his interrogatory. 'The law,' said he, 'ordains the hearing of witnesses concerning the fact; it is silent on the hearing of witnesses relative to the circumstances which might have determined or brought about such or such an action; but it orders that military prisoners should be tried by the councils of war of their respective divisions, in order to facilitate to them the means of moral justification in the very places where the crime imputed to them may have been committed: the last ordinance of his majesty appears to deprive prisoners of the benefit of the law; can they demand it? This is the question which I wish to submit to the council.'

"The tribunal proceeded to the hearing of the witnesses.

"Count de l'Agoult, field-marshal, and major-colonel of the body-guard; Messieurs J. B. Felix Bouret; Hyppolite Andrie, advocate of Grenoble; Henri Ducrouy, a royal chasseur: deposed, some as ocular witnesses, and others on hearsay evidence, the following facts:—M. de Labedoyere, whose regiment (which arrived at Grenoble on the morning of the 7th of March) was stationed on the rampart, held a very animated conversation with Lieutenant-general Count Marchand, superior commandant, and quitted him with great discontent. About three o'clock he gave orders to march forward, and was scarcely out of the town when he drew his sword, and exclaimed '*Vive l'Empereur!*' He caused a chest to be searched, from which he took a gilt eagle, which he placed at the end of a branch of willow, and, the same evening, entered Grenoble in the suite of Buonaparte.

"Field-Marshal Devilliers deposed, in his turn, that, having heard an extraordinary noise on the ramparts, he proceeded thither; where he saw that the seventh regiment, commanded by its colonel, had abandoned its post to go and meet Buonaparte. He hastened on foot by the road the regiment had taken, met a horse by chance, gallopped after the deserters, made a hundred go back, but, when he reached the head of the corps, neither his orders, nor prayers, nor menaces, were heard. 'I spoke,' said General Devilliers, 'to M. de Labedoyere of honour and country. He replied to me, country and honour;' but apparently he did not understand the words in the same manner that I did, and I could get nothing from him.

"The depositions of several other witnesses added nothing to the weight of the facts, which the accused never denied.

"The reporter now rose, and said—The attempt of Colonel Labedoyere now holds the first rank amongst the crimes that for several months deprived France of her legitimate king, caused the invasion of our country, and conducted us to the brink of a precipice, the depth of which one trembles to fathom. It is to his defection that we owe all other defections, the revolution of the 20th of March, the defeat of Waterloo, and the invasion of our provinces.

"The reporter proceeded to recapitulate rapidly the conduct of the accused, which was criminal as a Frenchman, as a soldier, as a chief of a corps—guilty of rebellion towards his superior officers, and of treason to the king. M. Viotti repelled all political consider-

ations which might be adduced to excuse or palliate the offence of the Colonel. The tribunals charged to maintain the discipline of the armies look only to facts, and not to results and consequences. Let M. Labedoyere dare to contemplate the scourge he has not spared to bring upon his country—let him behold our provinces beat down beneath the weight of foreign armies—let him see the situation of France, and judge. Let not this maxim be alleged, the application of which would be false and dangerous, that where the number of guilty is immense, pardon becomes necessary. The first accusation, the first punishment, ought to fall upon the first who is guilty. What! if Colonel Labedoyere had been alone guilty of defection, there would be no hesitation in punishing him. Because, therefore, his guilty example has found imitators—because his crime has led to the most terrible results, shall he be absolved? No.

"In his severe but just inflexibility, M. Viotti, organ of the law, avenger of society, concludes, that Colonel Labedoyere be declared guilty of rebellion and treason, for having aided and assisted the invasion of Buonaparte—that he be degraded from his rank, deprived of his decorations, and punished with death.

"M. Bexon, who appeared as the council of the accused, confined himself to these expressions:—

"Gentlemen—Before I resolved to lend some support to the misery of Colonel Labedoyere, I endeavoured to know him and to dive into his soul. I found there grandeur and nobleness, and I thought that his defence could not inspire you with so much interest from any other mouth as his own.

"M. Labedoyere now rose and read his defence, which appeared to be written in haste and without method, upon slips of paper:—

"Gentlemen, if on this important day my life alone were compromised, I should abandon myself to the encouraging idea, that he who has sometimes led brave men to death, would know how to march to death himself like a brave man, and I should not detain you. But my honour is attacked as well as my life, and it is my duty to defend it, because it does not belong to me alone. A wife, the model of every virtue, has a right to demand an account of it from me. Shall my son, when reason comes to enlighten him, blush at his inheritance? I feel strength enough to resist the most terrible attacks, if I am able to say, honour is untouched!

"I may have been deceived—misled by illusions, by recollections, by false ideas of honour—it is possible that the country spoke a chimerical language to my heart.

"The accused declared that he had no intention, nor the possibility of denying facts, public and notorious; he was ready to sign the act of accusation drawn up against him, but he would justify himself from the charge of having been concerned in any plot that preceded the return of Buonaparte; and he protested that he is convinced no relation ever existed between the Isle of Elba and Paris.

"Appointed colonel of a regiment, I wished only to occupy myself in my military duties. I wished above all to inspire my soldiers with an *esprit de corps*. Never should I have attempted to make them forget the warrior who had so often led them to victory; but I know also the names and exploits of the great men that have rendered the family of the Bourbons illustrious, and I should have made it a duty and pleasure to teach them to my troops.

"I do not conceal that I set off with sad *presentiments*; but Napoleon was far from my thoughts. I had not seen that France, untouched and united, would resume for three months, under a new regime, a political attitude. I had not foreseen this coalition of all Europe, against which the army, protector of the territory, would again fight under Buonaparte. But I was a victim to a vague uneasiness, of which, nevertheless, I could explain, and perhaps justify, the cause. Ah! if my voice could have that solemn character which, they say, the feeblest accents assume in the moment of death, my reflections might still be useful to futurity!

"In 1814, neither the nation nor army could longer suffer the yoke of Buonaparte—it was tired of war without motive, exhausted by sacrifices without utility, all felt the necessity of a repairing government—where could we flatter ourselves that we should find it but in the recal of the Bourbons, whose name reminded France of a long series of good kings, and ages of prosperity. Hence they were welcomed with an enthusiasm which was too soon chilled by numerous faults, grave errors, and fatal imprudences. The king's intentions were pure, but the outrageous zeal of faithful servants did much harm. These men formed an erroneous idea of France—

"The president, interrupting the accused, required him to confine himself to his defence—'It is not a political crime of which you are accused before us, or that we are called upon to judge—it is a military crime—a violation of your duties as soldier and colonel—try to destroy the proofs that are furnished against you—we desire it as much as you can.'

"Labedoyere—What would you have me to combat facts that are notorious, and disavow actions that are public? I never had such an idea. And since you prohibit me from entering into the examination of the political causes that led to the step for which I am called upon to answer before you, I must confine myself to

the avowal of a great error, and I confess it with grief upon throwing my eyes upon my country.—My fault is, the having misunderstood the intentions of the king.

"After a long deliberation of the council, the president declared, that C. A. F. H. de Labedoyere, colonel of the seventh regiment of the line, had been unanimously judged guilty of treason and rebellion. The court declared besides, unanimously, that the said Labedoyere had not availed himself of the delay of eight days granted by the ordonnance of the king to all the abettors of Buonaparte to return to their duty. In consequence. they condemned him to the pain of death, to degradation from the rank of colonel, and from the title of commandant of the legion of honour, and to the payment of the expences of the trial.

"The sentence was pronounced in the absence of the accused, and Labedoyere calmly heard it read to him in prison. He asked Captain Viotti whether he had not twenty-four hours to appeal? On being answered in the affirmative, he said, that is sufficient. The papers were therefore deposited at the office of the council of revision on the 16th, and judgment, which is usually given on the following day, was not given till the 19th.

"The council of revision met at eight o'clock in the morning, to deliberate on the sentence which had been passed against M. Labedoyere.

"The new counsel for the prisoner were M. de Joly and M. Mauguin.

"The council of revision, consisting of the Baron de Conchy, mareschal de camp; two colonels, and two captains; and M. Ricard, commissaire ordonnateur, ordered all the papers connected with the proceedings to be read.

"The reporting-judge stated, that, having considered the documents, it did not appear to him that the objections to the proceedings were sufficiently serious to afford ground for annulling the judgment.

"M. Mauguin, in a pleading of two hours, stated various objections, founded chiefly on the incompetence of the councils of war, of the first division in general, and of the second in particular, and on several omissions of forms.

"I do not endeavour, said he, to exculpate my client from all that is imputed to him. Placed in one of those extraordinary situations which are happily rare in the history of nations and of kings, the monarch had to choose between pardon and justice. This choice has been made, and Colonel Labedoyere has been brought before you.

"In examining whether the council of war had regular cognizance of the case, under the king's ordonnance of the 21st of August, he did not dissemble that he was touching upon a very delicate question. He brought to recollection the declaration of the court of appeal of Rennes, that imperial decrees, bearing on measures of general interest, were not obligatory. That declaration had indeed been annulled by the court of cassation, in virtue of an equivocal article of the constitution of the year 8, which contained oblique dispositions, favourable to despotism. According to the view of M. Mauguin, the natural judges of the accused were those of the seventh division. He had been transferred to the first division, because there was no council of war formed at Grenoble; but the king alone had not the right of making this transfer. It required an order from the judge of the court of cassation, and perhaps even a law enacted by the three branches of the legislative authority.

"Even supposing the king could legally refer the case of the accused to the permanent council of war, why did the governor of the division fix on the second council of war instead of the first? Was it not the former, which the ordonnance, by the vague manner in which it was expressed, seemed to indicate?

"Proceeding to consider the question of form, M. Mauguin endeavoured to establish:

"1. That the second council of war had contravened the law, by not specifying in the minutes of its proceedings, the place in which its session was held.

"2. That the examination of the witnesses had not been regular. The judgment did not prove that they had been heard *separately* They had not been required to make oath, but merely a simple *promise* to tell the truth. They had not declared whether they were relations or allies of the accused.

"3. The prisoner's defence was incomplete. Public notoriety proved that he had been interrupted in the middle of his speech. He was not allowed to justify his intentions, though tribunals for the investigation of crimes are obliged to examine, not merely the fact, but the intention by which it is rendered criminal.

"4. It was refused to call witnesses in exculpation.

"Here the president interrupted the counsel, and asked, whether the accused had cited or designated any witnesses by name.

"M. Mauguin admitted that his client had not designated any. Then continuing his objections, he insisted, that there was no identity between the individual brought before the council under the name of Charles Angelique *Francois* de Labedoyere, and the prisoner, to whom the names of Charles Angelique had only been given.

"An interesting part of the discussion turned on the question whether the ordonnance of the 6th of March could be applied. The rigorous terms of that ordon-

nance appeared to be mitigated by that of the 23d, and particularly by the proclamation made by the king at Cambray, dated the 27th of June, on his entering France. In that proclamation, the king declared his intention to be, to deliver to the tribunals only the *authors* and *instigators* of the horrible plot which had brought back Buonaparte.

"The counsel had made a vague use of the words treason and rebellion. It should have been distinctly proved that Colonel Labedoyere was an author or instigator of the plot.

"M. Ricard, *procureur de roi*, refuted these objections in their order. There was no incompetence in the second council sitting at Paris. A formal law gave the war minister the right, when there was no council in one division, to refer the accused to such other council as he should judge proper.

"With respect to the reference of the cause to the second instead of the first council, the governor, Count Maison, had the right of making that substitution. The other alleged grounds of objection did not appear sufficient to annul the proceedings. He consequently concluded by moving the council to confirm the judgment.

"At noon the council withdrew to the hall of deliberation, and at one o'clock pronounced the following judgment:

"Considering that the second council was competent, that the proceedings have been regularly conducted, and the law rightly applied, we declare unanimously that the said judgment is confirmed, and that it shall have its full and entire execution.

"At four o'clock in the afternoon, as the king was about to get into his carriage, a lady, in deep distress, burst through the crowd, and fell at his feet, crying out, 'Pardon, pardon, Sire!' She was immediately recognised to be Madame de Labedoyere. 'Madame,' said the king, 'I know your sentiments and those of your family, and never was it more painful to me to pronounce a refusal.' Madame Labedoyere fainted; proper remedies were immediately applied.

"At half-past six in the evening, Labedoyere was escorted to the plain of Grenelle by a strong detachment of *gen d'armerie*. On arriving at the place of execution, he knelt down and received the benediction of the confessor who accompanied him. He then rose, and, without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, uncovered his breast to the veterans who were to shoot him, and exclaimed, '*Above all do not miss me!*' In a moment after he was no more."

About this time, the following report on the state of France appears to have been drawn up by Fouché; for though it was not formally acknowledged, nor diplomatically communicated to the allied sovereigns, it was never *disavowed*, and must, therefore, be received as authentic.

REPORT TO THE KING ON THE SITUATION OF FRANCE, AND ON THE RELATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN ARMIES.

"Sire,—The devastation of France is at its height. Every thing is ruined, wasted, and destroyed, as if we had neither to hope for peace nor composition. The inhabitants fly before undisciplined soldiers—the forests are filled with unhappy beings, who seek in them a last asylum—the crops are perishing on the ground: in a short time despair will no longer listen to the voice of any authority: and this war, undertaken for the triumph of moderation and justice, will equal in barbarity those deplorable and too-celebrated invasions, the memory of which is handed down in history with horror.

"The allied powers have too loudly proclaimed their doctrine to allow us to doubt of their magnanimity. What advantage can be derived from so many useless evils? Shall there be no longer any bond of connection between the nations? Do they wish to retard the reconciliation of Europe with France? One of the views of the sovereigns seemed to be to secure the government of your majesty, and yet its authority is incessantly compromised by the state of impotency to which it is reduced by them. Its power is even rendered odious by the evils of which it seems to be the accomplice, because it is unable to prevent them. Your majesty signed as ally the treaty of the 25th of March, and yet the most direct war is carried on against you.

"The sovereigns are acquainted with the degree of intelligence possessed by the French—no reasoning, no description of faults, no kind of propriety, escape the penetration of that people—though humiliated by necessity, they resign themselves to it with courage. The only evils which they cannot support, are those which they cannot comprehend. Has not your majesty done every thing for the interest of the powers and for peace which depended on your efforts? Buonaparte has not only been dispossessed, but he is in the hands of the allies: his family is equally in their power, as it is within their territories. The chambers have been dissolved. Soon there will be no men in public functions, but those who may be depended on, and friends to peace.

"The Buonapartists were dreaded, though none of them can any longer be dangerous. Your majesty, however, has on this subject granted every thing that could be granted or required by way of example.

"If, after vanquishing France, they pretend that it ought still to be punished, this language, which ought not to have been expected after the promises of the

sovereigns, requires that they should weigh well all the consequences. For what do they wish to punish us? Is it to expiate the ambition of one man, and the evils which it has produced? We were ourselves the first victims, and we have twice delivered Europe from them. It is not in foreign countries, but in France, that terror has constantly troubled his repose, notwithstanding his power.

"He was never able to render the war national; instruments are not accomplices. Who does not know that the person who exercises tyranny finds always in the multitude a sufficient force to make himself obeyed?

"We are even reproached with his successes: they were compensated by a number of reverses. What image did the announcement of his victories hold up to us, but that of the conscriptions, which perished and closed their short career, only to make new conscriptions, which were again to be mowed down in battle! We were saved, like the rest of Europe, by the same mournings and the same calamities.

"The army is submissive to your majesty, but it still exists. We ought to explain ourselves on this subject without any reserve. What remains of the army is now only attached to peace and the public tranquillity. Its state of re-union, far from being an evil, prevents the evil from extending. The return of the soldiers into the bosom of the people will be attended with no danger, when the conclusion of the war shall allow the people the means of resuming their occupations and their habits; but before that time, and so long as the fermentation is not extinguished, nor obedience established, the mingling the soldiers with the citizens would be only throwing new inflammable matter into the flames.

"It is grievous to think that this state of things originates in the error of some cabinets, in the judgments formed by them on the situation of France. The fulfilment of all their desires depends on themselves alone. There are no sacrifices to which an enlightened people will not readily submit, when they see the object for which they are exacted, and finding them the means of avoiding greater calamities. Such is the disposition, such the wish of every Frenchman.

"But if they, on the other hand, wish to obtain preparatory measures for unknown plans, they demand a thing impossible. There is no such thing as blind obedience in France. The powers have not yet published any of their designs; no one knows what idea he ought to entertain of the government, of the authority of your majesty, or of the future.

"Anxiety and suspicion are at their height, and every thing appears a subject of terror in the midst of this obscurity. But a single word would change every disposition; there would no longer be an obstacle to any measures, if they made a part of a general plan which should altogether afford some conciliation to obedience.

"Let the sovereigns then deign to explain themselves.—Why will they persist in refusing this act of justice?—Let them deign to bring forward all their demands as so many conditions of the repose of the nations, and let our concession to their views make part of a reciprocal treaty, and there will no longer be any difficulties.

"The sovereigns do not, perhaps, sufficiently remark the circle of embarrassments and obstacles in which they place both us and themselves. We require good order to second them, and their explanation to re-establish good order. Are they desirous of sacrifices which require repartitions and prompt obedience? It is only requisite for this purpose, that the authority of your majesty should be full and entire: nothing is possible, nothing can be executed, if peace does not exist in reality, at least provisionally; and, far from being in a state of peace, we experience all the calamities of war.

"Let the sovereigns bestow at least some attention on their own interests. When every thing shall be ruined and evastated around their armies, how will they find means of subsistence? Is there no danger in dispersing the troops? All arms will not be taken away, and arms of all sorts are murderous in the hands of despair. With respect to warlike contributions, what new sacrifice can be demanded where every thing has already been destroyed by the soldier? With respect to armed force, when once discipline is relaxed, it is not easily re-established.

"Germany is far from expecting, after a glorious campaign, to receive back her soldiers, corrupted by a spirit of licentiousness, rapine, and pillage.

"This war ought to have been in every respect distinguished from others, instead of imitating and surpassing in France, the excesses against which the sovereigns took up arms. Will their glory even be satisfied? On our part we have done whatever they desired; and, on their part, every thing which had been announced to the world is fulfilled, one point excepted. What a contrast between what is actually passing, and their solemn promises! This is the age of reason and justice, and the public opinion never had more power. Who can explain such excessive evils after such promises of moderation? The present war was undertaken to serve the cause of legitimacy. Is this manner of carrying on war calculated to render the authority of your majesty more sacred?

"They were desirous of punishing the individual who sported with the calamities of nations, and they

inflict on France the same violence, the same inhumanity. It was thought by all Europe that the entry of the sovereigns into Paris would put an end to the war. What will be thought, on learning that it was then only that the excesses of oppression commenced, without combats, and without resistance? The evils which we are reproached with having inflicted on others, were never so great; they never took place when the use of arms had no object; and, though it were true that we had given the first examples of such an abuse of force, ought they to imitate what they impute to us as a crime?

"It is known in the North, it is known in Prussia, that our want of moderation gave birth to energy and public spirit in our enemies. There will no longer be any end to the evils of humanity, if mutual vengeances are to become the rule of war; for nations never die.

"Your majesty will deign to permit me to insist on one final consideration.—So long as France shall have any thing to preserve, by the hope of maintaining its integrity as a nation, no sacrifice will be impossible, and all the plans of an equitable policy may be executed; but the day in which the inhabitants shall have lost every thing, in which their ruin shall be consummated, a new order of things—a new series of events will be seen to arise, because there will no longer be either government or obedience. A blind fury will take the place of resignation: they will only seek counsel in despair: on both sides there will be ravage—pillage will make war on pillage. Every step of the foreign soldiers will be marked with blood. France will be less ashamed of destroying herself than in allowing herself to be destroyed by others. The moment approaches;—already the national spirit takes this frightful direction;—the most opposite parties are blending into one;—La Vendée itself unites its colours with those of the army. In this excess of evils, what line of conduct remains to your majesty but that of removal? The public functionaries, in the same manner, will quit their places, and the armies of the sovereigns will then be at issue with individuals freed from all social ties.

"A nation of thirty millions of inhabitants may undoubtedly disappear from the face of the earth, but in this war of man to man, the oppressed and their vanquishers will lie together in more than one grave.

"FOUCHE."

This report was accompanied by the following

ANSWER OF THE FRENCH MINISTERS TO THE OFFICIAL NOTE OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS.

"The king's ministers have received the official note addressed to them by the ministers of the allied powers. The latter wish to persuade the king's ministers that the measures which they have commanded to the government of Paris, are such as may contribute to diminish the exactions of the war, and to re-establish the royal authority. The king's ministers, however, unfortunately, cannot regard these measures in that point of view. They owe it to the sovereigns, to France, and to themselves, to explain themselves on this subject. The sovereigns, doubtless, are the masters, and can do whatever they desire; but at any rate let them not say, that, in taking every step calculated to ruin the cause of his majesty, that they wish to confer any favour on him. There is already in France too much odium and ill-will against the Bourbons, to render it necessary still more to revolt every heart, by making the nation experience the greatest losses and the deepest humiliations. What can be more afflicting than to see, in a time of peace, all the departments subjected to your military governors—what misfortune more to be deprecated than the dispersion of your troops over the whole face of the country? The sovereigns declared that they only made war against Napoleon, and yet all their measures belie their words; since, at the present moment, when the war ought to be finished, it is only about to commence. The present position of France is so much the more afflicting, as were war openly declared, (which it is not,) it is utterly impossible that she can suffer in a greater degree all its evils and all its horrors. Every where, wherever the armies are, (always excepting the English,) pillage, fire, rape, and murder, have been carried to their fullest extent; avarice and vengeance have left nothing for the officers or soldiers to desire. To speak with freedom, they exceed even the atrocities of which the French armies have been too often justly accused. The measures, however, alluded to in your note can have no other results than to extend the limits of this devastation. The armies spread themselves in our provinces, and all the horrors which we have depicted follow in their train. Such are the sentiments of the king's ministers on the new decree, and their answer to the appeal which has been made to them.

"They have the honour to subscribe themselves, with the highest consideration,

"TALLEYRAND,
"FOUCHE."

In addition to the presence of the armies by which they had been conquered, and the weight of the contributions levied by the allied sovereigns, the French

had the mortification to perceive that the splendid works of art with which the Louvre was decorated, and which had been wrested from different nations, were now about to be restored to their legitimate owners.

France, in the period of her overwhelming power, had stripped of their richest monuments of science and antiquity, all the nations that had unfortunately fallen under her iron yoke. In so doing, she acted contrary to the usages of modern warfare, and in that coarse spirit of selfish rapacity by which the whole of her revolutionary history is distinguished. France it was, that first incorporated the most odious violations in her regular system of conduct; she it was, that first refused to acknowledge that any right could stand in the way of her power; and she gave an example of a cold cruelty of practice, perfectly consonant with the worthlessness of her principles. Austria, Italy, Prussia, the Netherlands, and the smaller states of Germany, were all robbed of their finest works of genius and memorials of antiquity: Rome had been stripped to enrich Paris; the Vatican had been plundered to stock the Louvre. When Frederick of Prussia entered Dresden as a conqueror, he only requested permission of the magistrates to sit in their gallery and admire its pictures. The French generals, however, made their selection of these, and sent them off for France. The armies of these plundered states were now on the spot where all that had been taken from them was collected; and that they had the power to cause restitution, was sufficiently obvious.

The Prussians alone, however, seem to have resolved, that, if ever they had occasion to pay a second visit to Paris, they would not leave any of the spoils of their country within its walls. Marshal Blucher, therefore, waited for no settlement of concert, and solicited no co-operation. When the commissioners came to treat for the surrender of Paris, he at once repelled their attempt to preserve the contents of the Museums, and, in fact, he had already commenced at Saint Cloud the work of retaking. From the first moment of his entrance into Paris, he proceeded spiritedly in removing from the Louvre all that it contained of Prussian property; and the blanks on the walls shewed the daily progress of the French loss in this respect. The whole amount of it, however, would have been as nothing to the remainder of the collection, if the other members of the alliance had not determined to restore the works of art, which were successively claimed by other nations.

For some time, it seemed as if the allies hesitated to mortify the vanity of the French though that feeling was manifested in the most offensive language, even whilst the foreign troops were standing guard over every public edifice in Paris. Every day new arrivals of strangers poured into the capital, anxious to gain a view of the Louvre before its collection was broken up. Those who took the journey to France at this period were gratified: the few pictures seized by the Prussians were scarcely missed, and all the most celebrated works remained. The halls of the statues were uninjured; and, in the great gallery above, which was constantly filled with strangers, who found it an agreeable place of rendezvous, the probability of further spoliation was strongly contested.

Under this apparent inactivity, however, the business was by no means at rest. The towns and principalities that had been plundered, were making the utmost exertions to influence the allies to determine on a general restoration; and several of the great powers evidently inclined to such a decision. The famous sculptor, Canova, appeared as a claimant in behalf of Rome, which had only her venerable name to urge, having no force to support her rights. Attempts were certainly made to contrive an arrangement with the French ministry, by which justice might be done to Europe, observing the greatest possible delicacy that circumstances admitted of towards Louis XVIII. and his subjects. But Fouché and Talleyrand hung back, in that cunning selfish spirit, which has invariably characterized the school of Buonaparte's politicians;—hoping that the allies would either shrink from a forcible seizure altogether, or that some of the minor states, to whom the most valuable articles belonged, might fail to receive from their powerful friends that assistance which would enable them to regain their property. It was even reported, at the time, that Canova's representations to the French government were treated with cutting contempt; and that Talleyrand remarked, by way of taunt, that no pictures or statues could be taken from the Louvre, unless there were fifty thousand soldiers to see that they were taken down in safety.

At length, however, the allies were fully convinced of the impolicy as well as the injustice of leaving to France these trophies of a monstrous system of spoliation; and it was resolved, that each power of the alliance should act in the independent exercise of its own strength, according to its own views.

A deputation from the Netherlands now claimed the Dutch and Flemish pictures taken during the revolutionary wars from these countries; and this demand was conveyed through the Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief of the Dutch and Belgian armies.

About the same time, also, it was resolved, at the court of Vienna, that the Italian and German towns, which had been despoiled, should have their property replaced,—and Canova, the representative of Rome, after many appeals, received an assurance that he should be furnished with an armed force sufficient to protect him in taking back to that venerable city, the objects of his anxious solicitude.

Various reports were spread in Paris every day as to the intentions of the allies: but on Saturday, the 23d of September, the Louvre was occupied by a body of British guards; porters with barrows, and ladders, and tackles of ropes, made their appearance; and the work of removal commenced in earnest. The Museum might from that moment be considered as finally broken up. The sublimity of its orderly aspect vanished: it now assumed the confused and desolate air of a large auction-room after a day's sale. Previous to this the visitors had walked down its profound length with an apparent sense of respect on their minds, inducing them to preserve silence and decorum, as they contemplated the majestic pictures: but decency and silence were dispelled when the signal was given for breaking up the establishment.

The guarding of the Louvre was alternately committed to the British and Austrian troops, while this process lasted. The Prussians observed that they had taken their own property for themselves, and would not now incur odium for others. The French doorkeepers, who had recently been so active and official in their management of the place, were completely set aside.

As the immense crowds which now assembled at the Louvre incommoded the workmen, a military order was issued that no visitors should be admitted without permission from the foreign commandant of Paris. This order was pretty strictly adhered to by the sentinels, as far as the exclusion of the French; but the English invariably obtained leave to pass from the Austrians. The British sentinels were rather more strict; but, in general, foreigners could, without much difficulty, procure admission.

The inhabitants of Paris now stood in crowds around the door, and looked anxiously, as it occasionally opened to admit Germans, English, Russians, &c. into a palace of their own capital, from which they were excluded. An English gentleman was repeatedly asked by Frenchmen, standing with ladies on their arms, and kept back from the door by the guards, to take them into their own Louvre, under his protection as an unknown foreigner. It was impossible not to feel for them in these remarkable circumstances of mortification and humiliation; and the agitation of the French public was now evidently excessive. Groups of the common people collected in the space before the Louvre, and the speakers who addressed them exercised the most violent gesticulations, sufficiently indicative of rage and exasperation. As the packages came out, the people crowded round them, giving vent to torrents of *pestes, diables, sacres*, and other worse interjections.

Their only resource now was in ridiculous stories, and puerile calumnies. It became the fashion to abuse the Duke of Wellington, as it had been formerly the fashion to applaud him, and no tale was too absurd for momentary belief, if it accorded with the national anger. England was to have the Venus and the Apollo:—this was settled: and every Frenchman insultingly enquired, "Would England assist in breaking up a collection of this sort, without securing something for herself? They were certain France would not."

These remarks induced the Duke of Wellington to address the following letter to Lord Castlereagh.

"My Lord,

"A great deal has lately been said here respecting the measures I have been obliged to adopt, in order to obtain for the king of the Netherlands his paintings and other things out of the Museum; and, as these reports may reach the ears of the Prince Regent, I communicate to you the following account of the whole affair, for his royal highness's information:

"A short time after the arrival of the sovereigns at Paris, the minister of the king of the Netherlands demanded the pictures, &c. belonging to his sovereign, as did the ministers of the other sovereigns, and, as I was informed, could not obtain a satisfactory answer from the French government. After several conversations with me upon the subject, he sent to your lordship an official note, which was laid before the ministers of the allied powers assembled at a conference, upon which the business was several times taken into consideration, in order to discover a mean of doing justice to the claimants of the objects of art in the Museum, without hurting the feelings of the king of France.

"Meanwhile the Prussians had obtained from his majesty, not only all the pictures belonging to Prussia proper, but also those which belonged to the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and all those that were the property of his Prussian majesty: the affair now became urgent, and your lordship wrote a note, in which the matter was fully treated.

"The minister of the king of the Netherlands having not yet received any satisfactory answer from the French

government, applied to me, as commander-in-chief of the army of the king of the Netherlands, and asked whether I had any objection to employing his majesty's troops to obtain possession of what was indubitably his majesty's property. I laid this question also before the ministers of the allied monarchs; and, as no objection was made, I thought it my duty to take the necessary steps to obtain what was his right.

"I spoke, in consequence, with Prince Talleyrand upon this subject, communicated to him what had passed at the conference, and the reason I had for thinking that the king of the Netherlands had a right to the paintings, and requested him to lay the matter before the king, and to beg his majesty to do me the favour to determine the manner in which I might obtain the object of the king of the Netherlands without, in any manner, offending his majesty.

"Prince Talleyrand promised me an answer by the next evening: but, as I did not receive it, I repaired to him in the night, and had a second conference with him, in which he gave me to understand that the king would give no orders upon the subject, that I might do as I thought proper, and negotiate with M. Denon, the director of the Museum.

"In the morning I sent my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Fremantle, to M. Denon, who told him that he had no orders to give up any paintings out of the gallery, and that he should suffer none to be taken away but by force.

"I then sent Colonel Fremantle to Prince Talleyrand to acquaint him with this answer, and to inform him that the troops would go the next morning at twelve o'clock to take possession of the paintings belonging to the king of the Netherlands, and to declare that, if any thing unpleasant should arise from this measure, the king's ministers, and not I, were answerable for it. Colonel Fremantle likewise informed M. Denon of the measures that were to be taken.

"It was, however, not necessary to send any troops, because a Prussian guard constantly occupied the gallery, and the pictures were taken away without any assistance being required from any of the troops under my command, except a few who assisted as labourers in the taking down and packing up.

"It has been alleged that, by having been the instrument of carrying away from the gallery the pictures of the king of the Netherlands, I had been guilty of a breach of a treaty which I had myself made; and as there is no mention of the Museum in the treaty of the 25th of March, and as it seems now the treaty spoken of is the military convention of Paris, it is necessary to show how this convention is connected with the Museum.

"I do not want to prove that the allies were at war with France: there is no doubt that their armies entered Paris under a military convention concluded with an officer of the government, the prefect of the department of the Seine, and an officer of the army who represented both authorities at that moment present at Paris, and empowered by those authorities to negotiate and conclude for them.

"The article of the convention which is alleged to have been broken is the 11th, which relates to the public property: I positively deny that this article has any reference whatever to the gallery of paintings.

"The French commissioners introduced in the original projét, an article to provide for the security of this species of property; but Prince Blucher would not consent, saying that there were in the gallery paintings which had been taken from Prussia, and which Louis XVIII. had promised to restore; which, however, had never been done. I repeated this circumstance to the French commissioners, and they proposed to accept the article, with the exception of the Prussian pictures; and to this proposal I answered, that I was there as the representative of the other nations in Europe, and that I must claim for other nations all that was conceded to the Prussians. I added that I had no instructions concerning the Museum, nor any grounds to form an opinion how the sovereigns would act; that they would certainly urge that the king should fulfil his obligations, and that I advised the omission of the article entirely, and the reserving this affair for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive.

"Thus stands the affair of the Museum in reference to the treaty. The convention of Paris is silent upon it; and a negotiation took place, which left the business to the decision of the sovereigns.

"Taking it for granted that the silence of the treaty of Paris of May, 1814, respecting the Museum, had given the French government an indisputable claim to the pieces contained in it; it cannot be denied that this claim was annihilated by this negotiation.

"Those who negotiated for the French government judged that the victorious armies had a right to take the works of art from the Museum, and they therefore endeavoured to save them by introducing an article into the military convention. This article was rejected, and the claim of the allies greatly advanced by the negotiation on their side; and this was the reason that the article was rejected. Not only then was the possession of them not guaranteed by the military convention, but the above-mentioned negotiation tended the more to weaken the right of the French government to the possession, which was founded on the silence of the treaty of Paris, of May, 1814.

"The allies having now legal possession of the pieces in the Museum, could do no otherwise than restore them to those from whom they had been taken away, contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, during the dreadful period of the French revolution and the tyranny of Buonaparte.

"The conduct of the allies with respect to the Museum, at the time of the treaty of Paris, must be ascribed to their desire to gratify the French army, and to confirm the reconciliation with Europe, to which the army seemed at that time to be disposed.

"But the circumstances are now entirely different; the army disappointed the just expectations of the world, and embraced the first opportunity to rise against its sovereign, and to serve the general enemy of humanity, with a view to the renewal of the frightful times that were passed, and of the scenes of pillage against which the world has made so many gigantic efforts.

"This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, it is dissolved by the united councils of the sovereigns, and there can be no reason why the powers of Europe should do wrong to their own subjects, in order to again satisfy this army: indeed it never appeared to me to be necessary that the allied sovereigns should neglect this opportunity to do justice and favour to their own subjects, in order to please the French nation. The feeling of the French people upon this subject can be no other than national arrogance.

"They would desire to retain those works of art, not because Paris is the most proper place for them to be preserved in, (for all artists and connoisseurs who have written on the subject agree that they ought to be sent back to the places where they originally were,) but because they have been acquired by conquests, of which they are the trophies.

"The same feeling that makes the people of France wish to keep the pictures and statues of other nations, must naturally make other nations wish, now that victory is on their side, to restore those articles to the lawful owners; and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to promote this object.

"It is, besides, to be wished, as well for the happiness of France as of the world, that, if the French people are not already convinced that Europe is too strong for them, they may be made to feel that, however extensive for a time their temporary and partial advantages over one or more of the powers of Europe may be, the day of retribution must at length come.

"According to my feelings, then, it would not only be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the French people; but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the French a great moral lesson.

"I am, my dear lord, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

The great gallery of the Louvre presented every day a more forlorn aspect; long blank spaces of dirty wall increased in size and number; and announced to the spectator that the monuments of the glory of France were rapidly disappearing. Strangers continued to flock to Paris, particularly from England, with the hope that they might be yet in time to see these fine productions, which few persons could command the means of seeing after they were dispersed. All the foreigners in the French capital collected in the gallery of the Louvre every morning,—but the last comers might be easily distinguished from the rest. They entered with eager haste, and looks of anxious inquiry; and the first view of the stripped walls overwhelmed them with disappointment.

The French now attempted to console themselves by a report, industriously propagated, that the pictures were very clumsily taken down, and that many of them were materially injured. This, however, was but a representation of what they *wished;* for the work was carried on very carefully, and no picture received serious damage. The deputies of the different states who claimed the pictures, attended with catalogues of the lost property, and an Italian commissioner was present, under the authority of Austria, to superintend the whole of the arrangements.

The picture of the *Transfiguration*, by Raphael, of which it had been boastingly said, that *Destiny* had always intended it for the French nation, was now to be removed, and immense crowds assembled to see it taken down; for the fame which it had acquired, and its notoriety in the general knowledge, caused its departure to be considered as the consummation of the destruction of the gallery of the Louvre.

"Students of all nations," says a modern tourist, "fixed themselves round the principal pictures, anxious to complete their copies before the workmen came to remove the originals. Many young French girls were seen among these, perched on small scaffolds, and calmly pursuing their labours in the midst of the throng and bustle. Our officers generally posted themselves close to these interesting artists, who seemed quite able to flirt with the foreign hussars, and to copy a Holy Family at the same time.

"There was, generally, a large collection of English female beauty in the Louvre; and the military, who walked in attendance on the ladies, bore the air of conquerors and masters pretty strongly impressed on their

carriage. A sight more inspiring of the patriotic affections and exultations in a British bosom, cannot be imagined; and, considering it as the triumph of justice and good taste, as well as of our nation,—considering it as the downfall of a barbarous, cold, theatrical imposition, which, under the specious language and show of refinement, practised degradation and corruption,—the feelings of satisfaction might be safely and honourably encouraged."

When the gallery of the Louvre was completely cleared of the property of other nations, the number of pictures left to the French nation,—of the fifteen hundred which constituted their magnificent collection,—was *two hundred and seventy-four!* The Italian division comprised about eighty-five specimens; which were now diminished to *twelve:* in this small number, however, there are some capital pieces by the great masters. The Entombment, which is one of the finest productions of Raphael, is retained, as belonging to the King of France's old collection. The great picture of the Marriage in Canaan, by Paul Veronese, though not originally French property, was secured to the Louvre by exchange with Austria. Many of the Flemish pictures were at first secreted: this led the deputies from the Netherlands to wait on M. Denon, attended by a superior officer of their country, and to threaten him with the charge of a body of three hundred soldiers, if the pictures demanded were not immediately produced. The greater number of those deficient were brought forward, but some could not be found. Many, both Flemish and Italian, that were public property, were discovered in the private palace of Cardinal Fesch, which served for the quarters of the Prince of Orange.

The removal of the statues was longer in commencing, and occupied more time. The French would not, for some time, allow themselves to believe that the allies would attempt to deprive them of these sacred works: it appeared to them impossible that they should be separated from France—the country of the Louvre and the Institute: it seemed a contingency beyond the limits of human reverses. At length, however, the workmen entered with their straw and plaster of Paris to pack up; and the pedestals of the Venus, the Apollo, and the Laocoon, which might be deemed the presiding deities of the collection, were successively vacated. The other statues rapidly followed, and the halls were progressively cleared of their interesting contents.

But the most severe mortification of the Parisians yet remains to be described. The famous horses, taken from the church of St. Mark, in Venice, had been the peculiar objects of popular pride and admiration. They were considered as the most beautiful antiques in the world; and the revolutionists who seized them, declared, in their announcement of the fact, that, after having been subjected to the greatest changes, they were "*finally*" fixed in a *land of liberty and virtue!* Napoleon had removed them from the low pillars where they were originally stationed, and where they could be seen, and attached them, by gilded harness, to a car of victory, on the top of his triumphal arch in the Place Carousel. In this situation, the forms of the four horses were entirely lost; and the new car, figures, and braces, all in bright gold, completely subdued the antique bronze. Still, however, being exposed to the public view, in one of the most public situations of Paris, this was deemed the noblest trophy belonging to the capital,—and there was not a water-carrier in Paris, who did not look like a hero when the Venetian horses were spoken of.

"Have you heard what has been determined about the horses?" the foreigners eagerly enquired. "Oh! they cannot mean to take the horses away," was every Frenchman's reply. On the morning of the 26th of September, however, it was rumoured that workmen had been employed all night in loosening them from their fastenings. This report was soon confirmed; upon which the French declared, that, if the allies were to attempt to touch them in *day-light*, Paris would rise at once, exterminate its invaders, and rescue its honour.

On the following morning an English gentleman, to whom the public are indebted for a most interesting account of Paris, walked through the square. "It was clear," says he, "that some considerable change had taken place; the effect of the forms of the horses was finer than I had ever before seen it. While looking to discover what had been done, a private of the British staff-corps came up. 'You see, sir,' said he, 'we took away the harness last night.' 'You have made a great improvement by so doing,' I replied: 'but are the British employed on this work?' The man said that the Austrians had requested the assistance of our staff-corps, for it included better workmen than any they had in their service. I heard that an angry French mob had given some trouble to the people employed on the Thursday night; but that a body of Parisian gendarmerie had dispersed the assemblage. The Frenchmen continued their sneers against the allies for working in the dark: *fear* and *shame* were the causes assigned. 'If you take them at all, why not take them in the face of day? But you are too wise to draw upon yourselves the irresistible popular fury which such a sight would excite against you?'

"On the night of Friday, the order of proceeding

was entirely changed. It had been found proper to call out a strong guard of Austrians, horse and foot. The mob had been charged by the cavalry, and it was said, that several had their limbs broken. I expected to find the place on Saturday morning quiet and open as usual; but, when I reached its entrance, what an impressive scene presented itself! The delicate plan,—for such, in truth, it was,—of working by night was now over. The Austrians had wished to spare the feelings of the King of France the pain of seeing his capital dismantled before his palace-windows, where he passed in his carriage when he went out for his daily exercise. But the insolent ignorance of the people rendered severer measures necessary. My companion and myself were stopped from entering the place by Austrian dragoons: a large mob of Frenchmen were collected here, standing on tip-toe to catch the arch in the distance, on the top of which the ominous sight of numbers of workmen, busy about the horses, was plainly to be distinguished. We advanced again to the soldiers: some of the French, by whom we were surrounded, said, 'Whoever you are, you will not be allowed to pass.' I confess I was for retiring, for the whole assemblage, citizens and soldiers, seemed to wear an angry aspect. But my companion was eager for admittance. He was put back again by an Austrian hussar.—'*What, not the English!*' he exclaimed in his own language. The mob laughed loudly when they heard the foreign soldier thus addressed: but the triumph was ours; way was instantly made for us; and an officer, on duty close by, touched his helmet as we passed.

"The top of the arch being very narrow, it was not possible to see the horses properly. I stooped below them, got up between two, and rested my arm on these works of Lysippus. They partook of nothing of the alteration about them: they were of distant ages, and had come from distant places: the world might be said to have changed since they were young,—but they had changed in nothing. They turned the same unmoved faces on the mobs of modern Paris, as they did on the mobs of Corinth.

"The English staff-corps, helping the Austrians, were busy about them; and, as I found myself in the way, I quitted the Arch. From the Place Carousel I saw the one to which the tackle was fixed make a considerable movement forward: it steadied again for a moment:—the people below pulled again;—it shook,—advanced farther,—its fore-feet were beyond the arch. One other pull, and it sprung grandly off, and swung in the air. I turned to look towards the French: their crowds were in a movement, caused by violent feeling; arms were up, fingers pointing, and heads waving. There was a general bustle, too, at all the windows of the Louvre. The horse slowly descended, and was received safely in one of the cars. The others followed the same afternoon, but it became dark before the whole were removed."

The French now exclaimed, that it was abominable to insult the king in his own palace, by removing the horses in the face of day!

Between seven and eight in the evening, our author, having adjourned with a friend to a *restaurateur's*, near the garden of the Thuilleries, heard the rolling of wheels, the clatter of cavalry, and the tramp of infantry. A number of British who happened to be in the room, immediately rose and rushed to the door, without hats, and carrying their table-napkins in their hands. The horses were passing, in military procession, lying on their sides in separate cars. First came cavalry, then infantry, then a car;—then more cavalry, more infantry, then another car;—and so on, till all the horses past. Three Frenchmen, seeing the group of English, came up to them, and entered into conversation. They asked if this conduct were not shameful. A British gentleman observed, that the horses were only going back to the place from whence they had been taken: if there was a right in power for France, there must also be one for other states: but the best way to consider these events, was, as terminating the times of discord and spoliation. Two of the Frenchmen seemed inclined to adopt this opinion; but one, who seemed to be an officer, and was advanced beyond the middle age of life, kept silence for a moment, and then emphatically said,—"You have left me nothing for my children but hatred against England: this shall be my legacy to them." "Sir," it was replied, "that will do your children no good, and England no harm."

The French ministry, in the mean time, had undergone a complete change: the Duke of Richelieu being appointed minister for foreign affairs; the Duke of Feltre minister of war; the Viscount Dubouchage, minister of the interior; the Sieur de Cazes, for general police, and M. Barbé Marbois, keeper of the seals. The following letter was addressed to the king by the former ministers, explaining the motives for their retiring:

"SIRE!

"Your majesty deigned to confide to us the administration of your empire, when the whole of Europe, in arms, occupied the northern provinces, when they menaced those of the east and the south, and when civil war was kindled and diffused over the west. A triumphant faction, which was restrained, but not discouraged; portions of the population who had become indifferent from the excess of their fears or their suffer-

ings to any events which might ensue; equally ready to support alternately the tyranny of the faction and the yoke of foreign arms, until some greater misfortunes should at length unite them against their oppressors;—such has been the situation of the kingdom since your majesty's return.

"The love of our country was no longer to be found but under the tri-coloured flag. The party which called themselves royalists, proscribed, in their projêts, both the laws, and the men who did not encourage the subversion of social order. Were France buried beneath her own ruins, and your majesty reigned only over desert provinces, this party would prefer the destruction of the glory, the strength, and the political existence, of France, to seeing her consoled for her misfortunes, and regaining her losses under the wise and liberal laws vouchsafed by your majesty. This party became hostile in the west, in the south, and in the north, because it believed itself supported by authority. Good citizens waited, in silence, to hear the voice of your majesty. At present they are preparing their arms in Auvergne, in the Cevennes, in the Vosges, in Franche Comté, and in Alsace.

"You cannot, sire, be ignorant what was our devotion to your sacred person: we had partaken of your dangers, your misfortunes, and your exile; we knew the wishes and the wants of the French people; we expressed them to your majesty with a respectful candour. You seemed to listen to us: and now that we are quitting your councils, we hope that you will permit us to recall them to your recollection.

"Successive revolutions have changed the conditions of families, have overthrown the fortunes which they had amassed, have closed up the paths which they had opened, have tarnished the national glory which they had exalted; but those revolutions have also taught the people, that there is no happiness for them except under a fixed and steady government, because that will replace the conditions of families in a state of harmony with existing manners, because it will consolidate existing fortunes, because it will permit the citizens to go on in that career which they have begun, and because it will establish the national honour on the principles of unalterable justice;—results of the utmost importance to the nation, because they will place individuals in that relative condition which the state of society requires.

"If we could have given this direction to your majesty's government, Frenchmen would have been united in heart and in conduct with the wishes of their king; their interests would have been confounded with the glory, the love, and the safety of the prince. Those desires, and those fanatical passions, which would have disturbed an order of things so auspicious to the general good, would gradually have died away, or have been lost in the emptiness of an ineffectual opposition.

"Your subjects would have submitted to your laws, whatever might have been their opinions, or their former condition. The republican or the imperial party is no longer to be feared; the mass of the nation wish only for liberty and tranquillity. Foreign cabinets, in seeing Frenchmen rallied round your throne, would have limited pretensions, which then you might have withstood.

"The constitution having rendered us responsible for the acts of your authority, we proposed to regulate it by those principles which we have here unfolded. We soon had to struggle with the ignorance, the passions, and the hatred of the persons who surrounded you: they soon began to intermeddle with the government. Orders were given, and measures adopted, in which we did not participate. Royal commissaries went and kindled civil war in the provinces, gave arms to the seditious, directed their ferocity against peaceful citizens, and spread around them terror and dismay! They easily succeeded in this, when they announced that foreigners were their auxiliaries, when they profaned the name of your majesty, by invoking it in their addresses; and when in the south, which foreigners did not yet occupy, they permitted the entrance of eighty thousand Spaniards. A marshal of France was murdered on the banks of the Rhone, and his assassins were neither apprehended nor punished! Was it by oppression that the people were to be inspired with a love for your government? Outrage soon extended itself; in some cities colours were displayed which were not those of your majesty. Frenchmen themselves wished to dismember your kingdom, and separate the north from the south. Your majesty became sensible that it was necessary to recall to their submission the blind partisans of a cause whose legitimacy was acknowledged! Our orders were not listened to: magistrates whom we sent in your name were sacrificed by those who acted in the name of the king; we remained without power; secret instructions rendered all our efforts and intentions unavailing. In such circumstances, what could your majesty's ministers do? The Duke of Otranto, when Napoleon still reigned, had succeeded, by negotiation, in disarming La Vendée. Your majesty was scarcely seated on the throne when the insurrection broke out in this same La Vendée with more violence than ever. What could be its object after your restoration? Your minister at war declared that he had no troops with which to subdue these provinces; it was not the intention of your court that this insurrection should be opposed.

"We cannot conceal from you, sire, that these attacks are levelled at your throne; you suffer legitimate authority to be despised, and the authority of faction supplies its place. Factions produce revolutions, and those who triumph to-day may be overthrown to-morrow; your throne will no longer have even the support of their illegitimate authority. Your ministers, always devoted to your person, still endeavoured to oppose this re-action; the princes of your house, the nobles of your court, designated as crimes, and as attacks upon your crown, their efforts to restore order and submission to the law; we lost all influence with your majesty; we became guilty in the eyes of the nation.

"The elections were made: a factious minority directed them; that minority alone is represented. The choice which they recommend to your majesty for the chamber of peers indicates the same spirit.

"Ministers, without authority, a prey to the persecutions of the court, without support in the public opinion, exposed to the opposition of the chambers, what should we be able to reply to the clamours of the people, when, at length, they shall demand the reasons of so many calamities?

"Meanwhile, foreigners possess France as a conquered country; to civil discord they add the ravage of provinces; they dissipate the funds which ought to find their way into the treasury; they devour the provisions of the people, who are threatened with an approaching famine; they carry off the magazines of arms, the ammunition of war, and the cannons from the ramparts of our cities. The white flag floats only over ruins! They despoil us of our public monuments, the tokens of our former glory; they seize the monuments of art, which alone remain to us after twenty years of conquest. It is dishonour, sire, which the people are most reluctant to pardon, and your majesty has remained silent in the midst of all these attacks on the national honour!

"We were, for a long time, ignorant that secret treason had connected you with foreigners—your majesty wished to negotiate yourself—we could not prevent the disbandoning of the army; and this measure being completed, left France and your person in the power of foreigners. What had your house to fear from that army? Napoleon no longer existed for France. The national colours granted, and some concessions made to public opinion, that army would have become yours—it would have served you to resist the ambitious projects of your allies. Was every thing to be abandoned to the combinations and the seductions of your court and of foreign princes? Your court is led astray by prejudices: the foreign sovereigns have interests opposed to yours. The Emperor of Russia was, perhaps, the only one whom you could believe sincere in his promises. The allies, at this moment, oppose the recruiting of the departmental legions.

"Such are the misfortunes of the situation in which unwise councils have placed your majesty. Your subjects are almost every where in opposition or in arms against each other, and almost every where the partisans of your house are the smallest number. The French, humiliated and discontented, are ready to proceed to the last extremity. Your majesty has no longer the means of opposing the pretensions of foreigners. They have presented a treaty which would consummate the ruin of the nation, and which would cover it with eternal shame. We have not thought it became us to give an assent which would have rendered us culpable towards that nation, which may be humiliated, but which cannot be beaten down.

"Since your majesty has confided authority to our hands, we have constantly been without the power of doing good, without the power of preventing evil. Our opinions have no influence; the cabals of your court have prevailed. We have to obey, through respect to your majesty, and to sanction by our signature, acts which we disapprove. We could have sacrificed our lives to save your majesty and the country: but those who are near your majesty know that the revolution which they would excite, would surround the vessel of the state with new perils; that they would give to factions, to whom you are opposed, the means of seeing a resting-place beyond the legitimate authority of your majesty; that they would raise pretenders to the throne where you are seated. It is not by means of a faction that your majesty ought to reign, but by a constitution, by a royal prerogative, recognised and established. Let that faction tremble, and suspend their efforts to substitute passion in their place. Their agents would be the first victims, and they would cause the greatest misfortunes to your majesty.

"We are therefore convinced that we can no longer contribute to the welfare of your subjects, that we cannot govern the state in the spirit of the councils which direct your majesty. Your wisdom will doubtless do more than our zeal and our efforts to remedy the evils which afflict the state; we therefore venture to supplicate you to believe in the regrets that we experience, in not being able any longer to contribute to serve you, and in the wishes that we have formed for the prosperity of your house, and for the safety of the country."

We must now advert to the treaties between France and the allied powers, which at this time were negotiated at Paris. They consisted of a definitive treaty between France and the allied powers, signed at Paris,

in the month of November;—an additional article to the preceding treaty, relative to the abolition of the slave-trade;—a convention relative to the payment of a pecuniary indemnity to be furnished by France to the allied powers;—a convention relative to the occupation of a military line in France by the allied army;—a note from the ministers of the allied powers to the Duke of Richelieu, on the nature and extent of the powers attached to the command of the Duke of Wellington;—a convention between Great Britain and France relative to the claims of the British subjects on the French government;—and a note from the ministers of the allied cabinets to the Duke of Richelieu, communicating a copy of a treaty of alliance between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia;—besides other documents of less importance.

As these papers are extremely voluminous, we shall merely extract such parts as are of the greatest importance, and point out most clearly the measures which the allies took to punish France, and to prevent her future aggressions.

By the first article of the definitive treaty, the frontiers of France were to remain nearly the same as they were fixed by the treaty of Paris. The fifth article is one of great importance.

"Art. V. The state of uneasiness and of fermentation, which, after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the last catastrophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of her king, and the advantages secured to every class of his subjects by the constitutional charter, requiring, for the security of the neighbouring states, certain measures of precaution, and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by a corps of allied troops, certain military positions along the frontiers of France, under the express reserve, that such occupation shall in no way prejudice the sovereignty of his most Christian majesty, nor the state of possession, such as it is recognised and confirmed by the present treaty. The number of these troops shall not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand men. The commander-in-chief of this army shall be nominated by the allied powers. This army shall occupy the fortresses of Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezières, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the Tête-de-Pont of Fort Louis. As the maintenance of the army destined for this service is to be provided by France, a special convention shall regulate every thing which may relate to that object. This convention, which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the present treaty, shall also regulate the relations of the army of occupation with the civil and military authorities of the country. The utmost extent of the duration of this military occupation is fixed at five years. It may terminate before that period, if, at the end of three years, the allied sovereigns, after having, in concert with his majesty the King of France, maturely examined their reciprocal situation and interests, and the progress which shall have been made in France in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the fortresses and positions occupied by the allied troops shall, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian majesty, or to his heirs and successors."

"Art. VI. In conformity to the fifth article of the principal treaty, the military line to be occupied by the allied troops shall extend along the frontiers which separate the departments of the Pas de Calais, of the North, of the Ardennes, of the Meuse, of the Moselle, of the Lower Rhine, and of the Upper Rhine, from the interior of France.

"It is further agreed, that neither the allied troops, nor the French troops, shall occupy (except it be for particular reasons, and by common consent) the territories and districts hereafter named, viz.

"In the department of the Somme, all the country north of that river, from Ham, to where it falls into the sea;

"In the department of l'Aisne, the districts of St. Quentin, Vervins, and Laon;

"In the departments of the Marne, those of Rheims, St. Ménéhould, and Vitry;

"In the department of the Upper Marne, those of St. Dizier and Joinville;

"In the department of the Meurthe, those of Toul, Dieuze, Sarrebourg, and Blamont;

"In the department of the Vosges, those of St. Diez, Brugères, and Remiremont.

"The district of Lure, in the department of the Upper Saône; and that of St. Hyppolite, in the department of the Doules.

"Notwithstanding the occupation, by the allies, of the portion of territory fixed by the principal treaty, and by the present convention, his most Christian majesty may, in the towns situated within the territory occupied, maintain garrisons, the number of which, however, shall not exceed what is laid down in the following enumeration:

At Calais	1000 men.
At Gravelines	500
At Bergues	500

At St. Omer	1500 men.
At Béthune	500
At Montreuil	500
At Hesdins	250
At Ardres	150
At Aire	500
At Arras	1000
At Boulogne	300
At St. Venant	300
At Lille	3000
At Dunkirk and its Forts	1000
At Douay and Fort de Scarpe	1000
At Verdun	500
At Metz	3000
At Lauterbourg	200
At Weissenbourg	150
At Lichtenbourg	150
At Petite Pierre	100
At Phalsbourg	600
At Strasbourg	3000
At Schlestadt	1000
At Neuf Brisach and Fort Mortier	1000
At Befort	1000

The next articles of importance relate to the pecuniary indemnity to be furnished by France.

"The sum of seven hundred millions of francs, being the amount of the indemnity, shall be discharged day by day, in equal portions, in the space of five years, by means of *bons au porteur* on the royal treasury of France, in the manner that shall be now set forth.

"Art. I. The allied powers, acknowledging the necessity of guaranteeing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, by erecting fortifications on certain points the most exposed, have determined to set apart for that object a portion of the sums which are to be paid by France, leaving the remainder for general distribution, under the head of indemnities. A fourth part of the total sum to be paid by France shall be applied to the erecting fortifications. But as the cession of the fortress of Saar-Louis, equally founded on the motive of general safety, renders the construction of new fortifications in the vicinity of that fortress superfluous, and that the same has been estimated at fifty millions, by the military committee who were consulted upon that point, the said fortress shall be set down at the above-mentioned sum, in the calculation of the sums to be expended in fortifications, so that the aforesaid fourth part shall not be deducted from the seven hundred millions of francs promised by France, but from seven hundred and fifty millions, including the cession of Saar-Louis. In conformity with this disposition, the sum destined for fortifications is fixed at one hundred and eighty-seven and a half millions of francs, viz. one hundred and thirty-seven and a half millions in real value, and fifty millions, represented by the fortress of Saar-Louis.

"Art. II. In apportioning these one hundred and eighty-seven and a half millions of francs amongst the states bordering on France, the undersigned ministers have had in view the necessity, more or less urgent, of those states to have additional fortresses, and the expense, more or less considerable, which the erecting them would incur, compared with the means which they severally possess, or will acquire by the present treaty.

"According to these principles, his majesty the King of the Netherlands will receive sixty millions;

"The King of Prussia twenty millions;

"The King of Sardinia ten millions;

"The King of Bavaria, or such other sovereign of the countries bordering on France between the Rhine and the Prussian territory, fifteen millions;

"The King of Spain seven and a half millions.

"Of the twenty-five millions which remain to be distributed, five shall be appropriated to finish the works at Mayence, and the remaining twenty shall be assigned for the erection of a new federal fortress upon the Upper Rhine.

"These sums shall be employed conformably with the plans and regulations which the powers shall adopt for that purpose.

"Art. III. The sum destined for the fortifications being deducted, there remains five hundred and sixty-two and a half millions, under the head of indemnities, which shall be apportioned in the following manner:

"Art. IV. Although all the allied states have afforded proofs of the same zeal and devotion for the common cause, there are some, notwithstanding, like Sweden, (which, from the very commencement, was released from all active co-operation, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying her troops across the Baltic,) who have made no efforts whatever: others, like Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, although they have armed to assist in the struggle, have been prevented by the rapidity of events from effectually contributing to its success. Switzerland, which has rendered most essential services to the common cause, did not accede to the treaty of the 25th of March on the same conditions as the other allies. These states are thereby placed in a different situation, which does not allow of their being classed with the other allied states, according to the number of their troops: it is therefore agreed, in order to obtain for them a just indemnity, as far as circumstances will permit, to apportion twelve and a half millions in the following manner:

"To Spain five millions;
"To Portugal two millions;
"To Denmark two and a half millions;
"To Switzerland three millions.

"Art. V. The burthen of the war having been borne, in the first instance, by the armies under the respective commands of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington and Field-marshal Prince Blucher; and these armies having moreover taken the city of Paris, it is agreed that there shall be retained out of the contributions paid by France, the sum of twenty-five millions for the service of Great Britain, and twenty-five millions for that of Prussia; subject to the arrangements which Great Britain is to make with the powers, whose forces constituted the army of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, as to the sum which is to fall to their share under this head.

"Art. VI. The five hundred millions which remain after the deduction of the sums stipulated in the preceding articles shall be apportioned in such manner as that Prussia, Austria, Russia, and England, shall each have a fifth part.

"Art. VII. Notwithstanding the states which have acceded to the treaty of the 25th of March of this year, have furnished, collectively, less than one-fourth of the number of troops furnished by the four principal powers conjointly; it has been resolved not to take notice of this inequality; they will, therefore, taken collectively, enjoy the fifth part which, in pursuance of the disposition contained in the preceding article, remains of the five hundred millions.

"Art. VIII. The allotment of this fifth amongst the several acceding states shall be in proportion to the number of troops furnished by them, and in the same manner as they have participated in the sum of ten millions, allowed by the French government for the pay of the troops: the table of this allotment is annexed.

TABLE of the ALLOTMENT of the ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS of FRANCS amongst the acceding Powers.

Names of the acceding Powers.		The 100 Millions of Francs make per Man 425 Francs 29 $\frac{1441}{1411}$ Cent.	
	Men.	*Francs.*	*Cents.*
Bavaria	60,000	25,517,798	66½
Low Countries	50,000	21,264,832	22½
Wirtemberg	20,000	8,505,932	88½
Sardinia	15,000	6,379,449	66½
Baden	16,000	6,804,746	31½
Hanover	10,000	4,252,966	44
Saxony	16,000	6,804,746	31½
Hesse-Darmstadt	8,000	3,402,373	15½
Hesse-Cassel	12,000	5,103,559	73½
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	3,800	1,616,127	24½
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	800	340,237	31½
Saxe-Gotha	2,200	935,652	61½
Saxe-Weimar	1,600	680,474	63½
Nassau	3,000	1,275,889	93½
Brunswick	3,000	1,275,889	93½
Hanse Towns	3,000	1,275,889	93½
Town of Franckfort	750	318,972	48½
Hohenzollern-Hittingen	194	82,507	54½
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	386	164,164	50½
Lichtenstein	100	42,529	66½
Saxe-Meinungen	600	255,177	98½
Heldbourghausen	400	170,118	66
Saxe-Cobourg	800	340,237	81½
Anholt	1,600	680,474	63½
Schwartzbourg	1,300	552,885	63½
Reusse	900	382,766	37
Lippe	1,300	552,885	63½
Waldeck	800	340,237	31½
Oldenburg	1,600	680,474	63½
Total	235,130	100,000,000	

The second article of the treaty of alliance and friendship between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, respecting revolutionary movements in France, as well as the note from the ministers of the united cabinets to the Duke of Richelieu, transmitting this treaty, and their note respecting the appointment of the Duke of Wellington to the command of the forces to be left in France, are too important to be passed over in silence.

"Art. II. The high-contracting parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolably the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the treaty signed this day with the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Buonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the treaty of the 11th of April, 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And, as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other states; under these circumstances, the high-contracting parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert amongst themselves, and with his most Christian majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective states, and for the general tranquillity of Europe."

THE FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION OF THE NOTE FROM THE MINISTERS OF THE UNITED CABINETS, TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU.

"The undersigned ministers of the united cabinets have the honour to communicate to his excellency the Duke de Richelieu the new treaty of alliance which they have just signed, in the name and by command of their august sovereigns; the object of which has been, to give to the principles established by those of Chaumont and Vienna the application the most conformable to existing circumstances, and to unite the destinies of France with the common interests of Europe.

"The allied cabinets consider the stability of the order of things, happily re-established in this country, as one of the essential bases of a solid and durable tranquillity. It is towards this end that their united efforts have been constantly directed; it is their sincere desire to maintain and to consolidate the result of these efforts, which has dictated all the stipulations of the new treaty. His most Christian majesty will perceive in this act the solicitude with which they have concerted measures the most proper to remove every thing which might in future endanger the interior repose of France, and prepared remedies against the dangers with which the royal authority, the basis of public order, might yet be menaced. The principles and the intentions of the allied sovereigns in this respect are invariable; of this the engagements which they have just contracted furnish the most unequivocal proofs; but the lively interest which they take in the satisfaction of his most Christian majesty, as well as in the tranquillity and prosperity of his kingdom, makes them hope that the fatal chances supposed in these engagements will never be realized.

"The allied cabinets find the first guarantee of this hope in the clear principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues of his most Christian majesty. His majesty acknowledges with them, that, in a state torn during a quarter of a century by revolutionary convulsions, it is not by force alone that calm can be restored to the mind, confidence to the heart, and equilibrium to the different parts of the social body; but that wisdom should be united with vigour, and moderation with firmness, for producing these happy changes.

"Far from fearing that his most Christian majesty will ever lend an ear to imprudent or impassioned councils, tending to renew discontents and alarms, to excite hatred and divisions, the allied cabinets are entirely relieved from that anxiety by the wise as well as generous disposition which the king has evinced at every period of his reign, and especially at that of his return after the last criminal attempt. They know that his majesty will oppose to all the enemies of the public good, and of the tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they may present themselves, his adherence to the constitutional laws, promulgated under his own auspices, his well-understood intention, to be the father of all his subjects, to efface from remembrance the evils which they have suffered, and to preserve of times past only the good which Providence has brought forth even from the bosom of public calamity. It is thus only that the views formed by the allied cabinets for the preservation of the constitutional authority of his most Christian majesty, for the happiness of his country, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world, will be crowned with a complete success; and that France, established upon her ancient basis, will resume the eminent place to which she is called in the European system.

"The undersigned have the honour to renew to his excellency the Duke de Richelieu the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) "METTERNICH. "CASTLEREAGH.
"HARDENBERG. "CAPO D'ISTRIA.

"His excellency the Duke de Richelieu, minister and secretary of state to his most Christian majesty for foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c."

THE ALLIED MINISTERS TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU.

"The allied sovereigns, having entrusted Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington with the command in chief of that portion of their troops which, by article V. of the treaty concluded this day with France, is to remain in that country for a certain number of years, the undersigned ministers of the cabinets, &c. &c. think it advisable to come to an understanding with his excellency the Duke de Richelieu upon the nature and extent of the powers attached to this command.

"Although chiefly led to the adoption of this measure by motives of consideration for the security and welfare of their own subjects, and far from having the intention of employing their troops in the maintenance of the police or interior administration of France, or of interfering with or shackling the free exercise of the royal authority in that country, the allied sovereigns have, nevertheless, in consideration of the high interest which induces them to strengthen the authority of the legitimate sovereign, promised to his most Christian majesty, to support him with their arms against all revolutionary convulsion tending to overturn by force the state of things actually established, and which would thus threaten anew the tranquillity of Europe.

"But, not forgetting that under the variety of shapes in which the revolutionary spirit might still show itself in France, there might be doubts as to what cases might require the interference of a foreign force, and, being well aware of the difficulty of giving precise instructions applicable to each particular case, the allied sovereigns have thought it most advisable to confide to the known prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington, the determination of the time and mode in which it would be proper to employ the troops under his orders, in a full confidence that he will, in no case, act without having previously concerted his measures with his majesty the King of France, and that he will acquaint, as soon as possible, the allied sovereigns with the motives which have engaged him to take his determinations.

"And as, in order to assist the Duke of Wellington in the choice of his dispositions, it will be important that he should be accurately informed of the events which take place in France, the ministers of the four allied courts accredited to his most Christian majesty have received orders to keep up jointly a regular correspondence with his grace, and to be, at the same time, the regular channel of communication between the French government and the commander-in-chief of the allied troops, for the purpose of forwarding to the French government those communications which the Duke of Wellington may have to address to it, and also transmit to the field-marshal those views and applications which the court of France might wish he should receive.

"The undersigned hope that the Duke de Richelieu will perceive in these arrangements the same character, and the same principles, in which the measure of the military occupation of part of France has been conceived and adopted. They, moreover, carry with them, in quitting this country, the consolatory persuasion, that, notwithstanding the elements of disorder which France may still contain, in consequence of the revolutionary events, a wise and paternal government, acting on principles adapted to compose and conciliate the minds of the people, and abstaining from all acts contrary to such system, will succeed not only in maintaining the public repose, but also in re-establishing universal union and confidence, while it will relieve the allied powers, as far as the measures of the government will admit, from the painful necessity of recurring to the adoption of means, which, in the event of renewed disorder, would be imperiously prescribed to them by the duty of providing for the security of their own subjects, and the general tranquillity of Europe.

"The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) "CASTLEREAGH. "CAPO D'ISTRIA.
"HARDENBERG. "RASOUMOFFSKY.
"METTERNICH. "WESSENBERG."

Marshal Ney, whose treasonable defection has been already related in its proper place, was now arrested, and brought before a court-martial, charged with his trial, in the great hall of the palace of justice, on the 9th of November.

At eight o'clock in the morning, a detachment of each legion of the national guard, picquets of gens-d'armerie, &c. were stationed at the palace, and in the environs.

The service of the interior of the palace was performed by national guards and veterans. The place for the accused was near his advocate, in the semicircular space below the bench of the judges.

The concourse of persons assembled to hear the trial was prodigious. Prince Augustus of Prussia, Lord

and Lady Castlereagh, and several other persons of distinction, occupied the places reserved for their accommodation.

The opening of the sitting was, however, delayed by the following incident.

Massena, Prince of Essling, conceived that he ought to decline assisting as judge of the Prince of Moskwa; observing, that an enmity had been produced between himself and the accused, by some differences that had arisen between them in Spain.

The council of war deliberated upon the validity of the reasons urged by Marshal Massena, and decided that it was impossible the slight resentment of a general of an army could operate upon the conscience of a judge. The marshal then took his seat among the members of the council.

After the reading of various letters relative to the convocation and formation of the court-martial, Marshal Jourdan notified to Lieut.-General Grundler, the reporter, to begin reading the papers. The first were the two ordonnances of the 24th of July and 2d of August, relative to the individuals to be tried by the court-martial of the first division.

Several preliminary papers were then read, among which was the following examination of Marshal Ney in his prison:

"*Q.* When you received information of the new landing of Buonaparte, did you offer your services to his majesty?

"*A.* I did not offer my services to his majesty. I left my estate near Chateaudun, in consequence of an order which I received from the minister of war, appointing me governor of the military division. But I have to observe that I am not bound to answer your questions. According to the laws of the kingdom, I am not liable to be tried by a military commission, but by the house of peers. Besides, I know not what your quality is. I perceive, indeed, from your dress, that you belong to the king's government, but nothing proves to me in what character you appear here.

"*Q.* You cannot be ignorant of my office. I am introduced into your apartment by the keeper of this prison, whom you every day see.

"*A.* I do not refuse to answer your questions, but I think I might be assisted by my counsel.

"*Q.* When did you arrive at Paris?

"*A.* On the 9th.

"*Q.* What induced you to proceed to Paris?

"*A.* An order from the minister of war, which directed me to proceed to Besancon.

"*Q.* Why did you not proceed directly to that destination?

"*A.* I would have gone to Besancon, but having no uniforms, I came to Paris for them.

"*Q.* Did you ask an audience of his majesty before your departure?

"*A.* I made, in fact, that request; but the minister refused it, under the pretext that his majesty was indisposed. I saw the Duke of Berri at six in the morning, and afterwards waited on the king.

"*Q.* What did you say to his majesty?

"*A.* I stated that the minister of war having ordered me to depart, I had waited on his majesty to ask such instructions as he pleased to give me.

"*Q.* What did the king say to you?

"*A.* That he relied on my zeal and devotedness.

"*Q.* What answer did you make?

"*A.* I believe I replied that this was an act of madness, and that if Buonaparte were taken, he deserved to be brought to Paris in an iron cage. I know it has been reported that I promised to *bring* him in an iron cage, but I do not think I said that. I also stated that Buonaparte was very criminal in having broken his owtlawry. I afterwards made the same observation to himself, but he laughed at it.

"*Q.* Did you not ask his majesty for money at this interview?

"*A.* I know it has been publicly reported that I received five hundred thousand francs, but that is false. The prefect of Besancon offered me money, if I wanted it.

"*Q.* On taking leave of the king, did not you kiss his hand?

"*A.* I do not well recollect that incident. Yes, I believe I did kiss his majesty's hand when he presented it on my taking leave.

"*Q.* Did you not receive orders from Buonaparte before your arrival at Besancon?

"*A.* No. I received no orders except from the minister at war, the Duke de Berri, and his majesty.

"*Q.* On arriving at Lons-le-Saulnier, did you not receive an agent from Buonaparte?

"*A.* On the 13th, at two in the morning, I received an agent, whom I supposed to be an officer of the guard in disguise, and who had lost an arm. He delivered to me, on the part of General Bertrand, the proclamation which I published on the 14th. I say *the* proclamation, and not *my* proclamation, because it was sent to me ready drawn up.

"*Q.* How came you to determine upon publishing that proclamation?

A. Before causing it to be read to the troops, I communicated it to General Bourmont and another, and asked them what I ought to do? Bourmont replied, that the Bourbons had committed great faults, and that

they ought to be abandoned. In the morning I assembled the troops, and read the proclamation, which was printed two hours after.

"*Q.* Do you affirm that you did not write to Buonaparte before the 14th, and that you sent no officers to him?

"*A.* I neither wrote nor sent officers to him. Before reading the proclamation to the troops on the 14th, I assembled the senior officers of several regiments. I harangued them in a manner favourable to the interests of the king, and stated that if I observed the least hesitation among any of them, I would punish them with the greatest severity

"*Q.* Did you, on the 14th, exhort the troops to abandon the cause of the king, and espouse that of Buonaparte?

"*A.* It is true I did. I was impelled—I did wrong; of that there is no doubt.

"The marshal then said, 'I have been often tempted to blow out my brains; but I have not done it, because I wish to vindicate myself. I know I have done much wrong, for which good men will blame me. I blame myself; but I am not a traitor: I was drawn on. Had I wished to betray, I should have given false information to Suchet, when he wrote to me that his troops were in a state of fermentation.'

"*Q.* If you did not correspond with Buonaparte before your arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, why did you so soon change your resolution?

"*A.* Why do you ask? One might say that a dyke had broken. I was disconcerted by the bad news which was circulating, and by the terrors which the prefect of Doubs had created. I had lost my head; I stood in no relation with things as they were; I was doubtless wrong in reading the proclamation, but was impelled by circumstances.

"*Q.* What did Bertrand say to you in the first letter he wrote?

"*A.* He gave me orders. You must have one hundred pieces of cannon, he said. If you want any, I have found five hundred at Grenoble. He said nothing respecting the king; he expressed himself as if the Bourbons had never appeared.

"*Q.* Where did you see Buonaparte?

"*A.* At Auxerre.

"*Q.* What did he say to you at that interview?

"*A.* He told me that he could have caused the king and the royal family to be arrested, but that he was sure of Paris. He spoke of his dining on board of an English vessel in the road of the Isle of Elba, and mentioned the French generals who were present. He told me that his project was certain, and had been prepared by long combination. He spoke to me of all that had passed at Paris, of the dinner at the Hotel de Ville, to which he said the marshals had not been invited. He told me that my wife had not been invited, which was correct, and appeared to be well informed of every thing. I believe it was he who informed me of the disgrace of Soult. He spoke of Soult's system, which had placed two lieutenants-general in each military division, one of whom corresponded with himself only; so that there was in each department one general for the king, and another for the minister.

"*Q.* Did not Buonaparte, in this interview, remind you of former connections?

"*A.* He spoke of my campaigns, and called me 'the brave among the brave,'—an appellation which he used often to give to me.

"At the end of this examination the marshal said, 'I left Paris with the intention of sacrificing my life for the king. What I did was a great evil. I lost myself. I would have gone to the United States, where I wished to remain for the honour of my children.'

"Marshal de Sorans, aid-de-camp to Monsieur, was sent to the Duke de Berri. He met Marshal Ney, who carried him to Lons-le-Saulnier. The disposition of the army appeared disquieting. The marshal re-assured him. Afterwards the marshal received the proclamations of Buonaparte. The witness set off again on the 13th, with despatches for the marshal, who appeared to shew the best principles.

"The Count de Villars, on the 15th, learned the reading of the proclamation of Marshal Ney, and the insurrection of the town of Lons. The same thing happened at Poligny, as well as at Arbois. In the evening of next day, Generals Bourmont and Lecourbe arrived. M. de Villars conversed with them, and, seeing General Lecourbe with a tri-coloured cockade, he reproached him for it: but Lecourbe answered, 'What would you have us do with soldiers who will not fight? we resemble the Roman empire in its decline.'

"The Count de Grivel, marechal de camp, declared, that he saw Marshal Ney on the 13th of March last, and that he was well-disposed; that, on the 14th, the witness was present at the review, in which the marshal read the proclamation. The witness withdrew to Dole to M. de Vaulchier.

"M. de Montgenet, marechal de camp, declared that, on the 10th of March, Marshal Ney came to Besancon, and took military measures; that he then went to Lons-le-Saulnier.

"M. Duleur, lieutenant-general, declared that, on the 14th of March, after having heard the proclamation of Marshal Ney, he retired; that the marshal then issued an order for his arrest; but that this order was afterwards revoked.

"M. Pierre Boulogne, a merchant of Paris, declared that, on the 12th of March, he returned from Lyons to Paris by Lons-le-Saulnier. He was carried before Marshal Ney; he informed him of Buonaparte's entrance into Lyons, and the details of that event. The marshal said that he had concerted with Marshal Massena, who would shortly arrive; that the enterprise of Buonaparte was nothing; and that it would never succeed.

"The declaration of M. Garnier, formerly mayor of Dole, was next heard. He deposed, that, having seen Marshal Ney on the 15th of March, he heard him use the most incendiary language against the august dynasty of the Bourbons; that the marshal caused the city of Dole to be illuminated, and issued the proclamation which he had read the night before at Lons-le-Saulnier. The witness was to have been arrested; but he concealed himself for thirty-two days in a forest, and thus escaped. He believed that the marshal might have stopped the enterprise of Buonaparte.

"Lieutenant-general Count de Bourmont deposed, that, on the 5th of March, he was informed of the debarkation of Buonaparte. He marched the troops from Besancon to Lyons, according to the orders of Monsieur. From the 12th to the 14th of March, he was under the orders of Marshal Ney, at Lons-le-Saulnier. The marshal declared it to be necessary to oppose Buonaparte. He reported the measures which they took in concert with each other.

"On the 15th of March, the marshal read to him a proclamation which he wished to publish: he opposed this publication as much as possible, and endeavoured to bring back the marshal to his duty towards the king. The marshal read the proclamation to the soldiers. It excited cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*'

"This witness expressed an opinion, that if, on taking precautions, battle had been given, the troops might have remained faithful to the king; but the proclamation defeated every thing. The subaltern officers and soldiers impelled the superior officers and generals, many of whom retired. The declaration of General Count de Bourmont mentioned officers who remained faithful to the king.

"There was next read a supplement to that declaration, explaining the measures of defence adopted at Besancon.

Field-marshal Guy made a declaration, which was read. He deposed that, being at Lons-le-Saulnier on half-pay, he visited Marshal Ney on the 12th of March, who engaged him to remain faithful to the king.

"The witness only knew by hearsay, the measures which were adopted for the defence of the country. He was at breakfast with General Jarry when the marshal read his proclamation, which was succeeded by cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*'

"On the 13th of March, the marshal assembled his generals, and informed them that they could no longer hesitate, and that it was necessary to join Buonaparte. He disregarded the observations of M. Bourmont, and the witness, and read his proclamation to them. The witness was near the marshal when he read the proclamation to the troops. It produced the most fatal effects; and, at that period, they were so near Lyons, that it would have been difficult to repress the soldiers for any length of time.

"M. de Beurogard, chief of a squadron of gendarmerie, said, that, after having read his proclamation to the troops, Marshal Ney embraced them all, even the fifers and drummers, and that he endeavoured in vain to compel the witness to shout '*Vive l'Empereur!*'

"Baron Capelle, prefect of Ain, declared, that Generals de Bourmont and Lecourb, and Marshal Ney himself, informed him, that the return of Buonaparte was contrived by Marshal Ney, with other marshals, the minister of war, and Madame Hortensia. The Duke of Orleans was at first thought of; but, after having learnt with certainty that that prince would not favour the projects of the conspirators, they were obliged to accept the proposals of Madame Hortensia.

"The prefect of Cruize deposed, that he informed the marshal of his firm resolution to remain faithful to the king, and that the marshal replied, '*You are acting foolishly:*' adding many insults and outrages against the princes; and that the marshal terminated this interview by the following words, which he pronounced with a firm voice:—'*We must have another dynasty.*'

"Several other depositions tended deeply to inculpate the accused. None, however, shewed that he had either demanded or received money before his departure from Paris.

"The sitting terminated at half-past five o'clock, and adjourned till the next day, to continue the reading of the documents."

On the 10th, the second sitting was opened, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The reporter, M. de Case, said, "I am about to read to the court some documents which are *not testimonies:* they are letters, or mere notes, which can only be considered as notices."

After these had been read, the president spoke as follows:

"The reading of the documents being now terminated, the accused is about to make his appearance. I must remind the public that all marks of applause, or

disapprobation are prohibited. I have directed the commandant of the guard to remove every person who shall not conduct himself with the respect that is due to the court and to misfortune."

At twelve o'clock, Marshal Ney made his appearance; almost the whole audience rose from their seats; his presence produced a lively sensation, and a short pause followed. The president invited him to sit down in an arm-chair placed on a small platform, opposite to the members of the court; he made a slight inclination of his body when invited to sit down. He wore a simple military frock, without facings; he had a piece of crape upon his arms, and also something in the form of a cockade in his hat. He appeared in good health, and not depressed, though occasionally agitated.

On the president asking—What is your name, your place of birth, and description?—the marshal rose, and read the following speech:

"From deference to the marshals of France and the lieutenants-general, I have consented to reply to the questions which were put to me in their name by the Marshal-de-camp Grundler, not wishing to obstruct the course of proceedings commenced against me. But introduced before a tribunal, I now think it my duty to abstain from answering every question that might tend to acknowledge the legitimacy of my mode of trial. Without, therefore, failing in the respect which I owe to Messrs. the marshals of France, and the lieutenants-general, I declare that I deny the competency of any court-martial to try me, and I formally demand to be brought before the judges who are assigned to me by the constitutional charter. A stranger to matters of jurisprudence, I demand permission of the court to develope my reasons by the organ of my defender."

The president, Marshal Jourdan, received this declaration of the accused: he at the same time observed to him, that, to ascertain his identity, it was essential that he should reply to the questions put to him, as to his name, surname, quality, and the orders with which he was decorated; but his answers would no-ways compromise him.

Several questions were then proposed, to which the marshal replied as follows:

"My name is Michael Ney, born at San Louis, the —— February, 1769; Marshal of France, duke of Elchingen, prince of the Moskwa, knight of St. Louis, grand cordon of the Legion of Honour, knight of the Iron Crown, and grand cross of the order of Christ."

M. Berryer, Marshal Ney's counsel, urged the incompetency of the court in a long speech, which was replied to by M. Joinville; after which, Marshal Ney was conducted back to the prison of the Conciergerie. The council retired at four o'clock, and, in half an hour, the president, in open court, pronounced the following judgment:

"The council, having deliberated on the question of its incompetence to try Marshal Ney, has decided by a majority of five voices against two, that it is not competent to try Marshal Ney. It directs the Marshal-de-camp Grundler, the reporter, to acquaint Marshal Ney with this judgment."

In consequence of this decision, the following ordinance of the king was published on the 11th, and introduced to the chamber of peers the same evening:

"Louis, *by the grace of God, &c.*

"Considering the 33d article of the constitutional charter, and having heard our ministers, we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

"The chamber of peers shall proceed, without delay, to the trial of Marshal Ney, accused of high treason, and of an outrage against the safety of the state.

"It will observe on the trial, the same forms as on the proposition of laws, without, however, dividing itself into bureaux.

"The president of the chamber shall question the prisoner during the audience, and shall regulate the debates.

"The opinions shall be taken according to the forms used in the tribunals.

"The present ordinance shall be carried to the chamber of peers by our ministers, secretaries of state, and by our attorney-general of the royal court of Paris, whom we charge to support the accusation and the discussion.

"Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the 11th of November, 1815, and of our reign the twenty-first.

(Signed) "Louis.
(Countersigned) "Richelieu."

The Duke de Richelieu, president of the cabinet, explained to the chamber the motives of this ordinance in the following speech:

"My Lords,

"The extraordinary court-martial established for the trial of Marshal Ney has declared itself incompetent. I shall not mention all the reasons on which their opinion is founded. Suffice it to say, that one of the motives is, that the marshal is accused of high treason.

"By the terms of the charter, it belongs to you to try this sort of crime. It is not necessary, for exercising this high jurisdiction, that the chamber be organized like an ordinary tribunal. The forms which you follow in the proposition of laws, and for judging, in

some sort, of those which are presented to you, are undoubtedly sufficiently solemn and certain for judging any man, whatever be his dignity, whatever his rank.

"The chamber is then adequately constituted for judging of the crime of high treason, of which Marshal Ney has so long ago been accused.

"No person could wish that judgment be retarded, because there does not exist, in the chamber of peers, a magistrate who exercises the office of attorney-general. The charter has not established such an office. It has not desired to establish it—perhaps it ought not. In some cases of high treason, the accuser will come from the chamber of deputies; in others, the government itself will become one; the ministers are the natural organs of the accusation and we conceive, that we rather fulfil a duty, than exercise a right in discharging before you the public ministry.

"It is not merely in the name of the king, that we perform this office, it is in that of France, long since indignant, and even now astonished—it is even in the name of Europe that we approach, requiring and conjuring you at once to judge Marshal Ney.

"It is unnecessary, gentlemen, to pursue the method of magistrates, who, in accusing, enumerate all the charges brought against the accused—they arise from the proceedings which will be submitted to you. This process subsists in full force, notwithstanding the incompetence, or even the cause of it, as pronounced. The reading of the documents, which we place on your *bureaux*, will acquaint you with the charges. There is, then, no necessity to define the different crimes of which Marshal Ney is accused; they are all united in the words traced by the charter, which, after the conversion of society in France, has become its surest basis.

"We accuse before you Marshal Ney of high treason, and of a wicked attempt against the safety of the state.

"We dare to add, that the chamber of peers owes to the world a signal reparation: it must be prompt, for it is of importance to restrain the indignation which bursts forth from every quarter. You will not suffer a long importunity to engender new miseries, perhaps greater than we endeavour to escape.

"The ministers of the king are obliged to tell you, that this decision of the council of war has become a triumph to the factious. It is necessary that their joy be short, to prevent its being fatal to them. We therefore conjure you, and in the name of the king, we require you to proceed immediately to the trial of Marshal Ney, pursuing in this process the forms you observe in the deliberation upon laws, saving the modifications recommended by his majesty's ordinance, which shall now be read to you.

"By this ordinance your judicial functions immediately commence. You owe it to yourselves, gentlemen, to hold no language by which your sentiments for or against the prisoner may be discovered. He shall appear before you on the day and hour fixed by the chamber."

The judgment, by which the permanent court-martial of the first military division declared itself incompetent to try Marshal Ney, and the ordinance of the king, having been read, the chamber, on the motion of one of the members, decreed, that it received with respect the communication then made to them by his majesty's ministers; that it recognised the attributes which were given to it by the thirty-third article of the charter, and was ready to fulfil its duty in conformity with the king's ordinance.—The chamber then adjourned.

On the 13th, Marshal Ney addressed the following letter to the Duke of Wellington, and to the other ambassadors of the allied powers, at Paris:

The Marshal Prince of the Moskwa, to the Ambassadors of the Four Grand Allied Powers.

"EXCELLENCY,

"It is at the last extremity, at the moment in which the critical circumstances to which I see myself reduced, leave me no longer but too feeble means of avoiding the condition and the terrible danger of an accusation of the crime of high treason, that I resolve to have recourse to a legitimate address to you, of which the object is as follows:

"I am sent before the chamber of peers by virtue of an ordinance issued by the king on the 11th instant, and after a speech addressed to that chamber by his majesty's prime minister. This imposing denunciation, and the considerations upon which it is founded, are of a nature to give me just apprehensions. Among other motives for instituting my process, I have read with astonishment in that speech, 'that it was *even in the name of Europe* that the ministers came to conjure the chamber, and to require it to try me.' Such a declaration, suffer me to observe, is irreconcileable with what has passed in these last periods of agitation in France. I do not conceive how the august allies can be made to intervene in this criminal proceeding, since their magnanimity was generously occupied with the care of guaranteeing me against it, and since a formal, sacred, and inviolable convention exists upon this subject.

"Deign to recollect that, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, the high-contracting parties had

formed an alliance with his majesty, Louis XVIII. Being informed at Vienna, on the 13th of March last, that the cause of legitimacy in France was threatened by the return of Buonaparte, they resolved upon the solemn compact of that day, in conjunction with the ministers of his most Christian majesty. In this compact the allied sovereigns declared, 'that they were ready to give to the king of France and to the French nation the necessary succours to restore public tranquillity, and to make common cause against those who should undertake to disturb it.'

"In the confirmatory compact of the 25th of the same month of March, the high powers engage solemnly to unite all their force to maintain in all their integrity the *conditions of the treaty of Paris* against the plans of Buonaparte; *they promise to act in common.* They regulate the respective contingents; *they propose to march against the common enemy.* In fine, his most Christian majesty was *invited to give his assent to the said measures,* in case he should stand in need of the *auxiliary troops* that were promised him, &c.

"It results clearly from these different stipulations that all the armies of Europe, without distinction, have been the auxiliaries of the king of France; that they have fought in his direct interest for the submission of all his subjects. Victory soon decided in favour of the English and Prussian arms united on the plains of Waterloo, and brought them under the walls of Paris. There remained, to oppose their ulterior progress, a corps of the French army which might have sold their lives dearly. A negotiation took place, and on the 3d of July a convention between the two parties was signed. The twelfth article of which says, 'Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all the individuals who are in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed, or sought after, for any thing relating to the functions they occupy, or shall have occupied, or *their conduct and their political opinions.*'

"The convention has been since ratified by each of the allied sovereigns, as being the work of the two powers, at first delegated *de facto.* It has thus acquired all the force which the sacred right of nations, the rights of nature, and of persons, could possibly impart to it. It is become the unalterable safeguard of all Frenchmen whom the misfortune of the troubles may have exposed even to the legitimate resentment of their prince.

"His most Christian majesty positively acceded to it himself upon entering into his capital; more than once he has invoked the imposing authority of this political contract as an act indivisible in all its parts.

"Hence, excellency, can it be doubted that I am justified as one of the persons for whom this stipulation was made, in claiming the benefit of the 12th article, and the religious execution of the guarantees expressed in it?

"I presume, in consequence, to require expressly from your ministry, and from the august power in the name of which you exercise it, that you cause an end to be put, with regard to me, to all criminal procedure on account of the functions which I filled in the month of March, 1815, *of my conduct, and of my political opinions.*

"My state of isolation and abandonment is a reason for determining your excellency more readily to come to my succour, and to enable me to enjoy, by your powerful mediation, the right I have acquired.

"If I had not blindly relied on the word of so many sovereigns, I should, in some unknown land, have made myself forgotten. It is this august and holy word that has caused my security.—Can I be deceived? I cannot believe so; and I expect with confidence, from your sense of honour, that you will grant me your powerful intervention.

"*Paris, Nov.* 14. (Signed) NEY."

To this letter the Duke of Wellington returned the following answer:

"*Paris, Nov.* 15, 1815.

"MONSIEUR LE MARESCHAL.

"I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th instant, relative to the operation of the capitulation of Paris in your case.

"The capitulation of Paris, of the 3d of July last, was made between the commanders-in-chief of the allied and Prussian armies, on the one part, and the Prince D'Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on the other, and related *exclusively* to the *military occupation of Paris.*

"The object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the *military authority of those who made it, towards any person in Paris,* on account of any offices they had filled, or any conduct or political opinions of theirs; but it never was intended, and never could be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which might succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might see fit.

"I have the honour to be,

"Monsieur le Mareschal,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

On the 4th of December, the marshal was brought before the chamber of peers; M. M. Berryer and Dupin, his defender and counsel, having previously distributed a memorial, entitled "Effects of the military convention of the 3d of July, 1815, and of the treaty of the 20th of November, with reference to the accusations of Marshal Ney."

The chancellor having given orders to read the act of accusation, the king's attorney-general deemed it unnecessary, and desired that the examination of witnesses should commence.

The prisoner had the Prince of Eckmuhl, the Count de Bondy, Guilleminot, and Bignon, to give evidence relative to the bases of the military convention they had signed with the allies on the 3d of July, for the surrender of Paris, and the evacuation of the French army, and of which the prisoner claimed the benefit of the twelfth article.

The Duc d'Albufera was prevented from attending by indisposition.

The marshal's name, title, and dignities, being demanded by the chancellor, he observed, that he would answer every question addressed to him, reserving the right of enforcing in his defence, the clauses relating to him in the capitulation of the 3d of July, and the treaty of the 20th of November.

Here the marshal underwent a long examination, similar, in substance, to that which previously took place in the Conciergerie, and has been already laid before the reader.

Several witnesses also testified to the general conduct of Ney. Their evidence is only a repetition of what was deposed before the council of war on the first proceedings against the marshal.

During the trial, a peer required of the prisoner the names of Buonaparte's emissaries, who came to him on the night of the 13th and 14th; but the marshal, acknowledging that he knew them, refused to tell.

The sitting was then adjourned to Tuesday morning, when the examination of witnesses was resumed, several of whom spoke warmly to the general good intentions of the marshal; but these were more than counterbalanced by the mass of contrary evidence.

Marshal Davoust appeared to give evidence relative to the convention of the 3d of July, and said,

"On the 2d or 3d of July, at the moment I was preparing to give battle, the provisional government sent me a projet of an armistice. I dictated to M. Bignon some new articles, and among them the twelfth, relative to respect of persons and property, and to an oblivion of all political opinions, and I ordered M. Guilleminot to break off the armistice if this article was not adopted."

M. Dupin demanded the marshal's opinion relative to the *intent* of the article; but the chancellor deemed this question unnecessary, as the chamber would decide what influence the armistice would have on the case. This opinion prevailed with the court.

The examination having terminated, M. Bellart, the king's attorney-general, addressed the chamber, and after assimilating the situation of Marshal Ney to the fallen glories of Tadmor in the desert, he proceeded to recapitulate the evidence, and commented with much severity on the marshal's conduct.

The sitting then closed, in compliance with the wishes of the prisoner's counsel.

The next morning, at half-past ten, M. Berryer commenced his defence. He expressed his gratitude to the king for allowing a free and public trial to the prisoner, and to the chamber, for their indulgence in granting time sufficient for preparation. He drew a picture of the rapid progress of Buonaparte, impelled by the blind enthusiasm of the people, and facilitated by the ready defection of the soldiery; and founded on the presumption, that the marshal, far from being able to direct the current of opinion, was hurried forward by its irresistible impetuosity. Far from being influenced by that vanity imputed in the act of accusation, he attempted to shew, that, honoured as the marshal had been by the royal favour, and proudly eminent as he then stood in general opinion, it must have been his interest to consolidate that authority under which he then flourished. "Why then," asked the counsel, "should the case of Marshal Ney stand isolated from the mass of defection?"

He then commented on the evidence, and observed how strongly it corroborated his previous observations. But not only was the marshal's conduct defensible, but even commendable, as resulting from the paramount consideration of the general tranquillity of the country. On this he observed, the case might be rested; but other points of importance to the accused impelled him forward.

Here the counsel was proceeding to speak on the military convention, when the attorney-general interrupted him, and the chancellor prevented the counsel of the prisoner from developing the motives of that convention.

M. Dupin—"To prove to you the high respect we entertain for the decision of the chamber, we shall not speak in opposition to the *arret* now pronounced; but I supplicate the court to receive one observation in point of fact. The marshal is not only under the protection of the French laws, but also under that of the *rights of nations*. Though a Frenchman in heart, the *marshal is no longer so*, by the treaty of the 20th of November. Saar-Louis is no longer our territory. The marshal may do what he pleases, but I thus acquit my conscience."

Marshal Ney—"Yes, I *am* a Frenchman—and I will *die* a Frenchman!—I request, under favour, that you will hear what I have to say.—*(He opened a paper.)*—So far from my defence being free, I perceive that it is shackled. I thank my advocates for what they have done, and for what they are prepared still to do; but I entreat them to cease, rather than defend me imperfectly. I would prefer not being defended at all, to having only the semblance of a defence. I am accused against the faith of treaties, and it is not permitted that I claim them. I will act like Moreau, and appeal to Europe and posterity." He was here interrupted by the attorney-general.

The Chancellor—"The advocates of the prisoner may continue to speak in conformity with the injunction I have laid down, and confining themselves to the question."

Marshal Ney—"I forbid my advocates to speak; at least they should not be suffered to speak every thing that they may judge proper."

The Attorney-General—"Since the marshal persists, and the defence ceases, the accusation likewise ceases."

The king's commissioners then required the judgment of the court on Marshal Ney, and that he be condemned to capital punishment.

The Chancellor—"Accused, have you any thing to object to the requisition?"

Marshal Ney—"Nothing at all."

The prisoner then retired.

The chamber commenced its deliberations at five o'clock, and at half-past eleven the chancellor pronounced the following sentence:—

"Michael Ney, marshal of France, Duke of Elchingen, Prince of the Moskwa, being convicted of high treason, with all the circumstances included in the accusation, the chamber condemns him to the punishment of death."

On leaving the chamber of peers, Marshal Ney called for dinner, and seemed to eat with a good appetite. Perceiving that a small round-pointed knife which he used, excited some apprehensions in his guards, lest he should employ it to kill himself, he threw it down. After dinner, he smoked a segar, and then fell into an apparently sound sleep, from which he did not wake till M. Cauchy, secretary reporter of the chamber of Peers, came to read his sentence to him. Before he commenced the reading of it, M. Cauchy endeavoured to address to him a few pathetic words, to assure him how painful it was to be obliged to perform so melancholy an office. "Sir," said the marshal, interrupting him, "do your duty, as every man ought to do: read."

Upon the preamble being read, he said impatiently, "To the *fact*, to the fact at once."

When he came to the article of the law respecting the succession to the crown—"That law," cried the marshal, "cannot be applicable to me; it was for the imperial family that it was made." When his titles were detailed, he observed, "What good can this do? Michael Ney,—then a heap of dust,—that is all."

The reading being finished, the secretary told him that he had no time to lose for his testamentary dispositions. "I am ready to die," he said, "whenever they wish."

M. Cauchy then told him, that if, in these last moments, he wished for the consolations of religion, he might send for the rector of St. Sulpice, who had already come to offer his services: "That is sufficient," replied the marshal, "I will think of it." Upon M. Cauchy's observing, that in case any other clergyman should be more agreeable, he might send for him, the marshal said, "Once again, I say, that is sufficient; I want no priest to teach me how to die."

Upon its being observed that he was at liberty to take leave of his wife and children, he desired that they should be written to come between six and seven in the morning. "I hope," he added, "that your letter will not announce to my wife that her husband is condemned. It is for *me* to inform her of my fate."

M. Cauchy then retired, and the marshal threw himself in his clothes on the bed, and fell asleep immediately.

At four in the morning he was awakened by the arrival of the marechale, his wife, with her children, and Madame Gamon, his sister. The unfortunate wife, as soon as she entered the chamber, fell in a fit on the ground. The marshal and his guard raised her. To a long fainting fit succeeded tears and groans.—Madame Gamon, on her knees before the marshal, was not in a less deplorable condition. The children, silent and sad, did not weep. The eldest appeared to be about eleven years of age.—The marshal spoke to them a long time, but in a low tone of voice. On a sudden he rose, and entreated his family to withdraw. At this moment the despair of Madame Ney became inexpressible, and the children, hitherto silent, burst into piercing cries.

Left alone with his guards, he walked up and down the chamber. One of them, a grenadier of Laroche Jaquelin, said to him, "Marshal, in the situation in which you are, should you not think of God? It is always good to reconcile oneself to God. I have seen many battles, and every time I could I confessed myself, and found myself always the better for it."

The marshal stopped, looked at him attentively, and then said, "You are in the right; yes, you are in the right. We ought to die as honest men, and as good

Christians. I desire to see the rector of St. Sulpice." The grenadier did not want to be told twice. The clergyman was forthwith introduced into the chamber of the condemned. He remained shut up with him three-quarters of an hour. When he retired, the marshal expressed a desire to see him in his last moments. The priest kept his word. At half-past eight he returned, and, at nine, being informed that all was ready, the marshal gave him his hand to help him into the coach, saying to him, "Get in first, M. le Curé; I shall be above sooner than you."

Just before the marshal left his chamber, he changed his dress, put on a white waistcoat, black breeches and stockings, blue frock coat, and a round hat.

It was in the carriage of M. the Grand Referenderie that he was carried across the garden of the Luxembourg, to the extremity of the grand alley that leads to the observatory, the place appointed for his execution. A small detachment of gendarmerie, and two platoons of veterans, were there waiting for him. On seeing that they stopped, the marshal, who thought they were conducting him to the plain of Grenelle, expressed some surprise. He embraced his confessor, and gave him his snuff-box, to be delivered to Madame the Marechale, and some pieces of gold which he had in his pocket, to be distributed among the poor.

Arrived at the gate, the carriage turned a little to the left, and stopped about thirty paces from the wall, near which the execution was to take place. A picquet of veterans, sixty strong, had been on the spot since five o'clock in the morning. At the moment when the carriage stopped, the platoon arranged itself. An officer of gendarmerie got out of the carriage first, and was followed by the marshal, who asked if that was the place of execution. After embracing the confessor, who remained near the coach, praying fervently, the marshal proceeded with a quick step and determined air, to within eight paces of the wall, and, turning round upon the soldiers with vivacity, and, at the same time, facing them, cried out, with a loud and strong voice, "*Comrades, straight to the heart, fire.*" While repeating these words, he took off his hat with his left hand, and placed his right hand upon his heart. The officer gave the signal with his sword at the same moment, and the marshal instantly fell dead, pierced with twelve balls, three of which took place in the head.

Conformably to military regulations, the body remained exposed on the place of execution for a quarter of an hour. There were but few persons, however, present; for the populace, believing that the execution would take place on the plain of Grenelle, had repaired thither.

At half-past six next morning, the corpse was conveyed to the burying-ground of Pere la Chaise, in a hearse, followed by a mourning-coach and several other coaches; it having been previously inclosed in a leaden coffin, within an oak one.

We must now call the attention of our readers to the trial of LAVALETTE, the public proceedings of which commenced about ten o'clock, on the 20th of November, before the court of assize for the department of the Seine.

After the jury had answered to their names, and been sworn to decide according to their conviction, and to pronounce their verdict without hatred or fear, in the case which was to be submitted to them, the prisoner was introduced.

On the usual interrogatories being put, he replied—"I am named Marie Chamans de Lavalette, aged forty-six, grand officer of the Legion of Honour, commander of the Order of Re-union, late director of the Posts, residing in Paris, Rue de Grenelle, St. Martin.

President.—"You will hear the charges brought against you, as they are stated in the indictment."

The clerk then read the indictment, which charged the prisoner in substance as follows:

"On the 20th of March, at nine in the morning, M. Lavalette repaired to the post-office, and, on entering the hall, pronounced these words:—'*I take possession of the posts in the name of the emperor.*' He afterwards asked whether Count Ferrand, the director-general, was still in the office; and, on informing him he had come to replace him, said he would give him time for removing his papers and private property. Lavalette regarding himself as from that moment installed, his first act was to write to Buonaparte, who was then at Fontainbleau, what he had done."

The indictment, accusing him of high treason, was then read, and the advocate-general briefly stated the nature of the charges.

The president then put the following questions to the accused:

President.—"You have, in your interrogatories, acknowledged that you wrote to Buonaparte at Elba, but that it was to wish him a happy new year, and long quiet. Was not the letter dated the end of November?"

Lavalette.—"Yes."

President.—"Why did you write so long before the new year?"

Lavalette.—"Because the person to whom I entrusted the letter did not quit Paris immediately, and was to remain some time on the road."

Count Ferrand was now called in, and deposed to Lavalette's having taken possession of the government of the post-office on the 20th of March.

Lavalette then observed, after a tribute of gratitude to M. Ferrand for his conduct towards him, "I arrived on the 20th of March. I met in the morning, on the Boulevards, M. Sebastiani in his cabriolet. He told me the news. I said to him, I have a mind to go to the post, and see what is passing. He accompanied me. We found a M. Macarel; I asked him, in a mild tone, whether M. Ferrand was there? He said that he was gone out, and I remained walking in the audience-chamber. It was said, I believe, that I had presented myself in a commanding attitude, saying, I take possession in the name of the emperor. This is false—I was near the chimney when M. Ferrand returned. I advanced to him, and said, 'Sir.'—He opened the door of his cabinet without replying to me, and hence I remained in the hall."

Passing to other points, M. Lavalette said,—"It has been declared that I formed one of the several criminal assemblages at the Duke de Bassano's, the Duchess of St. Leu's, and Madame Hamelin's. I never set foot in Madame Hamelin's house. I never saw her at Paris. I never was intimate with the Duke of Bassano.

"Madame St. Leu—(and here, gentlemen, I own that my heart is wrung at seeing an unhappy woman, who, on foreign ground, is still pursued by calumny)—Madame the Duchess of St. Leu saw none but the king's friends; she had been overwhelmed with his benefits; she knew Buonaparte would not forgive her for accepting them. The return of Buonaparte gave her the severest grief; she has been miserable from that time. We must not, sir, put too much faith in public clamour."

President.—"Why were you concealed in the house of Madame St. Leu during the last day that preceded the king's departure?"

Lavalette.—"I retired thither because she was not there."

President.—"If you were not concerned in any plot, what was the cause of your concealing yourself?"

Lavalette.—"It related to the private opinion I had of the minister just appointed; four months had elapsed since I was entreated to depart, as I might be arrested. I rejected that advice. Four days before my arrest, I wrote to M. de Benevento, the prime minister, to appoint judges to try me. I have nothing to reproach myself with. I regret that M. de Ferrand did not grant me an audience when I asked him. I should not certainly have been here."

Count Ferrand replied, that he could not grant that which was never asked for.

President.—"You have said in your interrogatory, that you came to the post-office from a pure motive of good-will, to give advice in a moment of possible trouble, but, finding the director-general there, you ought not to have remained there?"

Lavalette.—"After M. Ferrand had carried away the papers he had in his cabinet, I asked the head-officer of one of the departments, whether the count had given any orders? He replied, 'No; his head is confused, and he seems to care for nothing but his departure.' I immediately left the post-office, and did not return till one o'clock the same day, when Count Ferrand was gone."

President.—"Who directed you to take upon yourself the charge of the post-office administration?"

Lavalette.—"I did not doubt but that the emperor would give me the place which I had previously held for thirteen months."

President.—"Do you recollect signing these orders?"—'No journals shall be sent by post this day—March 20.'—'No ministerial letters, nor despatches of the prefect of the Seine, shall be sent off this day—March 20.'

Lavalette.—"I did not give to these papers the title of *orders*, but I certainly signed them. The head-clerk told me that he wanted a number of persons to forward the business, and I said to him, 'Well, the only way is to delay sending the journals until to-morrow.' He afterwards said to me—'There are ministerial despatches in arrear: will it not be proper to have a supplemental mail?' I replied—'No; it will be better to send off immediately the despatches in arrear, that they may suffer no further delay; the others can be forwarded in their turn.'

"These gentlemen, the heads of departments, whose consciences are now so delicate, were in no way scrupulous on that day. They paid great deference to whatever I said, and never started any sort of objection. Had not they taken oaths to the king? Did they not all wear decorations? They were, however, very eager to anticipate every thing that I could possibly direct."

President.—"Here is a proclamation, or, at least, a circular, signed by you—'The emperor will be at Paris in two hours—The capital is full of enthusiasm—All is tranquil—Be done what may, there will be no civil war.' Do you acknowledge this paper?"

Lavalette.—"It is certainly from me; but it has been said that many were *circulated*, and that is untrue."

President.—"But there were several; here are three or four."

Lavalette.—"I defy any one to shew more than twelve signed by me."

President.—"Why did you write this circular?"

Lavalette.—"I was afraid the courtiers would have said that Paris was on fire, and it was the fear of civil war which induced me to circulate that note—can that

be charged against me as a crime, under a prince who entertains a horror at the shedding of blood? That simple announcement was no where posted up."

The following order was then read:

"The post-master must give horses to no person who does not produce an order signed by me, or the emperor's ministers.

"*March* 20. "LAVALETTE."

M. de Frondeville.—"On the 22d of March, a courier arrived at Moulins. While the courier advanced in the town, the crowd which followed him increased; the postillion cried—'*Vive l'Empereur!*' I caused the courier to be arrested, and questioned him. He affirmed the emperor was at Paris. I threatened he should be shot, if he did not speak truth. He then confessed that he had met the emperor at Fontainbleau, and that he was not in Paris when the mail left."

President to the Accused.—"What have you to answer?"

Lavalette.—"The tumult excited at Moulins did not arise from the courier, who was probably in the bottom of his coach, but from the postillion, who cried '*Vive l'Empereur!*' and to whom I had given no order. I repeat it—it was only with a view to avoid civil war that I wrote that unfortunate letter."

Lieut.-General Dessole, the third witness, now appeared.—He deposed that, at the moment of his leaving Paris, General Sebastiani begged him, in the name of M. Lavalette, to put at his disposal a detachment of the national guard for the post-office.

The accused admitted that he took this step, fearing, lest the three chests of the post-office, which might contain considerable sums, might be pillaged. He had given no orders to place a sentinel at the door of M. Ferrand's apartment, but one of the chests was placed under some small apartments of the countess.

The three witnesses were allowed to withdraw. M. Ferrand was previously asked if the accused entered the cabinet of M. F., and replied in the negative.

Madame Ferrand, the fourth witness, repeated the deposition mentioned in the act of accusation.

Lavalette.—"Does Madame Ferrand think that her husband could not set out without the passport which he solicited?"

Madame Ferrand.—"Surely; because M. de Villars said it was necessary."

The Chevalier de Villars.—"I went, at ten o'clock, to take my orders as to the service from the Count de Ferrand; he told me he had no orders to give; that M. de Lavalette had taken possession of the administration of the posts. M. de Lavalette was gone out."

Lavalette.—"I persist in declaring, that I did not see M. Villars, or that if I did see him, he spoke to me neither of the Count de Ferrand, nor of the passport to set off. I learned the demand of the count from the countess, who was accompanied, I believe, by the Chevalier de Thury. I gave her the passport for the safety of her husband."

The Countess de Ferrand denied receiving the passport.

M. de Villars affirmed that he demanded the passport.

The accused called on M. de Villars to be cautious; and affirmed, on his honour, that M. de Villars had not spoken to him of the passport. "M. de Villars," said he, "was long my private secretary, my friend: he would have spoken to me of this passport in confidence, and I should have stated to him the motives which would have hindered me, as director, from delivering it to him."

President.—"But yet you did give a passport that M. Ferrand might go to Orleans."

Lavalette.—"For Orleans, yes; but not that he might go to Orleans. You might conclude that this pass was necessary for him to go to Orleans, and that was not the case. For travellers, such a paper is useless. Perhaps it was thought useful to pass through Paris, and that would explain the motive of M. Ferrand."

M. de Tripier, defender.—"M. de Villars was called as the person who announced to M. Ferrand that his departure was opposed. This fact must be cleared up."

M. de Villars.—"I cannot say I gave any such information to him. He begged me to ask for a passport."

President.—"Had you been informed by any one that M. Ferrand could not depart?"

M. de Villars.—"By no one."

President.—"Were you granted a passport for Orleans?"

M. de Villars.—"I was refused, because it was said M. Ferrand had nothing to fear in Paris. But I was not gone when it was granted to the countess. I gave it to M. Macarel, who gave it to M. Ferrand, who was already in his carriage."

President.—"What obstacle opposed the departure of M. Ferrand?"

M. de Villars.—"I know of none."

A Juryman.—"Where was M. Ferrand when he demanded the passport—in his carriage?"

M. de Ferrand.—"No."

Lavalette.—"I ask what use was made of this passport?"

M. de Ferrand.—"It remained in my pocket."

Lavalette.—"There was, then, no obstacle."

M. de Ferrand.—"Should I have demanded the passport, if there had been no obstacle?"

Lavalette.—"What was the nature of the obstacle—was it of my creating?"

M. de Ferrand.—"You know well you alone could throw an obstacle in the way of my departure."

Lavalette.—"I repeat I made none. It is for you to prove the obstacle which existed."

President.—"A certain point. M. Ferrand thought he wanted it."

Lavalette.—"I have explained how I gave this passport, which I did not think necessary. At these words, —*for his safety*, I yielded to the solicitation of the countess."

The countess now begged leave to retire, and the accused consented.

M. Forie, one of the superintendents of posts, deposed, that he received a letter of convocation, dated the 20th of March, and signed Courrejolles, and which announced that M. de Lavalette had resumed the functions of director-general; he said that he repaired to his office at the usual hour; that M. Lavalette came there at three o'clock; that he addressed him personally, and that he represented himself as director-general.

Lavalette.—"If you had not received a letter of convocation, would you have come?"

Witness.—"Yes."

Lavalette.—"If, then, you would have come without the letter of M. de Courrejolles, that letter was not the cause of your coming?"

Witness.—"The letter gave us to understand that you were director-general."

Lavalette.—"Certainly; my intention was not, on that day, to preside at a sitting. M. de Courrejolles may have supposed that he received an order which, in fact, I did not give: we were all standing together, and had been in conversation."

President.—"The witness has declared that the absence of the director would not have obstructed the business, but that, with regard to extraordinary occasions, the postmasters do not at all interfere. Do you admit this distinction?"

Lavalette.—"I do not admit the particular sort of distinction laid down. At eleven o'clock these gentlemen assembled. M. Ferrand was there; he was director. The case of a sudden death has been alluded to: but this is not exactly in point. M. Ferrand retired. The postmasters knew it; they might have demanded his instructions."

President.—"Admit all that; is a stranger authorised to act as a director?"

Lavalette.—"I acted for the public good; every one did the same. M. Ferrand retired without leaving any order. I undertook the labour."

President.—"All the business of the office was going on; you introduced yourself; the business was changed; it was done for the national good, no doubt, but it was also done for the usurper."

Lavalette.—"The public business was transacted as usual. I know the postmasters; they are very respectable persons: but a little timid, who think of to-morrow like all men, especially like all men in office They might have remained at home, or have retired when they had demanded their signatures."

President.—"You seemed to think that the inferior agents could not perform that business?"

Lavalette.—"Yes, from their character——"

President.—"And therefore you took it upon yourself?"

Lavalette.—"It was from me that all those things proceeded. During thirteen years it was always to me that the heads of division addressed themselves, even in ordinary cases. M. Forie confessed that they always had recourse to the director."

President, to the witness.—"Do you know whether the accused had any correspondence with the Island of Elba?"

Witness.—"No."

M. Redon de Belleville, one of the postmasters, gave evidence nearly similar to that of M. Forie.

The trial was adjourned at six o'clock, to be resumed on the following day.

The sitting resumed at half-past two o'clock on the 21st; when M. the Baron Pasquier, the first witness for the defendant, was introduced. He justified M. the Count Lavalette against the charge of having held intelligence with Buonaparte, and declared, that he considered him a stranger to the return of the usurper.

Witnesses employed in the post-office proved that M. de Lavalette had protected them, notwithstanding their refusal to sign Buonaparte's constitution, &c.; and that he issued a circular, stating that no person should be disturbed for his opinion.

The advocate-general summed up the evidence.

M. de Lavalette then rose, and, in a firm tone, stated that though he felt a repugnance in speaking of himself, he thought it his duty there to give an account of his life. He then proceeded to recapitulate the facts of his military career since 1789. His having served under Custine in 1795. Afterwards, in the army of Italy, he was appointed Buonaparte's aide-de-camp; to him he was indebted for the hand of Mademoiselle Beauharnois, the niece of the Empress Josephine.

After M. Tripier had spoken for the accused, the court adjourned, and met again at half-past six.

The president concluded a very able summing-up in these words, "You will judge whether the fact of being an accomplice on the day preceding the consummation of the conspiracy, induces a belief that there had been criminal practices anterior to this. You will also judge whether it is true, that an act of participation, which took effect only on the last day of crime, is, in fact, a participation?"

The president then put the questions to the jury.

M. Tripier objected to the form of the questions, but the court decided that they had been properly put.

At eight o'clock, the accused was taken out of the hall of audience, and the jury retired to the chamber of deliberation.

The audience awaited with calmness the decision which was to fix the fate of the accused. Near four hours elapsed, but, at length, M. de Villafosse, foreman of the jury, pronounced the following verdict:

"On my honour and my conscience, before God and man, the verdict is—*Yes*, the accused is guilty of the crime, with all the circumstances included in the questions put to us."

At this awful moment, M. Lavalette displayed the same firmness he had evinced in the course of the trial. When he was brought back to the hall of audience to hear the decision of the jury, he had removed all his decorations.

The public accuser required the application of the eighty-sixth, eighty-seventh, fifty-ninth, and sixtieth articles of the penal code; and the court, after a deliberation in the council-chamber, pronounced the punishment of death upon M. le Comte de Lavalette, announcing to him that he was allowed three days for his appeal.

When sentence was pronounced, he bade adieu to his advocate.

"I shall see you again," said M. Tripier.

"What do you wish, my friend," observed M. Lavalette. "It is a cannon-shot."—"Farewell, gentlemen of the post," he added, waving his hand to the administrator and officers who had appeared as witnesses on the trial. It was past midnight when the sitting terminated.

Against this sentence Lavalette made a formal appeal. This attempt, however, proved unavailing, and on the 15th of December he received a notification of the sentence which confirmed the decision of the court of assize. But as he was not executed on the following day, an idea went abroad that it was intended to commute his punishment; and Madame Lavalette, whose health had been dreadfully impaired by her sufferings since the arrest of her husband, resolved, with the assistance of Marshal Marmont, to endeavour to throw herself into the way of the king, and implore his mercy. The following account of this affair was transmitted from Paris:

"Just previous to the king's going to mass, no person is permitted to enter from the great staircase into the *Salle des Marechaux*, through which he passes from his own apartments to the chapel. At this moment a gentleman and lady, in mourning, presented themselves to the national guard, who was on duty at the door, and wanted to go in. They were prevented. "Do you know me?" said the gentleman; "I have not that honour," replied the guard, "but my orders are to admit no one." "Call your officer," said the other. "He is in the guard-room, and it is impossible for me to quit my post." "Pray, then, call out one of the *garde du corps* from the hall." The national guard knocked at the door, and one of the king's guard came out. "Can I not go in?" said the gentleman. "It is impossible," replied the officer. "Do you know who I am?" said the former. "I have the honour to know you very well, mareschal," added the garde du corps, "but I also know that no one is permitted to enter at this door now."—The mareschal then took the officer aside, and, after about a minute's conversation, he, the officer, and the lady, went into the hall. The officer, who was the Marquis de Bartillac, left the mareschal in the hall, and went into the adjoining room; and while he remained there, there seemed to be something in agitation. When the same officer came back, he addressed himself to the mareschal, who was Marmont, and said, "Mareschal, it is impossible for you to remain." "Have you received orders to turn me out?" he asked. "Indeed you must not remain." "Tell me," repeated Marmont, "have you been ordered to turn me out?" "Certainly not," replied the officer, "but yet I cannot permit you to stay." "Then," said the other, "I will not go." "Mareschal, you have not kept your promise to me," said the Marquis de Bartillac, and turned upon his heel.

The king, monsieur, madame, and the usual escort, now entered the hall in their way to the chapel. The lady, who came with Marmont, and who was Madame Lavalette, now rushed forward, seized the hand of the king, and, falling at his feet, exclaimed, "Pardon, pardon, sire." The king could not refrain from tears. But, after looking very severely towards Marmont, he said to Madame Lavalette, "*I had hoped, madam, to have been spared this painful scene. In thinking you could save your husband, you have done your duty. But I must also do mine, as a king.*" He then disengaged himself, and passed on, evidently much distressed.

Madame Lavalette then attempted to get to the Duchess D'Angouleme to intercede; but, overcome by the poignancy of her feelings, she fainted on the floor, and was carried out of the hall. The whole of this scene had such an effect upon the Duchess D'Angouleme, that she was ill for near two hours, and did not recover the shock of it for some time.

The next morning, Marmont and some other officers had to transact some business with the king, in regard to the garde royal. Previous to this he had sent a letter to the king, explaining the motives for his conduct, and saying, he did not think himself wrong in trying to save the life of Lavalette, as it had not been forbidden. During the arrangement of this business, and while the other marshals were present, the king took no notice of any thing; but, as they were all retiring, he called Marmont back: "Sire," said the mareschal, "have you deigned to read the letter I took the liberty of addressing to your majesty?"—"I have, mareschal," replied the king; "and I called you back to tell you so now, that I might never have to mention the subject to you again."

Notwithstanding the ill success of this attempt, however, Lavalette escaped the infliction of the sentence passed upon him, by a stratagem which reflects everlasting honour upon the affection, constancy, and fortitude of his wife:

We have already stated that Madame Lavalette's health had been seriously impaired; in fact, she had been delivered of a dead child; and therefore, for several weeks, in order to avoid the movement of her carriage, she had made use of a sedan-chair. She was accustomed to be carried in this vehicle into the prison, when it was constantly deposited in the passage of the under-turnkey's room; thence passing through a door, the yard, and corridor leading to the prisoner's apartments. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th, Madame de Lavalette arrived, as usual, with a bonnet *à la Française* and a large veil, accompanied by her daughter, a young lady eleven years of age. She was assisted up stairs, and dined with her husband. About half-past five M. de Lavalette, arrayed in his wife's clothes, taking his daughter by the arm, and supported by one of the turnkeys, slowly descended to the chair. No uncommon circumstance occurring to excite suspicion, he passed before all the inspectors and guardians of the prison, and, at the unbarring of the last gate, was restored to his friends and liberty. In the mean time, Madame de Lavalette, who had thrown over her the large cloak of her husband, was seated, almost breathless, in his arm-chair, with a book in her hand, and the candle burning behind her on the table. At half-past six, the gaoler entering the room, spoke to her, but met with no reply: he repeated the question, and astonished at the continued silence, he approached nearer to the lady, when, with a smile, succeeded by strong convulsions, she exclaimed, "*He is gone!*" The confusion may be easily imagined. The prefect of police was acquainted with the fact at a quarter before seven; estafettes were despatched in every direction, and the barriers were instantly closed.

The police traced the chair two streets distant; there, it appears, M. de Lavalette alighted, and stepped into a carriage that was waiting for him. This well-conducted plan was executed with peculiar felicity, and at the decisive moment; for M. Barbe Marbois, after several invitations, was reluctantly obliged to send, on the evening of the day before, to his majesty's attorney-general, the papers which *ex officio* passed through his hands from the court of cassation. It was even rumoured that he, in some degree, committed himself, by keeping those important documents two days longer in his possession than the law authorizes. The attorney-general, had he received these papers before, must have done his duty immediately, and Lavalette would have been no more.

The escape of M. de Lavalette occasioned a considerable sensation in the French chamber of deputies; as will appear from the following abstract of the debates on the 24th of December.

President.—"The order of the day is, the consideration of the motion, of which notice was given yesterday, tending to procure information relative to the escape of M. de Lavalette."

M. Comte de Sesmaisons.—"Gentlemen, some necessary documents which must be transmitted to me, and which are connected with great interests, with grave motives, of such a nature as will be approved by my honourable colleagues, when they shall be informed of them, have determined me not to withdraw my proposition, but to demand the adjournment of it till Tuesday."

Great agitation was here manifested; and several voices exclaimed, "Read, read."

M. de Sesmaisons.—"The wish of the assembly seems to be so unequivocally manifested, that I shall proceed to state the grounds of my proposition. When an unforeseen event astonishes the minds of all men, and disturbs the public security, it is proper to enquire into the cause. We are then placed in a situation which absolutely requires an investigation respecting what has occurred. Do not let us deceive ourselves as to the importance of the event. The conspirators of the 20th of March may conspire again, and may find again factious men to second them as at that period. I hint at no suspicion, and wish to attack no individual

in particular. The event may possibly have been only the result of the industrious efforts of conjugal tenderness; but that may be disputed, and the chamber ought to be made acquainted with the facts. The criminal was about to receive the reward of his guilt; for, notwithstanding his clemency, the king had allowed his justice to prevail over the sentiments of his heart. The voice of the whole nation approved the judgment. The long delay in its execution opened a vast field to conjecture, and gave occasion to many questions. Is the flight of Lavalette connected with any plot? Have the long delays which have taken place been founded upon causes which excuse without justifying the non-execution of the sentence? Have all the precautions been taken necessary for guarding the prisoner? Would the judgment have been so long delayed for any other individual? Would so long a period have been allowed to elapse between the appeal and its rejection? Would not an ordinary convict have been vigilantly guarded day and night? Would he have obtained so much time, either to prepare for death or for escape? And when France was impatiently expecting the punishment of so great a criminal, ought not the ordinary rules to have been at least observed with respect to him? A marshal of France has expiated by his death the crime of high treason, and an accomplice in the offence, one of the principal agents of the conspiracy of the 20th of March, succeeds in withdrawing himself from punishment. Has this event been brought about by the hand of an enemy? Shall we accuse only destiny? As we are in doubt, we ought to seek information; but from whom? Doubtless from the agents of the public authority. It is their duty to search for the truth; and it is the interest of responsible ministers to alleviate the burthen of their responsibility. In fine, the chamber ought to know the details of this transaction. I move, therefore, that the keeper of the seals and the minister of police be desired to give the necessary explanations respecting the escape of Lavalette."

This proposition was warmly supported.

M. Bouvilee.—"The escape and impunity of a guilty person are seldom of such importance as to put in movement one of the first bodies of the state. But here the circumstances are of weight: the point is the escape of a state-criminal, of a convict, whom the clemency of the sovereign has not withdrawn from the severity of the laws, and who had only to undergo his sentence. Public vengeance expected it; the nation appeared to watch over him. He was under the almost immediate surveillance of two ministers; and, notwithstanding all this, he has escaped by a stratagem, which would not have aided the escape of an obscure malefactor. The conciergerie is, it is said, one of the safest prisons. The fugitive must have passed out by barriers watched by turnkeys; he must have strode over them, stooped down to clear them while his hands masked his visage. The fugitive is a large man, though of inconsiderable height. He concealed himself in the garments of a small delicate female; and he cleared the barrier under his grotesque costume, without betraying appearances which must have been obvious, without his affected sobs having betrayed his voice. And yet, we are told, a single turnkey is alone implicated! Such assertions do not deceive those who make them. Doubtless they have merely put them in circulation to re-assure the guilty, and the better to insure the success of the researches made after them. But the chamber cannot pass over such a fact in silence. It has a right to demand details as to an event in which the responsibility of ministers is interested. An insulated fact is not the point in question. The very facility of the flight appears to prove that it was connected with external circumstances carefully prepared, and perhaps very important. The man who found so many accomplices interested in his fate, leaves them in the midst of us, and we have reason to fear them, since they have waited till the last moment to execute their attempt by means which appeared impossible to every other person. I have said enough to shew that the chamber has grounds for solicitude.

"If I am not misinformed, M. Bellart gave an order for the admission of Madame de Lavalette: but it appears that her daughter and a female servant were also introduced. This extension of the order requires explanation. Whatever it may be, it is difficult to believe that the success of the enterprise should be the effect of chance, or of the obscure plot of a turnkey. The plot must proceed from persons of a more important class. It belongs, perhaps, to a chain of interest more serious than those of an isolated individual. I do not point out, nor do I even suspect, any person; but what I know is, that the success of the scheme tends to bring into contempt the government under whose eyes it was formed and has succeeded: what I know is, that, in the departments where the punishment of the culprit was expected, the escape of Lavalette will renew disquietude and alarms. *(Murmurs.)* There is nothing injurious here for the ministers. The affair essentially interests the nation: the national representation has no other means of examining this affair than by demanding the presence of the ministers themselves."

M. Bellart (the king's attorney-general).—"A great misfortune has, no doubt, happened. But this misfortune is, perhaps, less the escape of a culprit on whom the sentence of a jury had called down the punishment

of death, than the too great importance given in the eyes of the nation, to a fact which, in itself, probably, has not such importance. On account of my situation, I demand to enter into some explanation on this head. I will explain those delays which have been found so absurd, by giving my word of honour, that, if the accused had been an obscure criminal, the delay would have been the same as in the case of Lavalette. There has been, neither at the court of assize nor at the court of cassation, the least extraordinary delay." M. Bellart concluded by deprecating the taking into consideration the proposition of M. de Sesmaisons.

M. Jolivet.—"Of what importance is this escape that it should be deemed a public calamity? Is the public safety compromised?—(*Yes, yes!—No, no!* from several voices).—Why this agitation? Why this emotion? Remember the cruel effects of that facility with which the assembly that pretended to call itself constituent, abused the facility of demanding from ministers an account of their conduct. Recollect that it took away all consideration from the government, and the government fell. The isolated fact now before us has no influence on the public order, but by the importance you give it by your discussion. I therefore vote for the adjournment."

M. de Vaublanc (minister of the interior).—"I do not think that what has been stated by M. Bellart, can leave the slightest doubt relative to the delay required both by the ordinary forms of justice, and the sacred principle of humanity. Nor do I think any doubt can arise upon what he has said upon the importance of the evil in itself. But the motion is made. It is now a question, whether such a motion does not injure the dignity of the government? We have seen in the revolution, the manner in which the king's ministers were then treated. We have also seen the effects of it. There resulted from it an order of things which it was impossible to stop, but which gave rise to the most profound grief. I ask, if it be possible for you to order an enquiry relative to the conduct of the ministers, whom some speakers have implicated in this affair? I conceive, that you owe it to your own dignity, and the gravity of your functions, to wait for the investigation now in progress. The truth will be known. I think you will hear me with indulgence, when I ask you to pass to the order of the day."

This opinion was strongly supported.

Cries of—"Close the discussion," now resounded from all sides.

President.—"The question is solely, whether the motion shall be taken into consideration."

Several voices.—"The order of the day.—Previous question."

The president then put the previous question to the vote; and it was rejected by a considerable majority.

The chamber decided that the motion should be taken into consideration; which was proclaimed by the president, and strong remonstrances were made against it; many of the members even demanded the *appel nominal.*

The president then observed, that the decision was not doubtful, and that the bureaux was unanimous in its opinion of the result. He, therefore, announced that the motion of M. de Sesmaisons should be referred to the bureaux for examination.

The state of France, at the close of the year 1815, will appear from the following document, which appeared under the title of

A REPORT MADE BY M. POZZO DI BORGHO, THE RUSSIAN MINISTER AT THE COURT OF FRANCE, TO THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

"In drawing a comparison between the state of the public mind prevailing in France at the period of the landing of the usurper, and that which prevails at present, it is, alas! almost impossible not to fear that the second restoration will not yet prove the end of the revolutions of this country.

"When Napoleon landed, the public functionaries who had been deprived of their places by the return of the Bourbons; the military irritated at the reduction of their pay, and at the dispensation of honours and rewards in favour of individuals whom they considered as their enemies; the men who had been conspicuous in the revolution, and whom the public journals had designated for so long a time to public vengeance; the purchasers of national property, whom the journalists and priests threatened with deprivation; finally, the peasants, who dreaded the revival of tythes and the feudal system, greeted him, notwithstanding the remembrance of his former tyranny, not by attachment for his person, but, through aversion for the government of the Bourbons, against which they harboured invincible prepossessions.

"The emigrants, the nobles, and the priests, who had lost their domains and their privileges in consequence of the revolution, and who expected that, under the reign of the Bourbons, they would ultimately regain them; finally, that class of individuals who are indifferent to every system of government, and who wished but for repose, beheld, on the contrary, the return of Napoleon with horror: but, the notorious pusillanimity of the first, and the apathy or egotism of the others, rendered unavailing all attempts that could be made to repulse him. He arrived almost without obstacle, and

found nearly the whole population disposed to receive him; much less, it must be repeated, through affection for him, than through hatred for the government which dissolved itself. Those who exclusively depended upon the family of the Bourbons, defended them as usual, by taking flight.

"Such was the state of the public mind when Napoleon landed at Cannes, and pursued his triumphal march to Paris, attended by the wishes and the most unanimous acclamations of the populations of the provinces through which he had to pass.

"It would seem that the state of things, and of the public mind, is not more auspicious at this moment; and that the universal inquietudes and fears, which the administration of the Bourbons had excited before their departure, have revived since their return, and that they even exist in a much greater degree.

"The violent manner in which their re-establishment has been effected, the disasters which have attended it, the calamities of all kinds which the inhabitants of one half of France have experienced, in consequence of the invasion of the foreign armies, are far from having conciliated to these princes the love of the French people; and the state to which France has been reduced by the treaty of peace, the military occupation of her territory, the loss of her colonies, the ruin of her commercial establishments and manufactures, and, in consequence of all this, the annihilation of her trade and her industry, have not further contributed to regain the hearts of the people to their cause.

"The King.—A prince of his family governs with almost absolute sway the better part of his kingdom, and appears impatient for the moment when he may be called to the government of the whole.

"The Ministry, divided into two parties, struggling with each other, has never possessed any credit with the public; and even if it had, it could not have failed to lose it by consenting to sign the last treaty of peace, so disastrous for France. Its president, to whom no one can deny the title of an upright man, a title very precious in these times, has at once to contend with the nation with which he is unacquainted, and which considers him as a stranger, and with the intrigues of the court, as well as with those of the late ministry, eager to resume power. Above all things, he is opposed by the British cabinet, which is desirous of weakening the influence of Russia; in addition to which, he will soon have, perhaps, to encounter a man jealous of his unbounded ascendancy over the king's mind, M. de Blacas, who, it is affirmed, will ere long resume his former post, the only one which has been kept vacant in the present ministry. Thus conscious of his deeply-critical situation, the minister observed not long since, that, placed between folly and guilt, he should soon be obliged to retire. There can be no doubt as to the choice of his successor; but M. de Talleyrand has declared that he will have no communication with the present ministers of war, or of the interior, whom the king wishes to retain.

"The Chamber of Peers.—The hereditary right attributed to its members, the importance and splendour of their functions, the interest which they have in maintaining the order of things under which they enjoy such high prerogatives, had quieted many respecting the dispositions of the court and of the chamber of deputies, and had given reason to hope that they would keep free from the spirit of resistance, and compel the government to the faithful observation of the charter. But all these fair hopes have vanished. The chamber of peers, consisting, for the greater part, of chiefs of the *Chouans*, of Vendeans, of fanatical royalists, have evinced that party-spirit is a passion to which every thing is sacrificed.

"The same observations may be applied to the chamber of deputies; composed of the same elements, it must display the same spirit. The elections of its members did not take place in a manner calculated to conciliate the public esteem. In the first place, the king appointed the presidents of all the electoral colleges; in addition to which, he empowered the prefects to add twenty electors of their own choice to the colleges of the departments, and ten to the colleges of the arrondissements; finally, as these means were found insufficient to obtain such elections as were desired, there was hardly a college in which fraud and violence were not employed to control the elections according to the wishes of the government. Thus, for instance, at Toulouse, the president of the college, though appointed by the king, not appearing a royalist sufficiently pure, was violently expelled, and it was amidst the murderers of General Ramel that the election took place. At Nismes, also, the electoral college was placed under the influence of a band of robbers and assassins: such of the members of the colleges as were Protestants, had already taken flight to escape assassination.

"At Mendes, a committee of insurrection caused the electoral college to be surrounded by armed bands, prepared to fire. A dozen of the leaders of these bands intruded themselves into the college, and obliged the electors to shew their votes before they cast them into the urn: they ill-treated several of the electors, and declared to the president (appointed by the king) that were he to be elected, he should not retire alive.

"These few facts may give an idea of the manner in which the chamber of deputies is composed. This

chamber has manifested so revolutionary, so anti-constitutional, and so anti-royal a spirit, that the ministry, alarmed, thought it prudent to organize an opposition, by inviting the most rational and moderate members to form a private club; but this opposition is still but in a small minority.

"The organization of the military force, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances of the journals, proceeds but with slowness and difficulty; the greater number of the old soldiers refuse to serve, and prefer tilling the ground. Government is, therefore, obliged to have recourse to voluntary enlistments, and to employ bounties. The individuals who offer to serve as officers are numerous enough, but they have, for the most part, no semblance of military service; yet some of them, by means of intrigues, succeed in obtaining rank, and even superior rank. A bankrupt-tradesman has been appointed a colonel and an officer of the legion of honour. The government, however, have so little confidence in the composition of this new army, that they have already postponed several times the departure of the Duke of Wellington, and that of his troops.

"Public and private transactions have almost entirely ceased: they cannot resume their ordinary course until the government shall have made known the means it proposes to employ to ensure the performance of the engagements contracted by the different stipulations of the treaties of peace. The transfer of property is become impracticable: those who still possess specie conceal it, fearful of the creation of a paper-money: upon a property worth half a million of livres, (about 20,000*l.* sterling,) it would be very difficult to raise a thousand louis-d'ors, even at a very high interest.

"Upon these general considerations of the deplorable situation of the country, and the yet more melancholy prospect with which it is menaced, it is impossible to found a hope of ameliorating its situation, but by the union of the allies, the occupation of France by their troops, and by their protection, not only against the attempts of the *Red Jacobins*, but also against the machinations of the *White Jacobins*, who, under the mask of religious fanaticism, resuscitated in Europe since the restoration of the different branches of the house of Bourbon, have committed within these six months, in the South, such horrors and cruelties as the whole course of the French revolution scarcely offers an example. If, unfortunately, the great allied powers should not remain united for a great length of time, if the collision of their interests should divide them, we must infallibly behold unhappy France again a prey to those revolutionary convulsions, by which she has been torn for five-and-twenty years; and, in this case, the Bourbons would be inevitably forced to descend a third time from their throne. Such, at least, is the opinion of a great statesman, of Lord Castlereagh, who wrote to the Emperor Alexander on the 8th of August last, that "the re-establishment of the Bourbons, such as it then was, could not be considered as the termination of the revolutionary state, and that the duration of their existence depended upon the presence of the allied armies in the heart of France." Experience has shewn, and more than once, that the cause of the Bourbons could not prevail unless supported by foreign bayonets; that it has been always vanquished every time that it has entered the lists alone, and that, too, without the least necessity of opposing the smallest resistance, and without a single individual perishing, either in their cause or against it.

"In fine, this cause, which cannot be always thus supported, and which, for that reason, must of necessity fall, by turns thrown down by the nation, and raised up by foreigners, appears to menace France with a succession of bloody catastrophes, which will be renewed until the ruin of this fine country shall be wholly consummated—a tragic exhibition reserved, perhaps, for our posterity."—*December*, 1815.

On the subject of Lavalette's escape, various opinions were formed in Paris; and it had, for some time, been strongly suspected that certain British officers were concerned in the transaction. At length, the police intercepted some letters directed to England, which gave a detailed account of the whole business; and, on the 13th of January, 1816, Sir Robert Wilson, Captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, were arrested in their beds early in the morning, by an order from the minister of police, and carried to the prefecture, and thence to the prison of the Abbaye, where they were confined in separate apartments.

In consequence of this arrest, the following letter from Sir Charles Stuart, the British ambassador, to the Duc de Richelieu, was written the same day:

"Sir, "*Paris, Jan.* 13.

"I have learned with surprise that several English gentlemen, among whom are General Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Crawford Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson, have been arrested this morning; that their papers have been seized, and that they have been conveyed to the prisons of this city, under the direction of the minister of the police.

"As I have repeatedly manifested to your excellency my determination to extend the protection of my sovereign to no person whose conduct endangers the safety of this government, I should have been flattered, if,

as British ambassador at the court of France, I had been honoured with a communication from your excellency, which might have prevented the necessity of an official explanation of the motives for a proceeding of this nature towards individuals whose services and rank, in some measure, guarantee the loyalty of their conduct.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "CHARLES STUART."

This letter was scarcely despatched, when the English ambassador received the following note from the Duc de Richelieu:

"*Jan.* 13, 1816.

"It is with the most lively feelings of pain and regret that the undersigned sees himself obliged to make known to his excellency Sir Charles Stuart, that several subjects of his Britannic majesty appear to have taken an active part in culpable manœuvres directed against the government of the king. His excellency will see by the letter [which has not been published] hereunto annexed, which the undersigned has just received from the minister of police, that Sir R. Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and another individual, who is believed to be an English gentleman, are accused of having favoured the escape of Lavalette. Their trial is going to commence; but the undersigned, in announcing it to Sir Charles Stuart, is anxious at the same time to give him the assurance, that they will enjoy fully all the facilities which our laws afford for their justification; and that the protecting forms of trial will be religiously observed towards them.

"The undersigned, in making this communication to the English ambassador, as a consequence of the particular regard which his court, on every occasion, entertains towards the government of his Britannic majesty, has the honour to renew, &c.

(Signed) "RICHELIEU."

The following examination of the prisoners is worthy of attention; as it tends to throw a light on the administration of public justice in France, and contains some striking proofs of British courage and independence:—

INTERROGATORIES OF SIR ROBERT WILSON.

"On the 13th of January, 1816, at two o'clock in the afternoon, in execution of the orders of his excellency, the secretary of state, minister of general police, we, the undersigned, Pierre George François Monnier and Pierre Malleval, commissaries of police of the city of Paris, repaired to the hotel of the prefecture of police, where, being in the closet of the inspector-general Faudras, we transmitted a verbal order to the keeper of the depot established in the said hotel, to bring forth from thence before us, in order to be interrogated, the English general Robert Wilson, arrested this morning, as appears from the proces-verbal of our colleague Ferté, dated this day. The said keeper having acquainted us that Sir Robert Wilson would not come before us, and that he said he was determined to make no reply to any interrogatory proceeded in towards him in virtue of any order not sanctioned by the signature of his excellency the ambassador of England in France, we proceeded to him at the depot, in order to ascertain these facts, and, being in his chamber, we asked his name, surname, &c.

"*A.* I will not answer this question.

"*Q.* Why do you refuse to answer it?

"*A.* I will not answer any question put by any person whatsoever, until the English ambassador has been informed of my arrest; and, until I am certain of this, I lay claim to all the rules and procedures dictated by the law of nations. I protest against the arrest of my person, made without the participation of the English ambassador, and against the outrage done me by entering my chamber, whilst I was in bed, and making a seizure of my papers and those of my wife. I request that the answer I have now given you may be communicated to the English ambassador.

"*Q.* Do you acknowledge the seal affixed to the basket which I now present to you, and which contains the papers seized at your lodgings, to be untouched? Do you wish that we should proceed to the opening of that basket, and to the examination of the documents it contains?

"*A.* I do not, for the reasons I have already assigned.

"Having represented to him that his refusal to answer the questions which we were charged to put to him could not be founded on any rule of the law of nations invoked by him, and that he seemed to be in an error, if he imagined that the forms of criminal process in England must be followed in France with regard to Englishmen who might be arrested there; he replied,—'I feel convinced that I am right in not answering your questions, and I will not answer them.'

"No further questions were put; and the above interrogatory being read over to him, he said it contained the truth, and signed it with us."

(Signed) "ROBERT WILSON.
"MONNIER and MALLEVAL."

SECOND INTERROGATORY.—JANUARY 14.

"Being asked as to his name, and surname, he said, 'My name is Robert Thomas Wilson, a native of Lon-

don, aged thirty-eight years, a major-general, not in actual service, resident for these three months and a half at Paris, in the Rue de la Paix, No. 21, with my wife and child.'

"*Q.* Did you not take an interest in the fate of Marshal Ney? Had it depended upon you, would you not have withdrawn him from the execution of his sentence?

"*A.* With pleasure.

"*Q.* Did you not form projects, and did you not enter into concert with his friends, for that purpose?

"*A.* With regard to this and the preceding question, I have to observe, that it was not from the execution of the sentence that I could have wished to save him, because I learned his condemnation and his death at the same time. As to projects formed by me, and measures taken which you ascribe to me, I reply, that I never so much as dreamed of the possibility of Marshal Ney's escape.

"*Q.* On Sunday last, about eight in the evening, were you not at M. Hutchinson's lodgings, Rue de Helder, No. 3; did you not spend a part of the evening there?

"*A.* I will not answer that question. I demand that the charges against me be communicated to me, and that I be permitted to communicate with my ambassador, or with some other persons designated by me, as well as with my wife, my child, and my friends. I also expect that the attentions due to my rank will be paid to me.

"*Q.* The charges existing against you are, that you favoured the escape of Lavalette, who was condemned to death; that, at day-break, on the 8th instant, you took him up at the lodgings of M. Hutchinson; that you set off with him in an open cabriolet, which went out by the barrier of Clichi; that you changed horses at La Chapelle-en-Cerval; and that you proceeded with him, by the route of Cambray and Valenciennes. What have you to reply?

"*A.* I will answer this accusation when I shall be before a competent tribunal."

THIRD INTERROGATORY.

"The third interrogatory commenced by asking Sir Robert whether he knew the hand-writing of the report, attributed to M. Pozzo di Borgho; to which he answered, that there were many such copies in circulation, and this was lent him. He believed that M. Pozzo *was* the author.

"*Q.* When passing by La Chapelle-en-Cerval, on the 8th instant, were not four French gendarmes present when you changed horses? Did you not tell them that you were going to fix on cantonments for a part of the English army?

"*A.* I would not have you take me for a child. I have already declared that I will not answer questions of this sort; and I repeat that declaration."

FOURTH INTERROGATORY.

"*Q.* Did not the Sieur Bruce come to you on the 2d or 3d instant, to prevail upon you to use all your efforts, and to join with him in conveying Lavalette out of France?

"*A.* I declare that I will give no answer before I have been permitted to communicate with the British ambassador; he represents here my government; I acknowledge not, nor ought I to acknowledge, any one but him; and I formally protest against all proceedings inconsistent with the law of nations.

"*Q.* But your being a foreigner can give you, neither in France, nor in any other country, a right of exemption from laws important to good order and the public security.

"*A.* I do not claim exemption from the laws of France: but, conformably to those of my own country, I wish to avoid an examination, by the aid of which it is intended, before public trial, to gain an advantage against me from answers which will be the more easily drawn from me, as I am not very familiar with the language. I stand accused; the French government is my accuser: it is for it to present itself against me with proofs; it is not my business to furnish them to it; in short, I persist in demanding that I be previously allowed to communicate with the ambassador of my country.

"*Q.* This reasoning is founded on the principles of your legislation, but it does not accord with ours: every offence must be prosecuted and tried according to the laws of the place where it has been committed, and our laws formally refuse all communication to the person accused before he has undergone an examination.

"*A.* This law seems repugnant to the most ordinary notions of justice: it tends to punish the accused before he has been declared guilty; it is a kind of moral torture, which you have substituted for the physical torture. Upon the whole, I am only the more determined in my refusal; and I positively declare, that I will make no reply to questions that shall be put to me as to the escape of M. de Lavalette, and the pretended part I have taken in it.

"After several repeated summonses, the accused having constantly refused to answer the questions which we put to him, we closed the present interrogatory."

FIFTH INTERROGATORY.

"Before the commencement of the fifth interrogatory, Sir Robert required, that his solemn protest against this mode of examination should be entered and signed by the persons appointed to put questions, which was done. It then began:

"*Q.* Were you acquainted with Lavalette before he was brought to trial?

"*A.* No, sir.

"*Q.* Have you known him since; and did you see him in prison?

"*A.* I never saw him in prison.

"*Q.* Did you know, long before the 8th instant, that Lavalette was still in Paris?

"*A.* I have not retained the recollection of the date; but I think I had no knowledge of his being in Paris till the 3d or 4th of January, and I had it merely from hearsay.

"*Q.* Was it not then proposed to you to enter into a plan, of which the execution had for its object to facilitate his escape from the kingdom?

"*A* I was spoken to with that view.

"*Q.* Who was the person that thus spoke to you?

"*A.* I was born and educated in a country where social duty is respected like public duty, and thus my memory is not framed for betraying the confidence of friendship.

"*Q.* Did you not go to Captain Hutchinson's, No. 3, Rue de Helder, on Sunday, the 7th instant; and were you not in company with Lavalette?

"*A.* I have already said, I have not retained the recollection of dates. In regard to Captain Hutchinson, I refer to my preceding answer. And, as to Lavalette, I was in no company where I heard his name?

"*Q.* On Monday, the 8th instant, did you not go in the morning to the house of the captain; did you not alight there, in order to mount a buggy, which happened to be in the street in front of the outer gate; and did you not conduct with you a person whom you found in the captain's apartment?

"*A.* As other persons beside myself are implicated in these interrogatories, I shall observe silence.

"*Q.* Do you then admit that you assisted Lavalette in escaping from Paris, and then from France, by conducting him along with you in the dress of an English officer?

"*Q.* I repeat, that no person ever appeared before me under the name of Lavalette. It is true, that, about the time you mention, I conducted from France an individual dressed in a uniform great coat of a description not at all confined to the army, but of a kind that every one can legally wear; and I did not observe whether, under this surtout, he wore a uniform dress.

"*Q.* Under what name was this person introduced to you?

"*A.* As this individual had, probably, reasons for concealing his name, I do not feel at liberty to disclose it.

"*Q.* If you did not know it, what motive could induce you to undertake so long and expensive a journey to accompany him to the frontier?

"*A.* My motives are not my actions; and, on this account, I am not bound to give an account of them; but I should be ashamed of myself, if friendship, or even the desire of rendering a service to any one whom I believed in a situation to require it, were not sufficient to determine me to undertake a journey much longer and more expensive."

SIXTH INTERROGATORY.—FEB. 9.

"*Q.* Do you recognise the basket which I here present to you, tied up, and sealed with the seal of the prefecture of police?

"*A.* No, sir; but, before answering to any kind of question, I demand that, at the head of the *procès verbal*, there may be affixed the protest, that I formally renew, on the right which is assumed of interrogating me. I declare, in consequence, my disavowal of every thing that has for its object to establish against myself, before my trial, either proofs or presumptions resulting from this inquisitorial system.

"Having then broken the seals fixed to the end of the string, we presented to him all the papers contained in the parcel, which we formed into five bundles.

"The first of these contained twelve pieces addressed to Lady Wilson.

"The second contained eighteen pieces, consisting of a memorial addressed to Lord Castlereagh, by General Wilson, with the design of recalling to his recollection all the public services performed by the latter in the last war between France and Russia, and documents in support of this memorial.

"The third bundle contained four original letters, referring likewise to the memorial announced in the second.

"The fourth contained pieces composed of notes and observations made during an excursion of the general into Asia Minor and to Mount Ida.

"The fifth and last contained sixty-four pieces, composed of various receipts and accounts of expense, both in French and English.

"We also found in the same packet, a letter addressed to Miss Rhodes, coming from England, and written in the English language; and a letter signed Bruce, without address, and without date."

SEVENTH INTERROGATORY, FEB. 14.

"*Q.* Was it entirely from sentiments of generosity, as you have mentioned in your first interrogatory, that you lent assistance in the escape of Lavalette; or was it not rather with political views, and in consequence of a marked opposition to the acts of the government?

"*A.* I begin by renewing my former protest against this inquisitorial system, and, passing then to your question, I reply, that I have not named Lavalette as the individual whom I accompanied to the frontiers; but, at all events, when it was proposed to me to save Lavalette, politics had not for a moment any influence upon my decision; and my conduct has been directed by an irresistible sentiment of humanity, which would have compelled me to save an enemy in similar circumstances.

"*Q.* Why, in the affair of Lavalette,—an affair foreign to your government,—did you exert yourself to cast odium upon the persons whose duty prescribed to them the prosecution of the charges against him? Why did you treat them as persecutors who multiplied their efforts to assure their sanguinary triumphs? Why did you add that they had discovered the footsteps of their prey, and that the escape of Lavalette had produced no other effect than to augment the fury of these monsters?

"*A.* To the first part of this question, I reply, that the affair of Lavalette (abstracted from the part I took in it) was not foreign to an Englishman. There existed a convention, signed by an English general, and ratified by the English government; and the trial of Lavalette was a manifest violation of that convention. I do not deny that I used the words that you have repeated, but you must furnish me with some proof of the facts. In addition, I may say, that I wished to avoid all political discussion: as, however, you have begun it, I do not refuse to answer.

"*Q.* The proof which you demand results from the letter which I now present to you; do you now acknowledge it, and do you consent to sign it, and to mark it, that it may be identified?

"*A.* The French government having obtained possession of a sealed letter addressed to a peer of the parliament of England, I acknowledge it, and am ready to sign it; and I declare that my object is now accomplished. The silence in which I have persevered, and which has been imputed to me as a reproach, had no other object than to compel the French government to unveil its own shame and culpability in producing the intercepted letter, of the interception of which I had long been aware.

"*Q.* It would appear that the honour of your country could not be the only consideration to which you must have yielded in this conjuncture, since you yourself advance for its justification the calamity of Lavalette, which you consider as a dishonour to the cause of liberty and humanity.

"*A.* These two words, *liberty* and *humanity*, become the proof of my explanation. In fact, the word *liberty*, when rightly understood, expresses respect for the laws and for justice. The laws were outraged by the violation of the treaty, and it was then reasonable to regard this as the cause of liberty and humanity. The expressions which I used were caused by the vindictive spirit which I had remarked in the persecutions directed against Marshal Ney and M. Lavalette;—persecutions which always appeared to me an outrage on the honour and good faith of the English nation, identified with the convention of Paris.

"*Q.* How can you escape the strong presumption which rises against you, of having wished to subvert or change the government?

"*A.* It has always been my avowed policy to leave every nation independent, and not to intermeddle in the affairs of their government; but I beheld with pain the English government offer in sacrifice the English constitution, in order to connect itself with French politics: I should have witnessed the cessation of that connection with pleasure.

"*Q.* Did not one of your friends, in a letter which he wrote to you last November, express his regret 'at not seeing a chief appear in France in a situation to please; and at that submission to which the French people shewed itself so disposed?'

"*A.* This is very possible; as the English journals afford incontestible proofs that this desire exists in one party, and I have friends of all parties; but I do not recollect having received such a letter.

"*Q.* Did you not say in the presence of several persons, on frequent occasions, and did you not write to your brother Sir Edward Wilson, that the dethronement of the Bourbons was inevitable?

"*A.* It is possible: but always on a condition understood and antecedently expressed, in case of a system of severity being persisted in, framed only to estrange the hearts of the French people from their king.

"*Q.* Did you not, in another letter, announce the doubtful and alarming news, that gloom increased every day in Paris, and that every thing bespoke 'the approach of a crisis.'

"*A.* I never correspond with any but my fellow-countrymen; and it is possible I may have transmitted to them the impression which I thought I had remarked in Paris, which did not escape the English journalists, and which, at length, was announced even in the House of Commons.

"*Q.* Does not this language refer rather to a conspiracy antecedently averted; and does not this interference result from the following expressions, which cannot belong to a vague and indeterminate proposition: 'The blow which will be struck will be heard in a terrible manner, and I hope that the people of Europe will not be deaf to the appeal that will be made to them?'

"*A.* I have always denied my knowledge of the existence of any plot. I protest against these extracts without date, and mangled from the body of the letter; I repeat, that, as an Englishman, I had a *right* to communicate my political opinions to my fellow-countrymen, and that I am an enemy to the system now established in Europe, so detrimental to the interests, the honour, and the constitution of my country.

"*Q.* Why, if you have no desire to interfere in the affairs of France, do you announce so ardent a wish to introduce, and to cause to be translated into French, the political articles of the Edinburgh Review?

"*A.* I am not aware that I ever expressed such a wish; but, as that work contains an abstract of all the books that are published in England, I may have desired to see its circulation in France, at the request of many of my friends.

"*Q.* Can you explain the nature of the extraordinary events which you announced we should soon hear spoken of in Germany?

"*A.* The judicial curiosity of France ought to confine itself within the limits of its own territories; besides, I cannot answer without seeing the pieces from which these expressions are taken. So far from dreading, I even solicit, publicity to be given to the whole that I may have said or written."

EIGHTH INTERROGATORY.—FEB. 20.

"*Q.* Do you recognise, as having written them, the three letters which I now shew you; one dated the 6th of last December, the other the 28th of the same month, and the third the 6th of last January; and do you consent to sign and inscribe them with a *ne varietur?*

"*A.* Renewing my first protest against this interrogation, and my complaints against the crimes committed by the government for the purpose of corrupting my domestic, and violating the sacred secrecy of letters shown to me, as being written at the time when the city of Paris was occupied by the allied armies, and principally by the English troops, and containing the news and reports circulated in diplomatic and military societies, not obtained in any secret or unwarrantable manner, and only written with the intention of giving my brother and Lord Grey interesting accounts, which they would sooner or later have received by the newspapers; I consent to sign and inscribe them with a *ne varietur.*

"*Q.* But did you not add to these public reports your own private sentiments? Did you not even suffer to appear a want of respect for the person of the king, in saying: 'Lord Wellington, seeing he could no longer support the idol he had raised,' &c.? Do you not admit that this last expression could only have been employed in a degrading sense, and in a sort of irony injurious to his majesty?

"*A.* To this, I reply, first, the King of France is not *my* king; secondly, I may make use of the same expressions in speaking of the King of England, without any crime, supposing an ironical idea were attached to them; thirdly, I will not enter into any discussion on private letters intercepted in the manner I have represented.

"*Q.* How can it be supposed that these expressions were suggested to you by a simple idea of foresight, when, in your letter of the 28th of last December, you 'blame your government for its fear of compromising the cause of the Bourbons and that of legitimacy in general?' and that, in another passage, you speak 'of one of your friends who had exhausted your patience, because,' you say, 'he has become a legitimacy-maniac?'

"*A.* First, I will not answer a French functionary on the subject of my observations on the English government. Secondly, I had a right to call an Englishman who adopted the doctrine of legitimacy either a fool, a maniac, or a traitor, because I consider that he outrages the very principle under which the house of Brunswick reigns in England.

"*Q.* Is it possible to doubt that you called in question the legitimate authority of the king, and that you regarded it as being only established on a principle of violence and revolution?

"*A.* I shall not enter into a discussion which might lead us too far; but I will frankly say, and I hope for the last time, that I have always considered the King of France as re-established by force; and that, as an Englishman, I do not respect what is called the legitimacy of sovereigns, when not sanctioned by the people. I shall finally add, that my political opinions had no influence on my decision with regard to the measure submitted to me for saving M. Lavalette. My only purpose was to save an unhappy man, of whose life or death circumstances had, in some degree, made me the arbiter, and who addressed himself to me, not only in confidence of my personal humanity, but of the generosity of my nation."

NINTH INTERROGATORY, FEB. 23.

"Nothing of novelty was elicited from this proceeding, which closed the examination of Sir Robert Wilson. Several of the former queries were repeated, especially in what respected the alleged report of M. Pozzo di Borgo; of which again the accused disclaimed any knowledge of the author.

"The proceeding terminated as follows:—

Sir Robert Wilson.—"It appears to be forgotten that I am an Englishman, and that the rights of an Englishman are not understood. My former answer is definitive, nor will I be drawn into a metaphysical discussion of politics. Let me be accused and judged; and, when I shall be before the tribunals, I shall know how to defend myself, and maintain my rights."

The examination of Mr. Bruce was as follows:—

FIRST EXAMINATION, JAN. 13.

"Question as to his name, surname, &c.

"*A.* I am Michael Bruce, a native of London, aged twenty-six years, an English gentleman, residing in London.

"*Q.* How long have you been in Paris? For what object? Where is your place of residence?

"*A.* I have been at Paris about a year. Some days after Buonaparte's departure for the army, in June last, I quitted Paris, and went towards Switzerland; but I was not permitted to leave the frontier, and thus was forced to return to Paris; I was then absent about three weeks. I am at Paris for my amusement; my residence is in Rue St. George's, No. 24.

"*Q.* Who are the persons whom you most visit at Paris?

"*A.* I mix a good deal in society; I visit a great number of persons; but, for the last three or four months, I have led rather a retired life.

"We then presented to him a little box, in which were inclosed the papers that had been seized in the morning: he acknowledged that the seals had not been touched. We proceeded, in his presence, to open the chest, and unfold the papers. We formed them into two packets, one of English papers of a date posterior to 1814, and the other of French papers of the same date; and we returned all the other papers, together with pamphlets and other printed articles, into the box; and we proceeded no further. The above having been read to Monsieur Bruce, he said it contained the truth, and it was signed by us. Closed the above day, month, and year, at five o'clock in the afternoon.

(Signed) "MICHAEL BRUCE.
"MONNIER and MALLEVAL."

SECOND EXAMINATION, JAN. 14.

"*Q.* Did you not form the plan of procuring the escape of Marshal Ney?

"*A.* No.

"*Q.* Did you not take very active steps in his favour?

"*A.* No; only my personal opinion has always been, that he could not be tried without violating the treaty of Paris.

"*Q.* Were you not in correspondence with Marshal Ney?

"*A.* I saw him almost every day. I had known him for some time, that is, ever since I have been in Paris.

"*Q.* Are you not connected with General Wilson and with Captain Hutchinson?

"*A.* I am connected with both.

"*Q.* Last Sunday, at about eight o'clock in the evening, did you not pass part of the evening at Mr. Hutchinson's, Rue de Helder, No. 3.

"*A.* I was certainly there: but, before I go further, I beg you to inform me of the motives of my detention. We are not accustomed in England to give answers before we know what is imputed to us.

"*Q.* You are accused of having favoured the escape of the convict Lavalette, and of having lent your cabriolet to conduct him out of Paris: what have you to answer?

"*A.* When I shall come to my trial, I will furnish the necessary explanations.

"To all the remaining queries, which respected certain details in the affair of Lavalette, Mr. Bruce answered to a similar purport or effect."

(Signed, as before.)

THIRD EXAMINATION, JAN. 15.

"*Q.* From your first examination, your answers have been distinguished by a particular character of frankness and good faith: you have said, that, independently of some discoveries which you have made, you would make known the whole truth when you should be in the presence of justice: you now appear before a member of the tribunal: are you ready to keep your promise?

"*A.* I demand, in order to preserve a greater freedom in my declaration, that the persons here present may retire, and I will disguise nothing.

"We accordingly directed the two gendarmes, and the different persons who had accompanied the Sieur Bruce, to go into the next room. The Sieur Bruce then went on in these terms:—

"I was never connected in friendship with M. Lavalette.—I was never at his house.—He never came to my house; yet I knew him a little before his arrest: his personal qualities, the sweetness of his manners, his

amiability, inspired for him in my mind a greater interest than is usually felt for persons whom one is not in the habit of seeing. His trial, his detention, and the sentence pronounced against him, added to the sentiments with which I was disposed towards him; but, since his arrest, I have had with him no connection, direct or indirect. I was entirely ignorant of the place of his retreat after his escape. I even thought that he had a long time left France. I did not know his wife—I never saw her in my life. On the 2d or 3d of the month, a person unknown brought me an anonymous letter, in which was exalted the goodness of my character; and it was added, that the confidence which it inspired induced a determination to reveal a great secret to me, and this secret, it was added, was, that M. Lavalette was still at Paris; I alone, it was said, was capable of saving him, and it was requested that I would explain my intentions on the subject. I did not do so immediately; but I promised an answer at a place which I pointed out, and which I think myself bound in honour not to make known. I add that my caution prevented me from putting any questions as to the name of the person who sent me the letter, and as to the place of M. Lavalette's retreat. I thought that, in an affair of this nature, indiscretion could not be too carefully avoided. General Wilson was ignorant of all these details. It was myself who acquainted him with them; it was myself who engaged him to join his efforts to mine in favour of M. de Lavalette, and, if there is any person culpable in this business, I declare that it is myself alone, since it was my intreaty which determined him, who is falsely considered as the author of this scheme.

"*Q.* Did not political opinions, rather than personal affections, induce you to serve Lavalette? And did you not do so as a consequence of those sentiments which you had manifested since the affair of Marshal Ney?

"*A.* I allow that my political opinions operated together with humanity on my conduct since the affair of Marshal Ney: I firmly believed that the capitulation of Paris was an obstacle to his being put on his trial. As to Lavalette, I declare upon my honour that I was moved solely by the commiseration which his case had excited in me: the adventure of his escape appeared to me to have something romantic and even miraculous about it, which forcibly struck my imagination, and excited in me a lively interest for his person.

"To the remaining queries which respected certain details in the alleged matters in charge, the answers of Mr. Bruce were chiefly in the negative, or indicative of his want of knowledge or recollection thereof.

(Signed) "Bruce.
"Dupuy and Deroste."

We must now lay before our readers the examination of Mr. Hutchinson:—

FIRST EXAMINATION.

Having been questioned respecting his name, christian name, &c. he replied,—"My name is John Hutchinson, a native of Wexford, in Ireland, age about twenty-eight years, captain in the first regiment of grenadiers of the guard, the third battalion, residing at Paris, Rue de Helder, No. 3. I am on actual service, my battalion being in barracks in the Rue Pepiniere.

"*Q.* Do you recognise, as belonging to you, the port-feuille locked, of which you must have the key, as well as the leathern cover of the same port-feuille which I present you; which two articles contained the papers seized at your apartments this morning.

"Having opened the port-feuille and its cover, Mr. Hutchinson acknowledged as his the papers which we extracted, and then restored, in order that they might be carefully examined.

"*Q.* Who are the persons that you most frequently visit at Paris?

"*A.* I am particularly acquainted with Lieutenant Bruce of my regiment; with Major Ellison, and Colonel Reeve. Before I continue my replies, I desire to know whether I am speaking to Monsieur Decazes, minister of the general police?

"Being answered in the negative, Mr. Hutchinson declared, that he would not reply to any questions which we might afterwards put to him, complaining that he was deprived of his liberty, without being informed of the charges which led to that rigorous measure.

"And all our observations to induce him to answer our questions being useless, and this officer persisting in saying, that, if there were proofs of crime against him, he ought to be placed in judgment that he might be punished, but that he would not reply to any preliminary interrogatory; we have closed the present minute, which he has signed with us after having read it.

(Signed at the time)
"J. Hely Hutchinson.
"Malleval and Monnier."

SECOND EXAMINATION, JAN. 14.

"*Q.* Have you not taken a very great interest in the fate of Marshal Ney? Have not you endeavoured to withdraw him from the execution of his sentence? Have you no knowledge of projects formed for that purpose?

"*A.* I never knew Marshal Ney or his wife. I feel

interested for him like many others, who think with me that he could not be tried, or condemned, on account of the capitulation of Paris.

"*Q.* Has not General Wilson communicated to you some project to effect the escape of Marshal Ney?

"*A.* Never.

"*Q.* What means the note which I present to you, addressed to you by General Wilson, under the date of the 13th of December, commencing in these words:—'When these expt. are attempted, *success must be ensured*,' and where enquiry is made as to proceedings with the ambassador Stuart to save Linois and others?

"*A.* I do not consider myself obliged to furnish the explanation of what you ask; address yourself to the person who wrote that letter.

"Several queries then followed, respecting certain details of the matter in charge, to which Mr. Hutchinson generally either answered in the negative, or declined speaking. This day's examination concluded as follows:

"*Q.* How often were you absent from Paris?

"*A.* I do not consider myself obliged to tell you. If there be any charges against me, let the proofs be produced before a tribunal, and I will defend myself.

"*Q.* The charges which exist against you are,—that, on the 7th instant, about eight o'clock in the afternoon, the condemned Lavalette, dressed as an English officer, was brought to you; that, on the following morning, he left your house at the break of day in an open carriage, having General Wilson by his side; that you were on horseback by the side of the carriage; that you all went out by the barrier of Clichy; that you passed on to Chapelle-en-Cerval, and went to Compiegne, when General Wilson and the condemned Lavalette took another carriage. You are, in consequence, accused of having favoured the escape of the person condemned to death. What have you to say in justification?

"*A.* When I am placed in judgment, I shall produce my means of defence.

"No further questions were asked."

(Signed, as before.)

THIRD EXAMINATION, JAN. 15.

"A number of queries were put this day to Mr. Hutchinson, and, in like manner, respecting certain other details of the matters in charge, to almost all of which Mr. Hutchinson declined giving any answer."

(Signed, as before.)

FOURTH EXAMINATION, JAN. 19.

"*Q.* Are you disposed to reply to the divers questions which it is my duty to put to you with respect to the circumstances which prepared and effected the escape of Lavalette out of the kingdom, and of which you are accused of having assisted?

"*A.* Yes; I will state all that I know.

"*Q.* How long is it since you were informed that Lavalette was concealed in Paris?

"*A.* I did not know it before the 3d or 4th of this month.

"*Q.* Did you know him before his arrest and trial?

"*A.* No, sir; I was not acquainted with him, nor any of his family.

"*Q.* From what sentiment, then, or by whose suggestions, did you resolve to take a part in the measures concerted to withdraw him from justice?

"*A.* From a sentiment of humanity and generosity.

"*Q.* Was it an Englishman or a Frenchman who first sounded your disposition on this point?

"*A.* It was an Englishman.

"*Q.* What is his name?

"*A.* I cannot answer that question. I will speak the truth in whatever concerns myself; but honour forbids me to compromise others.

"In the remaining part of this examination, Mr. Hutchinson unreservedly answered several queries which were put to him chiefly in the affirmative, respecting the assistance afforded by him in getting off Lavalette; but the circumstances have more than once been before the public."

(Signed as the foregoing.)

FIFTH EXAMINATION, FEB. 9.

"This process respected the identification of papers, letters, &c. taken at the apartments of Mr. Hutchinson, all of which were acknowledged, and respectively sealed up by the parties.

"The sixth examination was of no interest."

SEVENTH EXAMINATION, FEB. 23.

"*Q.* Do you recognise the letter which I now present to you, and which was found among M. Lavalette's papers, to have been written with your hand, or dictated by you.

"*A.* I know nothing of this letter; it is not of my writing: from the first lines I perceive that the person who wrote it speaks of a conversation which he heard at Lord Castlereagh's, and I declare that I never was at his lordship's house in Paris.

"The above being read, the accused declared that he adhered to his answers, and signed with us and the clerk both these presents, and the letter which we presented to him.

(Signed) "HUTCHINSON.
"DUPUY and DEROSTE."

On the 23d of April, Sir Robert Wilson, Captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, were brought to trial before the assize-court of the department of the Seine; together with Jacques Eberle, turnkey of the house of justice; Jean Baptiste Roquette de Kerguisec, head-gaoler of the same prison; Guerin, *alias* Marengo, Mad. Lavalette's chairman; and Benoit Bonneville, valet of M. Lavalette, charged respectively with having taken a part, more or less direct, in the escape of Lavalette.

The act of accusation brought forward, on this occasion, contained so many additional particulars relative to the escape of M. Lavalette, that we make no apology for laying it before the reader:—

ACT OF ACCUSATION.

"Marie Chamons Lavalette had been, on the 22d of November last, capitally convicted of the crime of high treason, by decree of the court of assize for the department of the Seine. Against this decree he has appealed; but his appeal being rejected by the court, the sentence pronounced upon him was to have been carried into effect on Thursday, December 21.

"The strictest orders had been given by the police that the condemned man should be guarded in the prison wherein he was confined, called the Conciergerie, with all the usual precautions; and, since the rejection of the appeal, the prefect of police had ordered Jean Baptiste de Kerguisec, the registering keeper of the prison, to redouble his vigilance; adding, that if any one should ask to communicate with Lavalette, and should even bring an order for that purpose signed with his (the prefect's) hand, still the keeper should pay no attention to it, as no person was to see the prisoner without the order of the attorney-general.

"Lavalette, being informed by the keeper of these new orders, immediately wrote to the attorney-general, begging that he might be permitted to see his wife, and a few other persons whose names he mentioned. The attorney-general felt unwilling to refuse this request; but, in giving his assent, he particularly directed that the persons indicated should only see Lavalette in succession—one after the other.

"Nevertheless, on the 20th of December, the eve of the day fixed for carrying the sentence into effect, about half-past three in the afternoon, Lavalette's wife and daughter, accompanied by the widow Dutoit, who is seventy years old, and attached to the service of Mademoiselle Lavalette, were introduced at the same time by the gaoler, Roquette, into Lavalette's chamber, though the name of neither Mademoiselle Lavalette, nor that of the widow Dutoit, was inserted in the list approved of by the attorney-general.

"Madame Lavalette was carried to the Conciergerie in a chair borne by one Guerin, called Marengo, her ordinary chairman, and by one Brigaut, a man selected for that day's service by Guerin, in the room of one Laporte, who usually performed this service with him, but who happened at this time to be ill. The chairmen generally had conveyed Mad. Lavalette into the court-yard of the Conciergerie; but, on the 20th of December, she got out in the court-yard of the palace, and walked on foot towards the grate of the Conciergerie; Benoit Bonneville, her valet, having told the chairman *to stop, and that Madame found herself sufficiently strong to walk the rest of the way.* They accordingly turned the chair towards the palace of justice: but out of it was taken a cushion, covered with green taffety, and a pretty large package of an irregular form, which seemed to contain bottles of wine. This package, as well as the cushion, and a work-bag which Madame Lavalette carried, were received into the prison, and taken into Lavalette's chamber, without undergoing the previous examination which the regulations of the police respecting prisons always require.

"Madame Lavalette, on arriving at the Conciergerie, was clothed in a furred riding-coat of red Merino, and had upon her head a black hat, with various coloured feathers. She entered her husband's apartment, with her daughter and the widow Dutoit. The valet-de-chambre, Benoit, remained in the first apartment called the avant-greffe. He was seen near the fire-place during more than two hours. The chairmen had been received into the corps de garde of gendarmerie.

"At five o'clock, Jacques Eberle, one of the wicket-keepers of the Conciergerie, who had been specially appointed by the keeper of the prison to the guard and service of Lavalette, took his dinner to him, of which Madame and Mademoiselle Lavalette and the widow Dutoit partook.

"After dinner, which lasted an hour, Eberle served up coffee, which he fetched from the coffee-house of the palace, and left Lavalette's apartment with orders not to return till he was rung for. Roquette, the son, maintains, on the contrary, that, on quitting the chamber of Lavalette, he said that he had received orders not to wait till he was summoned into the apartment.

"However, Benoit, who was in the secret of what was intended, and who saw the hour of execution approach, had left the avant-greffe, to assure himself of the chairmen. He found them at the corps de garde, and invited them to come and drink with him. Guerin immediately acceded, but Brigaut would not stir.—'Come along, comrade,' said Benoit to him; 'you need not take too much.' Brigaut suffers himself to be persuaded. Benoit, by way of trying them, says, 'Comrade, there are five-and-twenty louis to be gained · you

will be a little heavily loaded, and it will be necessary to go a little quick; but you have only ten steps to make.'—'It is Monsieur Lavalette himself, then, that we are going to take,' replies Brigaut. 'You have nothing to do with that: only do what you are asked.' Brigaut rejects the proposition, which Benoit urges, and repeats to him several times, 'You are but half a man.' Guerin, the other chairman, joined his entreaties, and said to Brigaut, 'What does it signify to you, since Monsieur assures you that there is nothing to fear?' Brigaut wished to know exactly whom he had to carry. Benoit and Guerin constantly repeat that it was indifferent to him, since he had nothing to fear, and that he ought to make a little money when he could. At length, Brigaut being hard pressed, and beginning to think of what advantage it would be to him and his family to yield, threw down the chair-staff, which Guerin had put into his hand, and, without entering the wine-shop, ran home as fast as he could, to tell his wife what had happened.

"Guerin, without losing a moment, cast his eyes upon a coal-heaver, who happened to be drinking with two of his comrades at the same place. He proposed to him to take the staff of the chair. Benoit seconded him, and off they immediately go. It was now seven o'clock. Being arrived at the court of the palace, at the foot of the staircase which leads to the Conciergerie, they found the chair, with the door open towards the gate of the prison. Chapy (that was the name of the coal-heaver who had taken Brigaut's place) saw no one enter, the back part being assigned to him; and Guerin, taking the lead, turned towards the grate of the palace, and, after having passed it, took to the right, and followed the street of La Barillerie.

"While Benoit and Guerin were employed, as has been stated, without, a scene of a different kind took place within the Conciergerie. A short time after coffee, and towards seven o'clock, the bell rang from Lavalette's chamber, intimating to the keeper that his prisoner wanted somebody. Roquette, the father, was at that time near the fire-place with Eberle, to whom he immediately gave orders to go into Lavalette's chamber. He hears the keeper of the wicket open the door which leads to the chamber, and, as he advanced to know what Lavalette wanted, he sees three persons dressed in female attire, who were followed by Eberle, and who came in front of him in the avant-greffe. The person whom he took for Madame Lavalette was dressed in a black petticoat, with a furred gown of red Merino: she had white gloves and a woman's neck-handkerchief on, a black hat with feathers of different colours: in a word, she was in exactly the same dress as that in which Madame Lavalette was first introduced to the apartment of her husband. A white handkerchief covered the face of this person, who had the appearance of sobbing; and Mademoiselle Lavalette, who walked by the side, uttered the most lamentable cries. Every thing, in that romantic scene, presented the spectacle of a family given up to the feelings of a last adieu. The keeper melted, and deceived by the disguise, and scanty light of two lamps, had not the power, as he says, to take away the handkerchief, which concealed the features of the disguised person; and, having neglected to perform this painful but necessary duty, he presented his hand to the person, (as he had been used to do to Madame Lavalette,) whom he conducted along with the two persons to the last wicket. Eberle then stepped forward, and ran to call Benoit, who arrived with the chairmen. Lavalette, under the habit of his wife, was already in the chair, which was immediately carried forward, followed by Benoit, by Mademoiselle Lavalette, and the widow Dutoit. Eberle, having at this moment perceived another wicket-keeper, took him away to drink, saying, at the same time, 'It is something singular that those three persons never spoke a word to me.'

"The chair and its suite went, according to the direction of Benoit, of Guerin, and Mademoiselle Lavalette, to the middle of the street La Barillerie; and, according to Chapy's account, whose evidence is not to be suspected, as far as the Quay des Orfevres, three or four houses beyond the street of St. Anne, where the chairmen were stopped by order of Benoit. The chair was opened, Lavalette came out, and disappeared, and was immediately succeeded in his place by Mademoiselle Lavalette. Benoit told the chairmen to turn towards the Abbaye aux Bois. In the mean time the keeper, Roquette, enters for the first time the chamber of Lavalette, where he sees no one, but hears somebody stirring behind the screen. He returns a second time, and calls: no one answers. He begins to fear some mischief, advances beyond the screen, and, there recognising Madame Lavalette, cries out, 'Ah! Madame, you have deceived me.' He wishes to run out, in order to give the alarm. Madame Lavalette catches hold of him, and holds him by his coat-sleeve—'Stay, Monsieur Roquette, stay.'—'No, Madame; this is not to be borne.' A struggle ensues; the coat is torn; Roquette rushes out, calling for help, and informs his son of the escape of the prisoner.

"Roquette, the son, darts from the Conciergerie, where he meets, at the grate of the palace, Eberle, returning from drinking with Beaudiscar. He gives him orders to follow the chair by the street of La Barillerie, himself announcing that he will take that of Jerusalem, in order to get a-head of the chairmen, and

stop their advance, and that they should meet again at the street of Jerusalem. Roquette does, in effect, take the street of Jerusalem; at the bottom of which he overtakes the chair, and stops it; but, on only finding Mademoiselle Lavalette in it, he returns with all speed to the Conciergerie.

"Scarcely had he quitted the chair, when Benoit, who continued to follow the chairmen, said, 'It is very lucky that this has turned out so.' As for Eberle, instead of executing the order which he had received from the younger Roquette, of pursuing the chair by the street Barillerie, he returned to the prison, and went to the chamber of Lavalette, under the pretence of assuring himself whether the prisoner really had escaped. In coming out, he said to his comrades, with an affectation of zeal truly laughable. 'There is still somebody shut up in the cell, and I'll take care that they shan't come out without proper orders.' On saying, afterwards, that it was very easy to have distinguished Lavalette from his wife, the latter being taller by half a head, and, being asked why he had not made that observation sooner, he replied, 'It did not belong to me to make any observations when the head of the department was there.'

"The charge states, that Eberle, being attached to Lavalette's service, as he had before been to that of Ney, had received from both prisoners divers sums of money under the head of gratuity. Eberle pretends that what he had received of Lavalette only amounted to one hundred francs; but, on the day of the escape, a search having taken place in his house, there was found the sum of one thousand seven hundred francs, which his wife had at first endeavoured to get away from the commissioner of police. It cannot be doubted, but that the greater part of that sum came from the bounty of Lavalette."

The accusation then proceeds to attach various other circumstantial proofs of the guilt of these parties. Roquette, the father, it appears, endeavoured to shift off the guilt from himself to Eberle; and the charge does not attach to him any other criminality than that of negligence. Benoit and Guerin deny the facts, which are most clearly established by the interrogatory. Madame Lavalette, and the widow Dutoit, were subject to interrogations: the latter preserved the most invincible silence, and showed, by the few answers she gave, that she was afraid of betraying her master. Madame Lavalette goes further: she justifies all that has been done, imputing to herself the plan, conduct, and execution of the enterprise; and the fertility of her genius furnishes the accused with more resources than innocence itself sometimes finds. Lavalette is then stated to have sought the means of escape from his concealment, not among those whom friendship or gratitude bound to his family, but among the enemies of the king. It adds, that, among a great crowd of strangers stated to be at Paris, the enemies of social order, and the disturbers of the age, were Mr. Bruce, an English gentleman, already distinguished by his zeal for Marshal Ney; Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, a British officer, with the same predilections; and Hutchinson, a person of the same cast. The latter is said to have been engaged with Ellister, another English officer, in some scheme of the same kind; and that Ellister would have played a similar part in the present one, if he could have obtained leave from his regiment; Wilson, therefore, was charged with the management of the affair, and the act of accusation permits him to give his own relation of the whole enterprise in a letter addressed to one of his confidential friends in England.

The trial, which attracted an immense auditory, among whom were a great number of English gentlemen and ladies, commenced at eleven o'clock. M. Remuin Deseze, son of the peer of the same name, so honourably distinguished by his defence of Louis XVI, sat as president of the court. The other judges were Messrs. Plaisand du Chateau, Delaville, Decerny, Dupaty, and Demetz-fury.

Mr. Hua, the advocate-general, was charged with the functions of public prosecutor. The jury consisted of Tromillebart, Tiron, Duplessis, Lemit, Thorenin, Guillion de Chapelle, Eden, Blainvilliers, Merze, Deliege, Merceray, and Cottereau. The accused were introduced, and placed on different benches, according to the nature of the different charges against them. General Wilson was in grand uniform, and ornamented with brilliant decorations of seven or eight orders of different states of Europe, one of which was the grand cordon of the Russian Order of St. Anne. Captain Hutchinson wore the uniform and decorations of his rank.

At eleven o'clock, M. Deseze, jun. the president of the court, opened the sitting in these terms:—"The court is going to submit to the investigation of the jury several accused persons, French and foreigners, in a cause which has for a long time fixed the public attention. The court is convinced that the persons admitted to this assembly will not, in any way, disturb the public tranquillity; that they will observe that religious silence which is due to the presence of law and justice."

The accused being called upon to give their names, surname, and qualities, gave their descriptions as before mentioned. Mr. Bruce said, with energy,—"I am an English citizen."

The president then observed, that, although the three Englishmen relied upon the correct knowledge which

they appeared to have of the French language, and did not ask for an interpreter, yet the law of France, always a law of protection, willed that the accused should not be deprived of any means of facilitating their justification, even when unclaimed; the court, therefore, named to that office M. John Robert, who accordingly took the usual oath.

Mr. Bruce (speaking the French language).—"Gentlemen of the Bench and gentlemen of the Jury, I have a declaration to make to you, in the name of myself and my two countrymen. Although we have submitted ourselves to the French law, in consequence of the accusation against us, we have never lost the privilege of invoking the law of nations. Reciprocity among nations is the first article of all treaties; and as, in England, French culprits have the right of demanding a jury composed half of Englishmen and half of foreigners, it appeared to us that the same right, or, if you will, the same favour, could not be refused to us in France. With this view, we submitted to eminent lawyers of our own nation, several questions, the solution of which might justify the right of which we speak. Strengthened by their decision, we should have been justified in demanding the favour of a jury half French and half English: but, gentlemen, the justice which has been rendered to us by the chamber of accusation, (in acquitting us of any plot against the tranquillity of Europe, and particularly against the French government,) has determined us to renounce our right. We, therefore, abandon ourselves fully, and without reserve, to the honour and conscience of a jury entirely composed of Frenchmen, and we do not even make the least challenge."

The attorney-general, after detailing the circumstances of the case, proceeded to call evidence to the facts, which have been repeatedly published, and indeed presented nothing new.

The first persons implicated by their depositions was Eberle, the head-turnkey; and, from the evidence, it seemed certain that Eberle had purposely left open all the doors between the chamber of Lavalette and the great wicket in the first part of the prison; and, instead of obeying an order to run immediately after the sedan-chair which carried away Lavalette, he directly came back to the prison, and went, with ridiculous precaution, to shut in Madame Lavalette, saying, she, at least, should not come out without good orders. From another passage in the evidence it appeared that Lavalette had a narrow escape; for one of the chairmen, being told, while waiting at the prison, that he could earn twenty-five louis if he went with speed, suspected something clandestine was going forward, threw down his leather strap, and went home; the consequence was, Lavalette remained four minutes in the sedan-chair at the very gate of the Conciergerie, till another chairman was procured.

The evidence for the prosecution being gone through, the witnesses for the defence were called. Their testimony was quite insignificant till Madame Lavalette was introduced. Her entrance was announced by a murmur, expressive of the interest and curiosity of the audience. When she appeared, Wilson, Hutchinson, and Bruce, saluted her with a profound bow. The emotion and mental distress of Madame Lavalette were so great, that, when interrogated, she could scarcely articulate her own name; and, when asked her age, she replied, "twenty-seven, I believe." After having collected her ideas for some moments, she said,—"The distress which I feel does not proceed from any fear, but from a kind of alarm on seeing myself before a tribunal, and amidst so large an audience."

The President.—"Madame, it is not public justice which has summoned you here; it is some of the accused who have invoked your testimony."

Madame Lavalette.—"I declare that the persons who have called me, contributed in no respect to the escape of M. Lavalette: no one was in my confidence: I alone did the whole."

Some details were asked of her as to certain circumstances, which, though minute in appearance, might throw light on several facts of the accusation. She replied, that she did not recollect them, and assigned for her defect of memory an excuse which will be easily admitted:—"At that moment," she said, "I was too much occupied with the execution of my plan to pay attention to what was passing around me."

The President.—"Have you ever known or seen these gentlemen, (the English,) or any one of them?" They immediately rose, and Madame Lavalette, after having looked at them for a moment, declared, that she had never known nor before seen them.

Mademoiselle Lavalette was then introduced: as she was not quite fourteen, the administering the oath to her was dispensed with. She answered to the first question in so feeble a voice, and her embarrassment appeared so painful, that the president, after asking the consent of the prisoners, signified she might withdraw. —Adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

The examination of witnesses upon the conduct of the other prisoners was continued, without producing any new or interesting fact. M. Hua, the advocate-general, then made his speech for the prosecution, which it would be wasting our space to report verbatim. He spoke first of the offence of Lavalette, then of the

excusable conduct of his wife; after which he alluded to the facts of his concealment, and next to those of the escape.

"Those," said he, "engaged in the escape from prison, meant nothing but to save Lavalette: those engaged in his concealment, by saving Lavalette, wished, or, at least, appear to have wished, to excite to sedition or to revolt; and to excite to any kind of disorder, provided it was only disorder.

"But the plan was foolish! Doubtless it was; still, however, we must examine it. We must see by what hands the apple of discord was to be thrown amongst us; and the correspondence teaches us, that some foreigners were seriously employed on the happiness of France, that they were at work upon it, and that they would derive great joy from their success! It is true, however, that they are in need of assistance, and that we shall take good care to give them none. How, then, were they to make us happy in spite of ourselves? How, gentlemen? Why, as was done in 1793. The correspondents did not know any better means apparently, because there are no other. Thus an appeal was to be made to the friends of liberty, who were to put themselves in motion; there were to be movements in the provinces; and, above all, a good means of agitation would be the persecution of the Protestants, real or pretended! Oh! excellent! This is an idea which catches like wildfire, which spreads like contagion among the people in general, and (mark this) which engenders a spirit of mortal hatred and contempt for the new dynasty.

"It is clear that, if the people were so totally misled, the revolution would be complete; and it is this very reason that revolution is impossible. Edward Wilson, at London, judged better of the state of France than his brother did at Paris. He began to distrust his predictions, and wait for facts. He remarks, that, if the French nation generally were strongly disinclined to the Bourbons, proofs of this would be daily manifested. And he adds this observation:—It so happens that there is no military force in the provinces, and yet the provinces are tranquil. On this subject he becomes inflamed, and says, that, if it is wished to overturn the existing order of things, the fire must be constantly kept, and constantly visible, like a beacon of alarm in France, and in foreign countries.

"May God avert this from us, and from foreign countries also! We have all of us seen the sinister planet, portentous of storms; the storm is passed, and new signs announce to us that the earth is pacified. Yes, we are at peace among ourselves, and we will be so with others. The nations are at peace, with the exception of some turbulent men, to whom, as Montaigne has observed, peace is war. Very well; let them remain in war,—its theatre shall not be extended: but let them not foolishly imagine that they still agitate France. If their beacon of alarm be perceived, we shall only hasten to extinguish it, as we run to put out a fire."

After M. Hua had ended, the several advocates for the French prisoners made their respective speeches in support each of his separate client; and, after these were heard, the court adjourned till the next day, April 24, when M. Dupin commenced his speech in favour of the "three Englishmen," which turned principally on points of French law.

On the facts charged against the accused, after their frank avowals, corroborated by the fullest proof documentary and parole, no possible doubt could remain: and, at half-past five in the afternoon of the same day, the jury delivered their verdict into court. It was read by their foreman, and contained an acquittal of all the Frenchmen except the turnkey, Eberle, who, as well as Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson, were found guilty. The president then proceeded to read the penal code applicable to the convicted persons. Eberle was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The article applicable to Sir Robert Wilson, and his friends, prescribes imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than three months, at the discretion of the judge; and the president, without hesitation, pronounced for the *shortest* allowable period.

In recording the preceding occurrences, we have been unavoidably led forward, in respect of *dates*, that we might preserve the thread of our narration unbroken; but it is now necessary to recur to an earlier period, in order that we may lay before our reader some interesting particulars relative to the GREAT CRIMINAL, who was not only permitted to escape the punishment due to his atrocious crimes, but who has received from a government, which he long and assiduously laboured to subvert, every accommodation which the *refinement of luxury* could invent!!

On the very day on which Paris capitulated to the allies, Buonaparte arrived at Rochefort, with a view of embarking for America. Two frigates had been stationed here by the provisional government, to receive him and his suite, and, had he lost no time, he might probably have effected his escape with facility. Fortunately, however, for the repose of Europe, he lingered at Rochefort, under the idea that the affection of his army, or the dangers of the government, might recall him to the exercise of sovereign power.

That he really designed, however, to seek an asylum in America, and that his family intended to accompany or follow him thither, will appear from the following

letters, which were intercepted from Lucien and Cardinal Fesch:—

To the Princess Borghese.

"You must have learned, my dear Pauline, the new misfortune of the emperor, who has just abdicated in favour of his son. He is about to depart for the United States of America, where we are to rejoin him. He is full of courage and calmness. I shall endeavour to rejoin my family at Rome, in order to conduct it to America. If your health permit, we shall see you there. Adieu, my dear sister. Our mother, Joseph, Jerome, and myself, embrace you.

"Your affectionate brother,

"LUCIEN.

"P.S. I have retired to your fine estate of Neuilly."

From Cardinal Fesch to the same.

"Lucien set off yesterday for London, in order to get passports for the rest of the family. Joseph, and also Jerome, will wait for their passports. Lucien has left here his second daughter, who is just arrived from England. She will set off again in a few days. I foresee that the United States will be the end of the chase. I think you ought to remain in Italy, but recollect that character is one of the inestimable gifts of the Creator, with which he has enriched your family. Exercise courage, then, and strength of mind, to rise superior to misfortune. Let not economy appear a sacrifice. At this moment we are all poor. Your mother and brothers embrace you.

"Your affectionate uncle,

"FESCH."

From the 3d to the 10th, Napoleon remained at the house of the prefect, busily employed in preparations for his departure. Waggons arrived from his palaces every day, laden with valuable articles, and he even demanded and obtained from several of the public establishments whatever he chose to consider as useful on his voyage, or necessary for his comfortable establishment at the place of his future residence.

The prefect and the general, who were charged by the provisional government to see him embark, urged the necessity of his speedy departure, and boats were ready every tide to convey him to the ships; yet he remained irresolute, and seemed to be a prey to unremitting anxiety and embarrassment. Sometimes he resolved to return to Paris, and make a forcible appeal to the fidelity of his troops;—then he addressed the government requesting a command in the army;—presently he issued orders to embark, but in a few minutes countermanded them, under the pretext that all his baggage was not arrived. Thus one day rolled on after another, until the British cruisers, informed of the important personage which Rochefort contained, closely blockaded the port, and rendered his escape impracticable.

Buonaparte now laid aside all thoughts of embarking; but he remained at Rochefort, undetermined what course to pursue, and anxiously expecting intelligence from his friends at Paris. On the 10th, that intelligence arrived, and filled him with dismay. Paris had surrendered to the allies, the provisional government was dissolved, and Louis was daily expected in his capital. He now regretted the favourable opportunity which he had lost, and, for a while, abandoned himself to despair.

With the utmost difficulty his friend Bertrand roused him to a consideration of the danger which pressed upon him, and, when his recollection returned, a thousand schemes presented themselves to his mind, which were abandoned as soon as proposed. At length he determined to fortify the little island of Aix, and there defend himself to the last extremity. He accordingly embarked on board the frigates, and proceeded to the island. Having landed the marines, and as many of the crew as he could persuade to espouse his cause, he reviewed his little army, inspected the fortifications, and immediately commenced some repairs in them; but, before the close of the following day, he was convinced of the absurdity of this scheme, and abandoned it. A few seventy-four-gun ships would soon have laid the fortifications of Aix in ruins, or the blockade of a few weeks would have starved him into submission.

He now contrived to open a communication with a Danish vessel, and prepared to escape to her in two half-decked boats which he had purchased at Rochelle; but this scheme was likewise abandoned as too perilous, if not utterly impracticable.

He next thought of escaping in a small French vessel, with which he hoped to elude the vigilance of the cruisers under the darkness of the night. Eight officers dressed as common sailors were to form his crew, and he was to assume a disguise, through which he conceived that no eye could recognise him. The vessel was accordingly purchased and equipped, and the disguises were all ready, when Bertrand and his wife threw themselves at the feet of Buonaparte, and besought him with tears not to attempt so hazardous an enterprise. A council was immediately summoned, and it being the unanimous opinion of the officers that the scheme was hopeless, it was reluctantly abandoned.

All chance of escape was now cut off, when Buonaparte suggested the absurd expedient of sending a flag of truce to the commander of the British squadron, re-

questing permission to pass, and pledging his word of honour that he would proceed to America. To this an unqualified denial was immediately returned, and Captain Maitland, the British commander, added, that he would attack the French squadron the moment it quitted the harbour.

The Corsican's situation was now desperate. Louis was reinstated on his throne; the white flag was about to be hoisted at Rochefort, and it was a subject of astonishment to all, and particularly to Buonaparte, that orders were not immediately sent to arrest him. If he delayed another day, or perhaps another hour, such orders might arrive, and, at the hands of the French court, he knew he had no right to expect mercy.

In this posture of affairs, the former tyrant of France and the dread of the continent, resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the British nation. Accordingly, two of his officers were again despatched to Captain Maitland, proposing the surrender of Buonaparte, on condition that his person and property should be sacred, and that, on his arrival in England, he should be suffered to live as a private individual wherever he pleased. To this Captain Maitland replied, that he had no authority to grant him terms of any kind, and that all he could do would be to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such a manner as the Prince Regent might think proper.

This reply was by no means pleasing to Buonaparte; but, as he had no alternative, except that of exposing himself and the crews of the frigates to certain destruction by attempting to force a passage, he was compelled to submit. He accordingly embarked on board a flag of truce, and proceeded to the Bellerophon, about eight o'clock, on the morning of the 15th. On ascending the quarter-deck, he advanced to Captain Maitland, and, in a firm tone of voice, said, in French, "I am come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." Captain Maitland received him with all the respect due to his former rank; having, at that time, received no orders to the contrary.

The following additional particulars relative to this occurrence are translated from the French papers:

EXTRACT FROM THE OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MARITIME PREFECT OF ROCHEFORT.

"*Rochefort, July* 17, 1815.

"Monseigneur,

"I have the honour of informing your excellency, that the vessel of his Britannic majesty the Bellerophon, on board of which Napoleon Buonaparte embarked the 15th of this month, set sail for England yesterday, the 16th, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

"The vessel carries, besides this personage, all the persons who have attached themselves to his fate: the list is subjoined; they were at first distributed between the frigates, Saal and Medusa; passed afterwards, in the evening of the 14th, on board the brig Epervier, and the galley Sophia: they were embarked in the English division commanded by Admiral Sir Henry Hotham.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PERSONAGES EMBARKED IN THE BELLEROPHON WITH NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

"Lieutenant-General Count Bertrand, grand marshal of the palace; the Countess Bertrand, and three children; Lieutenant-general the Duke de Rovigo, Lieutenant-general Lallemand; Marshal de Camp Baron Gourgaud, aid-de-camp of Napoleon; Marshal de Camp Montholon Semonville, idem; the Countess Montholon Semonville, and a child; the Count de las Cases, counsellor of state, and his son; M. de Resigny, chef d'escadron, officer of ordnance; M. Planat, chef d'escadron, idem; M. Antric, lieutenant, idem; M. Schultz, chef d'escadron; M. Pointkorski, captain; M. Mercher, captain; M. Maingault, surgeon of Napoleon.

[Here follow the names of forty individuals, composing the suite of Napoleon, and of the other passengers embarked with him.]

(Signed) "The Baron BONNEFOUX."

REPORT TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF THE MARINE AND COLONIES, BY THE CAPITAINE DE FREGATE DE REGFY, DESPATCHED TO ROCHEFORT.

"Monseigneur,

"I have the honour to give an account to your excellency of the information which I have collected relative to the mission on which I was despatched to Rochefort.

"On arriving in this port on the 18th, in the morning, I learned that Napoleon Buonaparte had taken his departure for England, on board the Bellerophon, Captain Maitland, on the 16th of July, at half-past one in the afternoon.

"My instructions prescribing to me to hold on this subject official communications with Admiral Hotham, commanding on the English station, I hastened to write to him, addressing to him, at the same time, despatches from M. Croker, secretary of the admiralty of England, of which I was the bearer. These letters were given to the admiral by Lieutenant Fleurian, joined with me by your excellency.

"The result of the different communications which I had with the English admiral and the maritime prefect, is, that Napoleon arrived at Rochefort on the 3d of

July, established himself at the maritime prefecture up to the 8th. Pressed by General Becker, who had been charged with escorting him till his embarkation, and by M. le Baron de Bonnefoux, the maritime prefect, to avail himself of every occasion offered by the wind and tide, he at length decided on embarking in the canoes which attended on him each tide, and repaired, at ten o'clock in the evening, on board the Saal, and ordered his suite to be distributed on board this frigate and the Meduse.

"On the morning of the 9th, he disembarked on the Isle of Aix, and visited its fortifications.

"On the 10th, the winds were favourable for getting out; but the English cruiser and the moon-light left the frigates but little hope of escaping.

"From the 10th to the 11th, Buonaparte sent Generals Savary and Las Cases on board the English vessel Bellerophon with a flag of truce. They returned on the 11th.

"Between the 11th and the 12th, Napoleon learned from his brother Joseph the dissolution of the chambers, and the entry of the king into Paris. Up to this moment Buonaparte had often announced an opinion that the chambers would recall him; whether he thus wished to impose on the authorities who surrounded him, or really entertained the hope.

"On the 12th, he descended on the Island of Aix, with his suite and his baggage; and, on the night between the 12th and 13th, two half-decked long-boats arrived there from La Rochelle. It appears that Napoleon had caused them to be purchased, in the intention of embarking in them, and endeavouring to gain, by favour of the night, a Danish smack, with which, it is supposed, he had been in treaty, and which was to look for him at thirty or forty leagues out at sea. It is not known why he did not avail himself of these dispositions: they undoubtedly appeared too hazardous to him.

"In the night, between the 13th and 14th, he repaired on board the French brig l'Epervier; and, on the evening of the 14th, General Becker, who had been sent on a truce to the English station, having returned, Napoleon ordered his suite and his baggage to be embarked on board the l'Epervier.

"On the morning of the 15th, this vessel was perceived setting sail, with a flag of truce, towards the admiral's ship; the state of the sea not permitting him to approach rapidly, the English transports came to meet him, and transported the passengers on board the Bellerophon. In this circumstance, Lieutenant de Vaisseau Jourdan, commanding the l'Epervier, conceived it his duty to demand, and obtained, from the captain of the Bellerophon, a written attestation of the transfer of Buonaparte on board this vessel. The same day a frigate of the station made preparations for sailing for England.

"On the 16th, the Bellerophon sailed at half-past one, in the afternoon. The nature and the direction of the wind which has since prevailed, does not permit us to suppose that she can arrive off the coast of England before the night between the 19th and 20th.

"On the 17th, the maritime prefect of Rochefort addressed to the troops and marines under his orders a proclamation, announcing the return of his majesty to Paris with the acclamations of the inhabitants, and prescribed the white cockade to be worn, &c.

"Your excellency will find subjoined a copy of a letter, addressed by Napoleon to the Prince Regent of England, which must have reached his royal highness by means of the English station.

"I entreat, &c.

"The capitaine de fregate, H. De Reginy."

The following letter, written by Buonaparte to the Prince Regent, was sent to London with the despatches, announcing the fact of his surrender to Captain Maitland:—

"Altesse Royale,

"En butte aux factions que divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitie des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique, et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois, qui je reclame de V. A. R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus genereux, de mes ennemis.

"Napoleon."

Translation.

"Royal Highness.

"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your royal highness, the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous, of my enemies.

"Napoleon."

"The allusion in this letter to the illustrious Athenian," says an interesting writer, "has been justly censured as puerile and absurd. There is little similarity between the surrender of Themistocles and that of Buonaparte. The former had been the saviour of his country, and had made her mistress of Greece. In the

very zenith of her prosperity, she became ungrateful to her benefactor, and doomed him to perpetual banishment. Having sought in vain a safe retreat among the Grecian republics, and in the harbours of Thrace, he threw himself on the generosity of a monarch whose fleets he had defeated, and whose father he had destroyed.

"Buonaparte had once made France the mistress of Europe; but, while she maintained her high estate, her gratitude knew no bounds. She unreluctantly surrendered to him her liberties, her treasure, and the blood of her children. It was when he had become the destroyer of his country, when he had laid her prostrate before the bayonets of foreigners, that she was compelled to chase him from her soil as the bane of her prosperity and her peace. Themistocles sought refuge with a monarch whom he had humbled, and over whom he had uniformly triumphed; Buonaparte fled to a people by whom he had been repeatedly vanquished, whose glory he had contributed to exalt, and who had lately borne the principal share in hurling him from the throne of power. Themistocles shewed much courage in surrendering himself to an arbitrary monarch, whose pride he had so severely humbled, and whose revenge he had cause to dread; Buonaparte, vanquished and powerless, had no outrage to fear from those whose glory was so intimately connected with their opposition to him, and whose proudest characteristic it was to spare a fallen foe.

"There was, however, a similarity between Themistocles and Buonaparte, of which the latter probably was not aware himself, and which is not a little curious. Themistocles has been described by Plutarch as ambitious of glory and enterprise. No one will deny that ambition and the love of enterprise have been the leading traits in the character of Buonaparte. It is said of Themistocles, that, in the midst of adversity, he possessed resources which could enable him to regain his splendour, and even to command fortune. In the rapidity with which Buonaparte recovered from the losses of the Russian campaign,—in the struggle which he maintained with all the powers of Europe, even in the very heart of France, at the close of which, had it not been for his infamous duplicity, he would have been recognised Emperor of France, and would have ruled over an extent of territory of which even Louis XIV. could not boast,—and, in the rapidity with which he overthrew the Bourbons, and resumed the sceptre that had been wrested from his gripe, we behold the full display 'of resources which could even command fortune.' The ambition of Themistocles was directed to the aggrandisement of his country; and surely it cannot be denied that the grand wish of Buonaparte was to make France the mistress of the world, and to contribute to her internal embellishment, while he established her external power. In the accomplishment of these objects both were equally careless of the justice or honesty of the means. The total disregard of Buonaparte for all the precepts of morality needs no proof. Themistocles, fearing that the advance of the Persian monarch might prove irresistible, sent an agent to his camp, secretly to intimate that Themistocles was anxious for his safety, and advised him to retreat ere it was too late. The Persian halted in his career, his project was blasted, and Greece was saved. When he was unable otherwise to mould the people to his will, he impiously tampered with the ministers of religion, and dictated the oracles and auguries that he wished; and, to close his list of crimes, he secretly counselled the Athenians to burn the fleet of their allies, then peaceably anchored in the Piræus, and thus render Athens mistress of the seas.

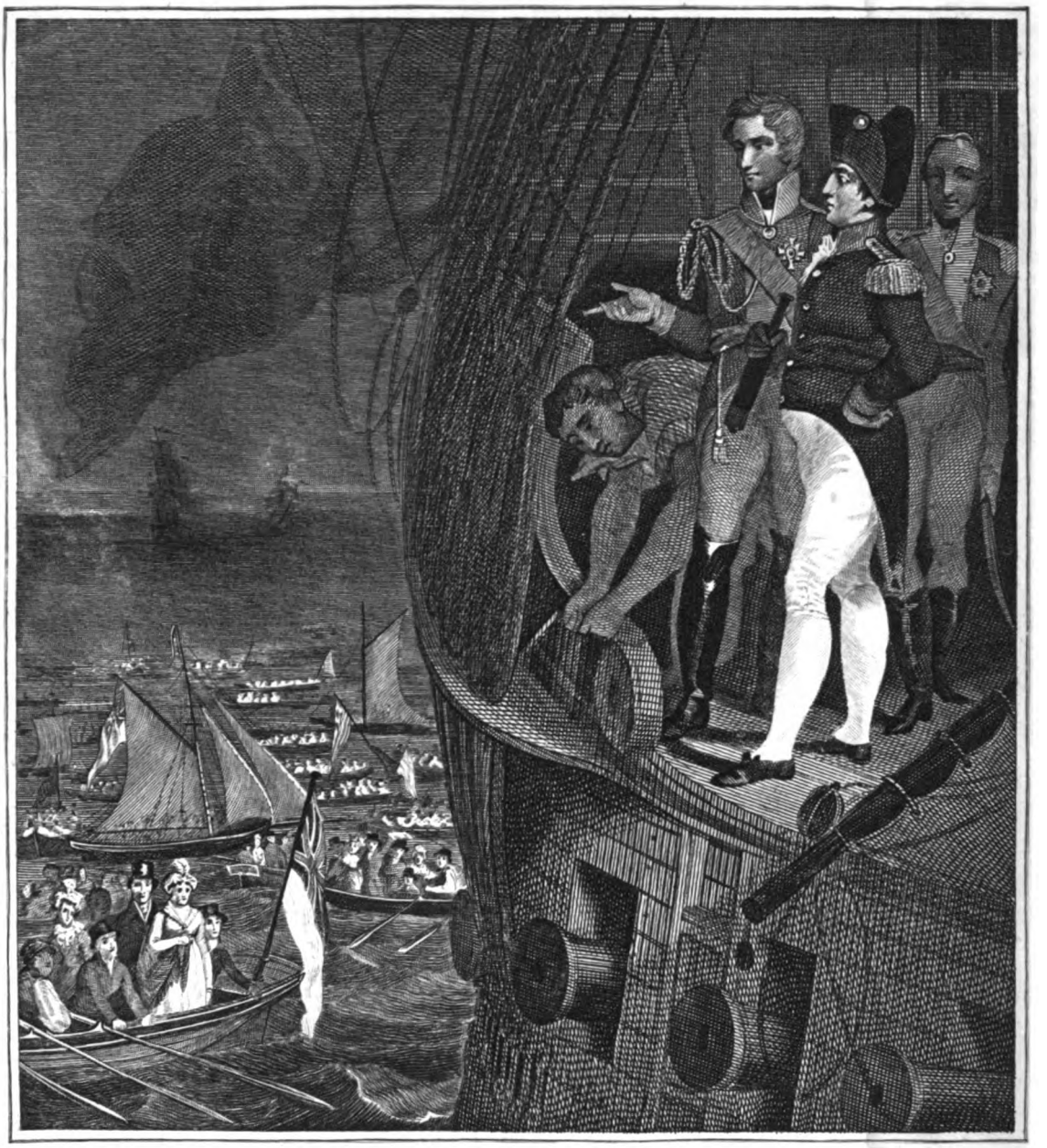
"In other respects, the coincidence is curious. Both were born of obscure parents; both shunned the society of their youthful companions, and both have been sacrificed to the suspicions and apprehensions of the enemies of their country."

It is worthy of remark, that the letter addressed to the Prince Regent was signed Napoleon; which affords one convincing proof that the Corsican still considered himself a potentate, notwithstanding his professed desire of residing in England, as a private individual. Indeed this was sufficiently obvious, from the profound respect with which he was still treated by his retinue; none of whom ventured to approach him, but at his invitation, or attempted to speak to him without being uncovered.

When the Bellerophon weighed and set sail for England, Buonaparte remained on deck, taking particular notice of the manner of making sail and tacking ship. He observed that the latter manœuvre was differently performed in French ships. He spoke much concerning the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar, frequently mentioning the name of Lord Nelson with approbation. He also asked several questions of the officers, relative to the different braces, haulyards, topsails, &c.

As soon as the arrival of the Bellerophon at Torbay was announced, it became the centre of attraction; and every one manifested an anxiety to behold the most extraordinary character of modern times. In consequence, numerous parties set out in boats, in order to obtain a view of him, and, though they were not permitted to come alongside, it was calculated not less than one thousand put off daily.

During the time necessarily occupied by official discussion, as to the disposal of the too-celebrated stranger



BONAPARTE ON BOARD THE BELEROPHON OFF PLYMOUTH.

London: Published by Thomas Kelly, *Paternoster row, Jan. 20. 1816.*

Buonaparte continued on board the Bellerophon, around which a proper guard was prudently established. The number and eagerness of spectators remained unabated, during the whole of this period; and as every one saw with his own eyes, and formed his own conclusions, the accounts thus furnished are interesting, though sometimes various. From these the following, selected from the public newspapers, may not be unacceptable.

"Upon the arrival of the Bellerophon at Plymouth, Captain Maitland made a signal for general orders, the telegraphic answer to which was, to prohibit all communication with the shore, and to stand out three leagues to sea, and await the orders of the Admiralty. Colonels Fraser and Ponsonby, the son of Sir Archibald Macdonald, and several other officers, came passengers on board the Bellerophon.

"Persons from London, and from other parts, are flocking down to Plymouth, though they know that Buonaparte is not expected to land, and that they cannot go on board the Bellerophon; but they can row in boats round the vessel, and can occasionally catch a glimpse of him. He is the greater part of the day in the stern-gallery, either walking backwards and forwards, with his hands behind him, as he is represented in some of the pictures in the print-shops, or surveying the shipping and the shore through a glass. In general he keeps alone, Bertrand and L'Allemand remaining at some distance behind him. Occasionally he beckons to one of them to point out something to him, or to make some observation; he then walks on alone. Captain Maitland is more frequently with him than any of his suite, and he pays him great attention. He is in good health. He passes but a short time at his meals, and drinks but little wine. He is said to drink regularly to the health of the Prince Regent. Coffee is frequently served up to him on the deck; and when he first came near the land, about Torbay, he is reported to have exclaimed, '*Enfin, voila ce beau pays!*' (At length, here is this fine country!) adding, that he had never seen it, except from Calais and Boulogne, when the only points that could be seen, were the white and bold rocks about Dover. He is plainly dressed, in general in a great coat, without any decorations, and a cocked hat."

Another account says—"By some passengers who came in the Bellerophon, it appears, that Buonaparte was quite at his ease on board that ship; took possession of the captain's cabin, *sans ceremonie;* invited the officers to his table, talked with great freedom on the present state of things; said, it was impossible for the Bourbons to govern France, and that Napoleon II. would very soon be re-called to the throne; that Fouche was an ass, and totally unfit for the office assigned to him. He acknowledged that England alone had ruined all his grand plans, and that but for her, he had now been emperor of the East, as well as of the West. He walked on the poop and quarter-deck, conversed with the seamen, and affected great gaiety and unconcern."

In the different conversations he had on board, he declared that he would sooner have perished than have surrendered to Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The sovereigns of these countries were despotic, and might have violated with impunity all justice and good faith by his imprisonment or death; but, by delivering himself up to the British, he threw himself on the generosity of a nation. He professed his intention of adopting the English customs and manners, and expressed his solemn resolution never again to interfere with politics. He affirmed that, had not this been long his determination, he should not have been on board the Bellerophon; that he was earnestly entreated by the army, which had retired behind the Loire, to join them, and resume his title; and with their aid, and the indignation which the conduct of the allies had excited in France, he could have been able to have maintained a harassing war during many years: but, added he, "I have resolved that no more blood shall be shed on my account."

On being asked why he did not surrender himself to Austria, where he might have claimed the protection of his father-in-law, he replied, "In that case I should have given myself up to a nation without laws, honour, or faith; and the moment I had got there, I should have been shut up in a dungeon, and never heard of more. In surrendering to the English, I have given myself up to a nation with just and honourable laws, which afford protection to all persons." Speaking of the affair of Waterloo, he said he did not expect that the Duke of Wellington would have given him battle, but that he would have retreated, and waited the arrival of the Prussians; "in which case," said he, "I must certainly have been defeated. I was therefore highly gratified when, on the morning of the 18th, I saw the British retain their position on the opposite heights, and I acknowledge that I felt myself certain of obtaining the victory. Never was battle so severely contested as that of Waterloo. I knew and felt, and my troops joined in the sentiment, that the fate of the campaign depended on the issue of that day. My troops did their duty; they never fought better; and to the present moment I reflect with astonishment on the firmness with which their charges were received and repulsed by the British.

On being asked why he continued the engagement after he knew of the arrival of the Prussians, or whether he believed that they were really advancing upon him

at that critical juncture, he said "he was perfectly aware of it, but did not regard it as an affair of much importance, as he felt certain that they must be closely pursued by Grouchy; but he was betrayed by some of his generals, and he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided."

Being asked how he accounted for the extraordinary and unparalleled route of his army, he replied, that "treason had there been busy; that the consternation happened at a time of darkness, when he was unable to rally the fugitives, and when, especially, he could not shew himself to them, which he was convinced would have effectually restored order; and that, in the confusion of the night, he was borne away by the crowd, and obliged to fly himself." After the ample accounts, however, which our readers have seen of the battle of Waterloo, they will easily perceive that this answer was a gross and deliberate falsehood.

When he was asked his opinion of Lord Wellington, he generally attempted to evade the question; but he never used a single expression derogatory of the duke's military talents. In fact, when he was more than usually communicative, he confessed that the duke had proved himself to be the first general of the age.

Recurring, one day, to his former achievements, he exclaimed, "Ah! I ought to have died when I entered Moscow: then I had attained the very pinnacle of glory; but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually attended me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden, I would have made peace at Chatillon; but Maret, with well-meaning but fatal zeal, persuaded me against it. I had once resolved to invade your fine country. It is perhaps fortunate for me that my intention was never executed. That cowardly traitor Villeneuve would not obey the orders which he received. I would have landed as near to Chatham as I could, and have dashed at once for London. I might have failed—I might have perished in the attempt; but the prize was worth the hazard of the undertaking."

He gave a curious account of what occurred between Sir Sidney Smith and himself at Acre. "Sir Sidney," said he, "distributed several proclamations among the French troops, which made them waver a little, and I dreaded the consequence. I therefore, in the next order of the day, asserted that the English commander was *mad*. This irritated him beyond all bounds, and he sent me a furious challenge to meet him in single combat. This I of course refused, and enraged him yet more by adding, that when he brought the Duke of Marlborough to second him, I would accept his challenge. Sir Sidney fought bravely; yet I should have taken Acre had he not captured my battering-train. You English have been in every sense my ruin. But for your constancy I should have been emperor of the West; and, had it not been for you, I should likewise have been emperor of the East: but, wherever a ship could get, I was always sure to find some of the English to oppose me."

"By his reception on board a British ship," says an interesting writer, "Buonaparte had rendered it a point of national honour to secure his life from danger, and his person from outrage: but no delicacy or courtesy to him could lessen the imperious duty of the allies to accomplish the avowed and legitimate object of the war, and prevent him from again disturbing the repose of the world.

"The question on which the cabinet now deliberated was, how a generous regard to his personal comfort could be reconciled with the security of Europe. He had demanded to be permitted to reside in England, and he had pleased himself with the hope that this boon would have been extorted from the characteristic generosity of Britons. It did not, however, require a moment's deliberation to perceive the impossibility of acceding to his request.

"In England, he would have been much too near the theatre of his former exploits. He might have maintained an undetected correspondence with the factions which still continued to divide France. He was, indeed, ready to give his word of honour that his political career was finally terminated; but they who were well acquainted with his character, and with human nature, knew that it would have been impossible for him long to have resigned those feelings and those visions in which all the powers of his mind and all the pleasures of his existence had formerly been centred. His word of honour had likewise been too repeatedly violated: and it had seemed to have been the policy of his government to encourage and reward in his officers a breach of that parole, which, with every noble mind, is sacred and inviolable.

"Without exercising over him such a *surveillance* as would have been a constant source of irritation, and inconsistent with all comfort, it would have been impossible to have prevented him from holding intercourse with the disaffected, and, at some unexpected period, escaping from his guard, and re-appearing on the theatre of the world, to open anew the bleeding wounds of Europe. In truth, all possible precaution would have been ineffectual to quiet every apprehension and remove every danger; and the British government would have taken upon itself a dreadful responsibility, if, by any false delicacy or imprudent generosity towards a

fallen foe, it had compromised the grand object of the war.

"In England, Buonaparte could not be permitted to reside with comfort to himself or security to Europe, nor could he have been suffered to migrate to any distant neutral country. There his correspondence with French traitors would have been unrestrained, and, against his return, no security could have existed; but could some distant and isolated spot be found, whither the steps of the factious could never penetrate, and whence escape was impracticable, many unpleasant restraints on his personal liberty might be dispensed with, and the fears and suspicions of Europe might cease.

"The island of St. Helena presented this spot. Twelve hundred miles distant from the nearest continent,—affording in the whole of its circumference but one harbour, and that difficult of access, strong by nature, rendered yet stronger by art, and bidding defiance to a sudden surprise and to a regular siege—the ocean being commanded from its rocky steeps to the extent of sixty miles in every direction, this island presented every character which could be desired. Hither, therefore, it was determined that Buonaparte should be sent; and the following instructions to the admiral with whom he was to sail, and the official letter in which these instructions were contained, shew the anxiety of the British government to contribute as much as possible to the comfort of the exile, consistent with the precautions necessary for his secure detention."

LETTER FROM EARL BATHURST, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO THE LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"*Downing Street, July* 30.

"My Lords,

"I wish your lordships to have the goodness to communicate to Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn a copy of the following memorial, which is to serve him by way of instruction to direct his conduct while General Buonaparte remains under his care.

"The Prince Regent, in confiding to English officers a mission of such importance, feels that it is unnecessary to express to them his earnest desire, that no greater personal restraint may be employed than what shall be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties of which the admiral, as well as the governor, of St. Helena must never lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of the person of General Buonaparte. Every thing which, without opposing the grand object, can be granted as an indulgence, will, his royal highness is convinced, be allowed the general. The Prince Regent depends further on the well-known zeal and resolute character of Sir George Cockburn, that he will not suffer himself to be misled, imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

"BATHURST."

MEMORIAL.

"When General Buonaparte leaves the Bellerophon to go on board the Northumberland, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Buonaparte may have brought with him.

"The admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions, which the general may have brought with him, to be taken on board the Northumberland.

"Among the baggage, his table-service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money, than for real use.

"His money, his diamonds, and his valuable effects, (consequently bills of exchange also,) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The admiral will declare to the general, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as means to promote his flight.

"The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by the general; the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person, as well as by the rear-admiral, and by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory.

"The interest on the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements be left to him.

"For this reason he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the admiral till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and, if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the admiral or the governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his majesty's treasury.

"In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

"As an attempt might be made to cause a part of his property to pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

"The disposal of the troops intended to guard him must be left to the governor. The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the admiral.

"The general must be constantly attended by an officer appointed either by the admiral, or the governor. If the general is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly man, at least, must accompany the officer.

"When ships arrive, and as long as they remain in sight, the general must be confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject during this time to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times, it is left to the judgment of the admiral or governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them.

"It must be signified to the general, that, if he makes any attempt to fly, he will be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that, if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the general's flight, they shall be separated from him, and likewise put under close confinement.

"All letters addressed to the general, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the admiral or governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the general, or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

"No letter that does not come to St. Helena through the secretary of state must be communicated to the general, or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. All letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under the cover of the secretary of state.

"It will be clearly expressed to the general, that the governor and admiral have precise orders to inform his majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which he may desire to address to it: in this respect they need not use any precaution. But the paper on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and, when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

"Till the arrival of the new governor, the admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Buonaparte, and his majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present governor to concur with the admiral for this purpose.

"The admiral has full power to retain the general on board his ship, or to convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, the secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected.

"When the admiral arrives at St. Helena, the governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East-Indies, such officers or persons in the military corps of St. Helena, as the admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or their dispositions, shall think it advisable to dismiss from the military service in St. Helena.

"If there are strangers in the island whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of General Buonaparte, he must take measures to remove them.

"The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the admiral. He fixes the places which the boats may visit, and the governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the admiral shall consider this precaution to be necessary.

"The admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow.

"Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel from going in future to St. Helena.

"If the general should be seized with a serious illness, the admiral and the governor will each name a physician who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the general in common with his own physician: they will give them strict orders to give in every day a report on the state of his health.

"In case of his death, the admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

"Given at the War-Office, July 30, 1815."

The decision of the council was known to Buonaparte, through the medium of the public journals, before it was officially announced to him; and the intelligence overwhelmed him with consternation. At first he abandoned himself to rage, and furiously declared he would never be taken from the Bellerophon alive. Madame Bertrand, also, on learning that she was to be secluded for life on the barren rock of St. Helena, burst from the cabin, rushed towards the Corsican, who was then walking on the deck, threw herself at his feet, clasped his knees, and then, running to the side of the vessel, attempted to precipitate herself into the sea, but was prevented from accomplishing her purpose.

After the lapse of two days, however, Buonaparte appeared more reconciled to his fate, and again began to shew himself to the crowds which constantly surrounded the ship.

On one of these occasions he was observed to throw a number of torn papers into the sea, a considerable part of which were drifted towards a gentleman's boat; and, on being taken up and carefully arranged, the

following interesting fragment of a letter, in the French language, to Maria Louisa, the ex-empress, was deciphered:

"Madam, my dear and honoured Wife,

"Attending once more solely to the interests of France, I am going to abdicate the throne; and, in closing my own political career, to bring about the commencement of the reign of our dear son. My tenderness for you and for him impels me to this step, no less than my duties as a monarch. If he ensure, as emperor, the happiness of France, and as a son, the happiness and the glory of his mother, my dearest wishes will be accomplished! Nevertheless, if, even in his most tender infancy, I can give up to him all my authority, in my capacity of head of the state, I cannot, and it would be too painful to my heart to sacrifice also the inviolable rights which nature gave me————"

About this time, also, Napoleon is supposed to have written the following farewell address to the people of France, to which an extensive circulation was given by his adherents in Paris, and in the provinces.

"The machinations of treason have obliged me again to separate from you: but, the victims of the same treason, I lament only your misfortunes.

"I coveted the sceptre but to sway it for your glory and welfare. The knowledge of my devotion to your honour and prosperity, excited the hatred of the sovereigns of Europe. Had I sought only to reign without regard to the interests of my people, I should have established in their estimation the legitimacy of my title to the throne. Had agriculture been neglected, had manufactories languished, had debt accumulated, and public spirit been degraded, then I should have possessed the assured friendship of rival potentates. Had I circumscribed the prosperity of the empire to the embellishment of its palaces, or sacrificed the majesty of the throne to the preservation of the royal authority, then my dynasty might have possessed the inglorious inheritance.

"The sovereigns of Europe confederated against me as a legislator, whose establishments nurtured and animated the talents and industry of the community of which I had been elected the chief magistrate, and they proscribed my person as the shield of the power and independence of the state. The enemies of a revolution which had triumphed over the abuses that occasioned it, and mercenary traitors insensible to the calamities of an invaded country, associated their efforts to paralyse national exertion, and make you believe that war was my policy, and peace the boon which the governments of Europe solicited from France. Unwilling to sacrifice the illustrious remnant of your defenders, thus isolated from their country, I yielded to the wishes of your representatives; and, to consummate your security, I surrendered myself into the hands of my enemies.

"History affords no example where repose and independence were the rewards of submission, but many instances of individual devotion to the hopes of a nation. Since the fatal moment when France announced that she ceased to combat for her liberty and safety, what misfortunes, crimes, and humiliations have devastated and degraded the empire! War with all its devastations, conquest with all its violence, tyranny with all its abuses, and subjection with all its shame, have overwhelmed you. Outrage and perfidy have outstripped even my forebodings.

"The perfidy of Austria, which uncovered my line and occasioned my disasters in Russia, which bartered Poland, violated the military convention of Dresden, and negotiated but to betray;—the perfidy of Prussia, whose monarchy I preserved when treason had undermined the throne, and cowardice had rendered the kingdom defenceless;—of Russia, whose civil, military, and political history is a series of systematic contempt of faith and equity;—of Bavaria, whose unparalleled turpitude obliged me to fight at Leipsic for preservation, and not for conquest;—of Switzerland, who for a paltry bribe sold the tranquillity of her citizens, the safety of her country, and the sanctity of her neutrality;—of England, whose sophisms have annihilated public law, and whose policy, since the era of Pitt, has unblushingly substituted power for principle, and expedience for justice: not the recollection of all these perfidies had prepared me for those, which have now been emulously perpetrated by sovereigns who professed that they bore arms against France only so long as I was seated on her throne. The most lawless barbarians have never manifested such contempt for solemn obligations. The darkest ages have never presented such scenes of treachery, and licentious direction of force, in an unresisting country. The miserable king, who was content to render France their prey, has even his wrongs to plead. The mockery of his sway desecrates the divinity of his right, and he trembles lest the vengeance of the nation should sweep him and the despoilers from the soil, before the work of ruin is accomplished.

"Frenchmen! you are now told, that not only my ambition, but your contumacious spirit of conquest, demanded punishment. Even the acquisitions of former sovereigns, and former epochs, are now cited as your crimes. And by whom are these charges advanced? By sovereigns whose empires have been formed of successive encroachments on the independence and terri-

tories of their neighbours. What was Russia in the beginning of the last century? How became the elector of Brandenburgh monarch of a powerful kingdom? Has Austria absorbed no kingdoms, dismembered no provinces, and does she now hold no domain by the sole tenure of force? Look at the map of Europe. Has France only usurped? Do all the states, recognised as independent, even by the treaty of Westphalia, exist? Look around the globe. See the English flag flying in every quarter, and in countries where religion, laws, and language, are most dissonant. Has she not subjugated the greater part of Asia? Is she not still endeavouring to force the rampart which separates her from China, and has she not been waging a second war to recover her influence on the American continent?

"Our ambition was security. If England had not aspired at the sovereignty of three-fourths of the globe, I should have temporized with the unfriendly counsels of Spain. If Russia had not partitioned Poland, and aimed at empire in the south, I never should have proposed to repulse her from the Vistula to the Volga. Europe had acknowledged the baneful influence of England's usurpation. The blood that has flowed for the last twenty-five years, has flowed at her purchase; and Europe will further rue the event of a struggle that removes the ascendancy of a civilized people for the domination of northern barbarians.

"You are accused of having preferred war to peace, so long as war was successful. Your answers are these: Who first warred against your revolution? Who violated the treaty of Amiens, and violated it with shameless disdain of truth? Who rejected negotiations repeatedly offered, or broke them when conciliation was practicable? Who declared the war of which you are now the victims? Is it not of their own decreeing? I regretted your sacrifices. I was moved to vindicate your indignities; but I adopted the policy of peace, which was the will of the nation, and I respected it as the bond of union between me and my people. Frenchmen! posterity will judge how far I am responsible to my country for the event of our military efforts. They will decide, when the records are before them, whether I could have mastered fortune; but my love for France, my gratitude for her confidence, and my devotion to her welfare, can never be subject to suspicion. To France I owe my existence, and the consciousness of that claim has confirmed the rights of nature.

"Frenchmen! I am still your emperor: but I hold the crown for my son and your interests. His succession can alone ensure the fruits of your efforts against a dynasty whose reign is identified with your slavery. Foreign force may support the throne of a patricide king; but the power of fifty millions of Frenchmen is not to be permanently subdued. You have acquired mournful, but useful experience. You are now convinced that arms alone can redeem you from vassalage and ignominy.

"Cherish the brave men who have fought your battles. They will again conduct you to glory and to victory.

"On the rock where I am doomed to pass my future days by the disloyal sentence of your enemies, I shall hear the echo of your triumph, and hail, in the gloom of its horizon, the flag of your independence."

Sir Henry Bunbury was the person charged to communicate to Buonaparte the determination of government to send him to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received the intimation without surprise, but protested against the measure in the strongest terms. He said he had been compelled to quit the island of Elba by the breach of the treaty made with him by the allied sovereigns;—that he had exerted himself to prevent the renewal of hostilities;—but that, when they became unavoidable, and the fortune of war decided against him, he yielded to the voice of his enemies, and, as they had publicly declared, that it was against *him* only that they had taken up arms, he abdicated the throne of France, in the full confidence that the allies would be faithful to their own declaration, and leave the French to choose their own form of government;—that his first wish had been to retire to the distant country of America, and there devote himself to literary pursuits; but, being disappointed in that, he had next resolved to seek protection in England, and had therefore fearlessly placed himself in the power of the British government. In this predicament he felt himself entitled to protest against the measure now announced to him.

He next entered into a long argument, in order to prove that the government could not, consistently with the principles of the British constitution, thus doom him to perpetual banishment without accusation and without trial.

Sir Henry replied, that he had no commission but to apprise him of the resolution of ministers, but that he would faithfully report the objections which had been stated.

The Bellerophon now sailed from Torbay to meet the Northumberland, which was appointed to convey the Corsican to St. Helena. When Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon, Buonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat with red facings, two epaulets, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the le-

gion of honour, and a *chapeau bras*, with the tri-coloured cockade. Agreeably to instructions, the ceremony with which he had hitherto been treated was now discontinued; and the admiral, approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, as he would have done to another general, and said, "How do you do, General Buonaparte?"

The fallen usurper was surprised, and hesitated an instant: he then replied in a slight and laconic manner.

A momentary pause ensued, when Buonaparte began to abuse the British government for their conduct towards him.

Lord Keith and Admiral Cockburn made no reply; but an officer who stood near observed, that if Buonaparte had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Emperor of Russia.

"God keep me from the Russians!" exclaimed he, shrugging up his shoulders, and looking expressively at General Bertrand.

Sir George Cockburn interrupted a conversation which could lead to no satisfactory result, by inquiring at what hour he should receive him on board the Northumberland. Buonaparte hesitated a moment, and then suddenly turned to Lord Keith, and abruptly asked him, what he would advise him to do. His lordship replied, that he apprehended no other course could be pursued than to submit to his fate with a good grace. Buonaparte then appointed the hour of ten, but immediately after recalled his consent, and began a more violent harangue against the British government.

Another officer, who stood near him, then said, "If you had remained at Rochefort another hour, you would have been taken and sent to Paris." Buonaparte turned his eye on the speaker with evident indignation, but made no reply. The address of *General*, however, soon roused him again; and he exclaimed, "You have sent ambassadors to me as a sovereign potentate,—you have acknowledged me as first consul. Is this the hour chosen to insult me?"

Anxious to terminate a conference which threatened to produce some unpleasant consequence, Sir G. Cockburn reminded Buonaparte that the barge of the Northumberland would come for him at ten o'clock the next morning; and, bowing to Buonaparte, immediately retired with Lord Keith.

Those persons who were not to accompany the exile were now sent on board the Eurotas frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers, of whom Buonaparte took leave individually. A Colonel Pistowski, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him. He had received seventeen wounds in his service, and said he would serve in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish officers, however, were peremptory, and he was removed to the Eurotas.

Count Bertrand, his wife and children, the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cassas, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Buonaparte: but his surgeon refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by the surgeon of the Bellerophon.

Early on Monday morning, Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon, to superintend the inspection of Buonaparte's baggage: it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They were all sent on board the Northumberland about eleven o'clock.

Buonaparte had brought with him from France about forty servants, amongst whom were a groom, postilion, and lamp-lighter. Two-thirds of these were sent on board the Eurotas.

At half-past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the Tonnant, went on board the Bellerophon, to receive Buonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Buonaparte, before their arrival, and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the officers of the Bellerophon. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again.

Buonaparte was this day dressed in a cocked-hat much worn, with a tri-coloured cockade; his coat (a plain green one, with a red collar) was buttoned close round him; he had three orders—two crosses, and a large silver star, with the inscription *Honneur et Patrie;* white breeches, silk stockings, and gold buckles.

Savary and Lallemand were left behind in the Bellerophon. Savary seemed in great dread of being given up to the French government; repeatedly asserting that the honour of England would not allow him to be landed again on the shores of France.

About twelve o'clock, the Tonnant's barge reached the Northumberland. Bertrand stepped first upon deck; Buonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The marines were drawn out, and received him, but merely as a general, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir G. Cockburn, "*Je suis a vous ordrés.*" He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who were near the admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. After taking leave of the officers who had accompanied him from the Bellerophon, and embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, Buonaparte went into the after-cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, &c.

Bertrand said, "I never gave in my adhesion to Louis he XVIIIth. It is therefore palpably unjust to proscribe me. However, I shall return in a year or two to superintend the education of my children."

Madame Bertrand appeared much distressed; and said she was obliged to leave Paris in a hurry without clothes or any necessary. She had lived in the house now occupied by the Duke de Berri. She spoke most flatteringly of her husband; said the emperor was too great a man to be depressed by circumstances, and concluded by expressing a wish for some Paris papers.

Count Montholon spoke of the improvements made by Buonaparte in Paris; and alluded to his bilious complaint, which required much exercise.

Bertrand asked what we should have done, had we taken Buonaparte at sea?—"As we are doing now," was the reply.

An interesting conversation afterwards took place between Buonaparte and some gentlemen who were present.

Exclaiming against the measures which had been adopted respecting him, he said, "You do not know my character: you ought to have relied on my word of honour."

One of the gentlemen immediately said, "May I tell you the plain truth?"

"You may."

"I must then tell you, that, since your invasion of Spain, no Englishman could put any confidence in your most solemn engagements."

"I was called into Spain by Charles IV., to assist him against the machinations of his son."

"No; but, in my opinion, to place your brother Joseph on the throne."

"I had a great political system. It was necessary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power on the sea; and, besides, the Bourbons had always entertained the same feeling, and adopted the same system."

"It must, however, be confessed, that France, under your sceptre, was much more to be feared than during the latter years of Louis XIVth's reign. She was also aggrandized," &c.

"England, on her part, had become more powerful." Here he referred to our colonies, and particularly to our acquisitions in India.

"Many well-informed men are of opinion, that England loses more than she gains by the possession of that overgrown and remote empire."

"I wished to revive Spain; and to do much of that which the Cortes afterwards attempted to do."

He was then recalled to the main point, and reminded of the character of the transaction by which he obtained possession of the Spanish crown. To this he made no reply, but again recurred to the subject of his detention, and, after much discussion, concluded by saying, "Well! I have been deceived in relying upon your generosity. Replace me in the position from which you took me."

Speaking of his invasion of France, he said, with great vehemence, "I was then a sovereign.—I had a right to make war—The King of France had not kept his promises."

He afterwards said exultingly, shaking his head and laughing, "I made war on the King of France with six hundred men, and beat him too!"

He said that, in confining him, the British were "acting like a little aristocratic power, and not like a great free people."

"I knew Mr. Fox," said he, "and have seen him at the Thuilleries. He had not your prejudices."

"Mr. Fox, general, was a zealous patriot with regard to his own country, and, besides, a citizen of the world."

"He sincerely wished for peace, and I wished for it also. His death prevented the conclusion of peace. The others were not sincere."

He afterwards observed, "I do not say that I have not, for twenty years, endeavoured to ruin England;" and then, as if correcting himself for having inadvertently acknowledged more than he intended, he added, "that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just—at least, less unjust."

On being asked his opinion of the British infantry, he replied,

"Long wars make good soldiers—the cavalry of both nations is excellent—but your artillery have derived much improvement from the French."

To a question concerning Louis XVIII, he replied,

"He is a good sort of a man, too fond of the table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The Duchess of Angouleme is the only man in the family. The French must have such a man as myself."

He afterwards broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the allies, and called it perfidious and treacherous.

He once more spoke of St. Helena, and expressed himself not only indignant, but surprised at being sent there.

"I would have given my word of honour to have remained quiet, and to have held no political correspondence in England. I would have pledged myself not to quit the place assigned me, but to live as a simple individual."

"That seems to be next to impossible; for, though you have had great reverses, you could never so far forget what you *had* been as to conduct yourself as a simple individual."

"But why not let me remain in England upon my parole of honour?"

"You forget how many French officers violated their parole of honour, and that, instead of expressing any indignation against them, you received them with particular distinction—Lefebvre Desnouettes is an instance of this."

To this observation Buonaparte made no answer, and the conversation terminated.

The following is a translation of the protest which Buonaparte delivered to Lord Keith, against his transportation to the Island of St. Helena:

"I solemnly protest, before God and man, against the violation of my sacred rights, in disposing, by force, of my person and my liberty. I came voluntarily on-board the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner; I am a guest of England. As soon as I was on-board the Bellerophon, I was under the protection of the British people. If their government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, only meant to entrap me, it has forfeited its honour, and tarnished its flag. If this act is put into execution, it will be in vain that the English boast of their fidelity, their laws, and their liberty. British faith will be obscured by the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal to history, whether an enemy, who, after having for twenty years waged war against the English people, comes deliberately, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under the protection of their laws, can give a more convincing proof of his esteem and confidence: but how have the English answered such confidence and magnanimity: they pretended to extend a friendly hand to this enemy; and, when he relied on their good faith, they sacrificed him.

"*On-board the Bellerophon at Sea, Aug.* 4, 1815.

"NAPOLEON."

To this document we shall subjoin an account of the house and furniture ordered by the British government for the accommodation of its most inveterate enemy.

"After some deliberation, it was determined, by the express order of the Prince Regent, that Buonaparte should be furnished, in his banishment, with every possible gratification and comfort, which the taste and fitness of an ample supply for his domestic economy was calculated to afford. In furtherance of his royal highness's command, an order was issued by Earl Bathurst, to one of the most tasteful and ingenious artists of the metropolis.—This order comprised every species of furniture, linen, glass-ware, clothes, music, and musical instruments, which Buonaparte and the whole of his suite can possibly want for a period of more than three years. The directions for it were given in the most ample and *unrestricted* sense; no price in the first instance fixed, no particular quality of article specified; the whole were to be made up in a style of pure and simple elegance, with this only reservation, that in no instance should any ornament or initial creep into the decorations, which would be likely to recall to the mind of Buonaparte the former emblematic appendages of his imperial rank. The order was to be completed within six weeks; and, by the indefatigable exertions of four hundred men, it was finished in the given period. The whole has been executed in British materials; the chairs and tables are, in general, formed of the finest British oak, inlaid with polished brass; the breakfast service is of Wedgewood's most beautiful pale blue composition, with a white cameo device in relief, modelled by Flaxman, in the best style; the dinner service is white and gold, the centre of each plate, dish, &c., containing an elegantly executed landscape of British scenery; the glass, of the finest quality, is plainly but elegantly cut, with a fancy border of stars, supported by fluted pillars; the table-cloths, napkins, &c. are of the finest damask; the evening service is white and gold; the imperial plate rendered it unnecessary to furnish him with a service of British manufacture; but a few dozens of spoons, and other minor articles of that description, to meet the wear and tear of domestic accidents, form a part of the present supply. The cushions and curtains are of light blue silk, with a black border and small black wreaths. Some are of blue, with a rich yellow border. Both the colours and style of this part of the furniture, and, indeed, of the whole, are admirably suited to the climate for which they are intended. In Buonaparte's wearing apparel, his favourite colour (dark green) has been preserved—shirts, cravats, pocket-handkerchiefs, boots, shoes, and stockings, of every description, are also provided for him. His friends and suite are no less attended to—they are equally to be furnished with suitable equipments. A piano-forte, and some articles of dress, are provided for Madame Bertrand.

"To meet the difficulty for procuring for Buonaparte a suitable residence at St. Helena, the architect for the ordnance department at Woolwich, was engaged to complete a timber frame-work, for a building to be erected on the island, in the cottage style. The front is in the pure simplicity of the Grecian style. It is about one hundred and twenty feet in length, containing fourteen windows, and a fine open corridor. The depth of the building is about one hundred feet, with a back corridor, almost making the whole structure square.—It is two stories high, and will have an elegant cottage appearance. The ground-floor of the

right division of the house contains Buonaparte's apartments. In the centre of this wing is his drawing-room, which, as well as the other apartments for his accommodation, is spacious, being about thirty feet in length, by a breadth of twenty. This proportion runs through the whole. Next is his dining-room, with an adjoining library, behind which is a capacious billiard-room. His bed-room, dressing-room, and bath, are of course connected. The left division of the edifice contains spacious and well-suited apartments for the officers of his suite. The rear comprises the servants' and store-rooms. The kitchen is somewhat curiously constructed, being detached from the regular building, and yet perfectly convenient to the dining-room, without communicating any offensive fumes to the principal range of rooms. This is an improvement of no small value in a sultry climate. The hall is plain, and merely furnished with seats. The corridor will furnish a cool and shaded promenade.

"The *drawing-room* is coloured with various shades of green. The curtains are Pomona green, made of light silk taberet, bordered with full green velvet, and edged with a gold-coloured silken twist, to correspond. The green silk forms a fine ground for the border, and the style, in fitting up the upholstery, is chaste and simple; the curtain-rings are concealed under a matted gold cornice, enclosing the rod on which they run. The supporters are gilt and carved patras, and the green velvet folds form into the architecture of the room by falling in straight lines at each side of the windows, where they draw smooth and compact, without interrupting the progress of two useful, but often excluded, properties of nature—air and light. The centre table is formed out of one piece of exquisitely veined British oak, polished in the very highest degree of perfection. The pier-table is of the same timber and quality, inlaid with a slab of the *verd antique* marble of Mona—the only place in which this precious material is now found, and surmounted by a pier-glass, with a frame of Buhl and ebony. The chairs in this apartment correspond with the tables. There are also two Greek sofas with footstools: these are peculiarly elegant, being enriched with highly-finished *or-molu* ornaments. The carpets are of the Brussels texture, in shades of olive, brown, and amber;—colours finely calculated to harmonise with the decorations in the room. The walls are of light teints of sage-green, with beautiful ornamented pannels in Arabesque gold. The colours ascend from the darker shades upon the ground, until they are lost in the cream-colour of the ceiling.—This produces a harmony in the decorations, which is in the highest degree elegant. One of the drawing-room recesses is filled up by a piano-forte; and a few tasteful chandeliers and candelabras are occasionally introduced with a pleasing effect

"The *dining-room*.—A neatly-finished table, supported by substantial claw and pillars, capable of being divided, to suit a company of from six to fourteen. The sideboard intended for the imperial plate is of a new form, pure and simple in its construction and decoration. The wine-cooler is of bronze and rich wood, and shaped after the fashion of the Greek Bacchanalian vases. The chairs are plain. The curtains are of lavender-coloured silk, with a rich black border, relieved by a gold-coloured silk lace and cord. The carpet and walls are shaded with the same colours, falling into a black and brown relief; the latter, of various hues, pervade the room.

"The *library* is fitted up in the Etruscan style, with a number of dwarf book-cases. The curtains are of a new material, composed of cotton, which produces the appearance of fine cloth. The library-table is particularly elegant, and mechanical ingenuity has been laboriously applied to furnish it with desks and drawers, suited to every convenience of study and accommodation.

"The *sitting-room* is fitted up with several cabinets, formed of ebony, inlaid with polished brass; the carpets are etherial blue, intermingled with black.

"The *bed-room* contains a high canopy-bedstead, with curtains of fine straw-coloured muslin, and lilac draperies of Persian: the entire edged with a gold-coloured fringe ornament. The bedstead encloses a curious mosquetto net, formed of silk weft, embossed with transparent rich drapery. The dressing-room possesses the usual conveniences required by taste and comfort. The adjoining bath is lined with marble, and so constructed, that it can admit either hot or cold water.

"The sets of china were selected from different manufacturers throughout England.

"Among other articles that have been ordered by the English government for Buonaparte, are two fowling-pieces, one with double barrels, and the other with a single barrel, finished in the richest style, having the patent lock, which is constructed upon a plan by which the guns may be fired under water, in the rain, and without flint, besides priming themselves forty successive times."

After waiting a few days for stores and provisions, the Northumberland sailed for St. Helena; the following description of which is compiled from the most authentic and respectable documents:—

This island was discovered by the Portuguese, on the festival of St. Helena, in the year 1501; and from this circumstance it received its name. In the year

1513, it became the retreat of a Portuguese nobleman, named Fernandez Lopez, who had disgraced himself in India; and who, being left here with a few servants and various useful animals, cultivated the resources of the island to a considerable extent, until, on being recalled to his country, he communicated the secret of its advantages to the East-India trade. The earliest notice that we find taken of this island by any English navigator, is Captain Cavendish, in 1588.

St. Helena is situated in fifteen degrees fifty-five minutes south latitude, and fifty degrees forty-four minutes west longitude, about twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and two thousand four hundred from that of South-America. Its greatest length is about ten miles three furlongs; its breadth, six miles two furlongs; and its circumference, twenty-eight miles.

When first seen from the ocean, it appears to be a mass of rugged and sterile rocks; but, on a nearer approach, the view is more cheering. The mountains, as the eye gradually distinguishes them, being clothed with verdure to their summits; and even the immense cliffs, having been made subservient to the security of the island, by fortifications extensively disposed on them, contribute to the interest excited by the plainer view. The anchorage is remarkably safe and commodious: from the south-east, the approach is particularly smooth; and, though the surfs have sometimes been dangerous in the immediate vicinity of so steep a shore, the inconvenience has been greatly remedied by the construction of a secure and extended landing-place. On the sides of Rupert's Hill and Ladder Hill, which form the eastern and western boundaries of the town, are the roads which run into the country, and branches of these ridges of hills divide the island. The highest part of them is said to rise two thousand six hundred and ninety feet above the level of the sea. The whole country bears marks of volcanic origin, though, with one slight exception, in the middle of the last century, the inhabitants have experienced no remarkable convulsion of nature since the discovery of the island.

A rich mould, about ten inches in depth, forms the general soil of the country, and affords nutriment to a great variety of plants: but the gum-tree, red wood, and cabbage-tree, are said to be indigenous. The latter of these plants is a species of palm, and generally crowns the uplands in the interior: it produces a useful article of fuel, and has lately been applied to the purposes of building. The red wood, also, (a kind of ebony,) is used in building, but is not so valuable as the cabbage-tree for rafters, and other larger purposes. The gum-wood is almost exhausted.

The lands are principally devoted to pasturage, and the gardens to culinary roots and vegetables. Utility has here taken the universal precedence of mere taste; and, though different experiments have been made, with some success, upon the capabilities of the soil for producing the sugar-cane, the cotton-tree, indigo, &c. the great purpose of rearing cattle and esculent vegetables has always been primarily regarded.

When first discovered, the country was almost one entire wood; and the wire-grass of India, samphire, and a wild celery, abounded here: these, however, have gradually given place to more useful productions. English vernal grass now grows upon the heights; and the British oak has made its appearance here during the last fifty years. Figs, oranges, and pines, are found in the valley near the shore. Apple-trees are very abundant; and most of the English fruits have been introduced with good success.

Large yam-plantations abound in the island, but they were more exclusively the object of the farmer's care formerly than at present; the English potatoe having become a very powerful rival, and meeting so much readier a sale. The yam is a watery root, sometimes called the water-parsnip, and was once extensively used as a substitute for bread. Kitchen-gardens, in the English style, surround the town, and abound with peas, beans, cabbages, &c. The myrtle flourishes particularly well on the island, and the fern-tree grows to an unusual size.

The hills abound with springs, which, however, are so far distant from each other, as to furnish no large stream to the island, and many of them dry up in the long absence of rain. Two of them are said to be a happy exception to this, and rather to enlarge than diminish in the dry season—that at the Briars and Fisher's Valley. A botanical garden at the country-house of the governor is watered by one of these springs.

The water thus yielded sometimes becomes extremely valuable, as the island is sometimes visited with severe drought. In 1760, and the two following years, a mortality ensued amongst the cattle from this cause, preceded by the most dreadful madness. Every expedient that the skill or anxiety of the inhabitants could suggest, to arrest the progress of this dreadful malady, was adopted, but in vain;—nearly all the cattle perished.

The climate at St. Helena is so unusually mild and free from storms, that thunder-clouds are seldom seen; but the sky is at once serene and temperate. Sir Joseph Banks observes, "The summer here is not so hot as in England, seventy-two degrees being the highest point at which the thermometer was observed in 1788, while seventy-six degrees is marked as the point of our summer-heat. The winter is also much milder than

ours, ranging between fifty-five and fifty-six degrees of Fahrenheit's scale;—a temperature in which the vegetation of leaves proceeds with more equability, perhaps, than any other." The neighbourhood of the sea always furnishes a refreshing breeze to the island, nor are we to suppose the characteristic mildness and shelter of its harbour render its visitants likely to be becalmed here. One instance only has occurred of any ship being weather-bound: the wind was at north-north-west, for about twenty days, early in the last century, and, being accompanied with great drought, produced much disease amongst the inhabitants, particularly the negroes. Small quantities of the ore of various metal have occasionally been discovered at St. Helena; but none have yet been wrought with any success.

About seventy different species of fish are taken on the coast. Lobsters, mackarel, oysters, and a fish called the coal-fish, nearly resembling the salmon in flavour, are found in different quantities. The last, however, is very scarce. Sea-fowl deposit immense quantities of eggs around the island, which are collected in the fall of the year, and form an agreeable article of food.

James's Valley, in which the town is situated, lies on the north-west side of the island. The stranger, on landing, is naturally struck with the military appearance of the place; being conducted between a line of heavy guns, and through an arched way into the town; the rampart or terrace of which is edged by a double row of evergreens; and the whole forms a fine parade. A handsome residence for the governor and officers, called the Castle, next meets the eye, and is surrounded with a strong wall. The church is in front; and three streets, consisting of commodious decent houses, form the town.

Salt provisions from England are constantly supplied to the island, and constitute, with Indian rice, the principal support of the garrison; the fresh productions of the island, though judiciously managed, being by no means equal to the consumption. The population of the island, for the last ten years, has been about two thousand, exclusive of the new establishment, civil and military. Of this population eleven hundred are slaves, about three hundred free blacks, and the rest settlers, principally from England.

In 1593, St. Helena afforded a welcome shelter to Captain Lancaster, in the Bonaventure; who, sailing with two other adventurers in those seas, were driven back, after leaving the Cape of Good-Hope, to this place, where he remained about three weeks. It does not seem to have been regularly inhabited by the Portuguese after the departure of Lopez. Nor was it colonized by any other nation until 1640, when the Dutch made a regular settlement. In 1651, it was relinquished to the East-India Company; and Charles II. subsequently granted a charter, by which the sovereignty was vested in that company. They were allowed to erect forts, and supply garrisons and plantations on the island with "provisions, clothing, ammunition, and necessary implements, without paying any custom or duty." Of these privileges the Company immediately availed themselves. They offered liberal encouragement to settlers from England. The single men that first arrived were granted ten acres of land and one cow: those with families had twenty acres and two cows. Seeds, plants, and breeding stock, were liberally furnished: and salt-provisions were issued gratuitously in 1763, for a period of nine months. Soldiers were also permitted to become free settlers. That these advantages might not be thrown away, it was ordered that, at the expiration of one year, those persons who had wholly neglected their lands, or did not support one cow, at least, on every ten acres, should quit the island, and the property return to the Company.

The possessor of every ten acres of land was no ordered to furnish one man bearing arms; and by this mean a militia was gradually formed, upon whom reliance might safely be placed, from the circumstance of their having an interest in the soil. Shortly after the establishment of the colony, this militia was so greatly augmented by the influx of settlers, that the regular soldiers were reduced to fifty men, and the rest allowed either to settle, or return home. A commutation of the militia service of the planters was introduced in 1633, of two shillings per acre. The civil and military offices established by the Company were, in the infancy of the colony, frequently mixed and vested in the same hands. From the first settlement, however, the executive authority of the whole island has been vested in the governor. A council, sometimes consisting of the deputy-governor and the Company's senior civil servant only,—sometimes of another member or two, specially added by the court of directors, assisting him and deriving all the authority immediately from the East-India Company, with a chaplain and surgeon, completed the first establishment. The salaries of the governor, deputy-governor, store-keeper, and chaplain, were at first but 50*l.* each, and that of the surgeon but 25*l.* per annum. The governor, however, received an additional 50*l.* as captain in the service of the Company, and a gratuity of another 50*l.* The chaplain and surgeon were allowed land and cattle as settlers, and their maintenance daily at the governor's table. The inhabitants, for the first twenty years, seem to have been averaged at about five hundred.

Scarcely had the East-India Company obtained complete possession of the island, and introduced the necessary regulations, when the Dutch, by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, regained possession of it for a few months. Towards the close of the year 1672, they appeared off the island, and attempted, for a whole day, to effect a landing by open force. Detached portions of the rocks, however, were rolled upon them so successfully, as to oblige them to abandon their first attempt at Lemon Valley. From the kind of defence adopted, it seems that, at this time, there was but one fort erected, which was situated on Ladder Hill. This was called Fort James: it gave the name to the adjoining valley, and is supposed to have been erected in 1665. The next night five hundred of the invaders landed at Bennett's Point, and coming round by Swanley Valley and the High Peak, to Fort James, though they were repeatedly repulsed, they eventually overpowered the garrison. The governor and other officers secured their most valuable effects on board some vessels in the road before they abandoned the fort; and sailed immediately for the Brazils. Here they found the brave Captain Munden, with three of the king's ships, who were on their way to St. Helena, as convoy to the expected East-India fleet. He quickly repaired for the island, and, arriving unseen by the Dutch, a party was landed at the opening of a small creek where two men only could go abreast. This was pointed out to them by a slave who had been in the service of the governor, and was sold on his arrival at the coast of Brazil, but fortunately redeemed by Munden. Two hundred men were silently disembarked under Captain Kedgwin, of the Assistance. They had now to encounter a precipice above the landing-place, to which a single individual was first obliged to ascend, and by a rope, drawing up his companions, the whole gained the rock. So imminent was their danger at this time, however, that twenty men might have repulsed them with facility. The night was occupied in a march through an extensive wood; and at break of day they arrived at the east side of James's Valley, and gained the summit of Rupert's Hill before they were observed. At this juncture Sir Richard Munden entered the harbour, and the Dutch surrendered without firing a shot. The mouth of this creek has since been well fortified, together with every spot where it is at all possible to effect a landing.

Shortly after this event, a governor and suite arrived from Holland, to take possession of St. Helena; and being deceived by a display of the Dutch flag, they fell into the hands of Sir Richard Munden. Two of the most valuable Dutch Indiamen, out of a fleet of six homeward-bound, were also decoyed. The whole fleet entered the harbour without suspicion, but four of them were alarmed in time for their escape. The vice and rear-admiral, however, with a considerable treasure, were secured. The island was now left under the government of Captain Kedgwin, and the garrison increased to nearly two hundred men, exclusive of the militia. To the slave who had been the means of the success of the whole enterprise, the East-India Company granted his liberty, with a portion of land and cattle as a free settler.

The island having thus lapsed by conquest to the crown, the East-India Company obtained a new grant of it from Charles II. This charter is dated the 16th of December, 1673, and constitutes the governor and company "the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the island, with full legislative power to the extent of life and limb." The directors of the Company now equipped two ships, for the purpose of carrying out stores of every kind; and a new commission was made out, in which Captain Field succeeded Kedgwin as governor. In 1678, the former resigned, and Major Blackmore succeeded. Under his government, courts of justice were erected in the island, and trial by jury introduced in all cases, affecting life, limb, or landed property.

The colony now began to assume so flourishing an aspect, that, in 1721, the Company no longer found it needful directly to supply provisions at their invoice prices; but only laying a duty of nineteen per cent. on all stores imported from England, the inhabitants at this time were able to supply themselves by purchase.

The earliest account of St. Helena recognises the detestable traffic called the *slave-trade*, and the import and export of human beings were regulated like all other articles of commerce. Sometimes, indeed, the excessive numbers of the slaves produced restrictions on the further importation of them for a few years, as in 1679. Shortly after, a duty of ten shillings per head to the East-India Company was imposed, and then some of the ships refreshing here were obliged to leave one negro, male or female, as their agents should select, for the Company's lands. "The laws of this period against slaves," says a modern historian, "were written in characters of blood. A male slave, aged sixteen years, and upwards, striking a white person with his hand, underwent emasculation; a female, for the same offence, had both her ears cut off, and was branded in the forehead and both cheeks. A slave, male or female, *offering* to strike a person with any instrument or weapon, suffered death!"

In 1684, a serious tumult was excited by the levying of some new taxes, under Governor Blackmore. The deputy-governor was openly insulted in the discharge

of his duty by a common soldier,—the flame spread on the apprehension of the offender, and some of the planters were implicated. About sixty mutineers, military and others, attacked the fort; martial law was proclaimed, and three of the insurgents killed, and fourteen wounded in this attack. Several were afterwards seized and tried; two of the ringleaders were hung; and four others were banished. Of the severity of these sentences, some of the settlers complained by petition to the House of Commons; but no substantial case appears to have been made out. Fresh examples were soon found needful, and sanctioned by an express commission from James II.; the tenure of the island having now become very precarious. Under this commission, fourteen persons were tried by a court-martial, and five executed. The property of the convicted was forfeited to the Company, several others were sent to Bombay, and no inhabitant was in future to keep arms without license from the lords proprietors. The garrison was also augmented, and the militia was partly disbanded.

In 1666, St. Helena afforded an asylum to many of the sufferers by the fire of London, and to the Hugonots, who escaped from France, in the reign of Louis XIV.

In 1690, Captain Johnson was appointed to the government of this island, with an increased salary of 200*l.* per annum; but, in 1693, he fell a victim to a mutiny of the soldiery, who also plundered the treasury, and sowed the seeds of disaffection through the whole island. A serjeant on guard, of the name of Jackson, contrived to introduce his accomplices into the garrison, before he delivered the keys to the governor. In the dead of the night, they separately intimidated all within the fortress, seized the governor, and shot him through the head. In the morning, various persons were sent for, in the governor's name, who were secured as they arrived. The guns were spiked or removed, the deputy-governor and four other gentlemen were carried on board a ship the mutineers had seized in the harbour, while the treasure and provisions were embarked. In fact, they were made hostages for the supplies the mutineers exacted of the people, under the guns of the batteries. In two days they accomplished their plans, and effected their escape, on the 22d of April, 1693.

Under Governor Roberts, the present square fort in James's Valley, and a new government-house, were begun in 1708. The laws of the island were also republished about this time, which produced a series of remonstrances and rejoinders between the inhabitants and the government. The former desired to possess fire-arms, which were granted; and to meet more frequently in social parties, which was also allowed: the trial by jury was requested to be extended whenever required by the plaintiff, which was agreed to, with some modification. Under this government, barracks were erected to keep the military as separate as possible from the inhabitants; the fortifications were much improved; and a general spirit of order and decision was diffused throughout the colony, to a far greater extent than it had ever previously enjoyed. Some discontented persons, however, made such a representation of affairs in England, that Captain Roberts was superseded, in 1711, by Governor Boucher. In 1714, this gentleman resigned, having given great dissatisfaction to the Company and people. Governor Pyke succeeded, and directed his chief attention to the agricultural concerns of the island. In the second year of his government, a flood, bursting from Sandy Bay Ridge, devastated several plantations, stripped some of the hills entirely of their soil, and ruined many families. This, however, is the only accident of the kind which seems to have occurred on the island.

During the five years of his administration, Governor Pyke had to encounter several serious obstacles to his plans. In 1718, a severe drought took place, accompanied by a north-west wind, which continued unchanged for three weeks. These circumstances together produced a mortality of the inhabitants, who now amounted to upwards of eight hundred. Nearly one hundred died in two months, two-thirds of whom were slaves. In 1719, this drought again visited the island, and a state of famine for a while ensued. One accusation preferred against the governor at this time must be mentioned to his honour. He had granted a petition of the planters to allow them to punish the slaves at discretion; yet was accused to the East-India Company of being "*too mild* in his conduct" to that oppressed race, and of having gravely called them "*his children!*"

In 1728, a law was enforced for the better protection of the wood on the island. Not only had the fertility of several spots been injured, but in some places the rains were found to wash away the whole of the soil which had been entirely cleared from the brittle nature of the mould. The moisture and shade afforded by the trees, being found essential to the preservation of its adhesive qualities, Governor Roberts had issued an order to compel every planter to apportion one-tenth of his grounds to the cultivation of trees; and this order was now revived. Part of Long Wood, comprising about one hundred and fifty acres, was fenced in for this purpose, and a nursery-ground established. Potatoes were also planted, for the first time, on the island. For the last eighty years, the woods in St. Helena have considerably increased.

Under the government of Colonel Dunbar, in 1749, an attempt was made to introduce the cultivation of wheat, barley, and oats; but the crops proved very deficient, in consequence of the occasional drought and changeability of the soil.

In 1759, the civil and military establishments of the island were augmented and made more distinct. The British code of civil law was also introduced; and sessions of oyer and terminer, of which the governor and council were appointed judges, were regularly held; though we find the court of directors admonished the settlers to avoid all litigious proceedings; and refused to send out any person in the profession of the law. The salary of the governor, in 1762, was increased to 500*l.* per annum; and the prices of provisions, from the Company's stores, were considerably reduced.

In 1760, two of the Company's ships were cut out of the roads of St. Helena, by the French, through the carelessness or inattention of the governor. These vessels had been taken under the Dutch flag by the French, who regularly saluted the garrison, and passed into the harbour. In consequence of this circumstance, no ship was afterwards suffered to pass Banks's battery, without previously sending a boat to the shore.

In 1761, a temporary observatory was erected on this island, in expectation of a transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disk. The late Dr. Maskelyne, astronomer royal, from Greenwich, and Mr. Waddington, spent six months in preparing the edifice; but a passing cloud, at the moment of the transit, unfortunately rendered all their preparations useless.

In 1777, a tract of land, comprising one thousand five hundred acres, was strongly fenced in, for the further encouragement of wood upon the island. Waterworks, to extend the streams of the various springs, were also attempted, with different degrees of success: one pipe, of nearly six thousand feet long, was laid down from Chub's Spring to the wharf, and has proved very serviceable to the island.

On the 24th of December, 1783, a serious mutiny again broke out in the garrison: some punch-houses, which the soldiers were accustomed to frequent, were suppressed, and the men refused their allowances in evident resentment. A body of them, under arms, appeared before the governor on the 26th; and, on the 27th, about two hundred men marched out with drums and fixed bayonets, to gain the fort on Ladder Hill. The governor, with great presence of mind, went into the midst of them, and, by persuasions, induced them to abandon their violent measures for the present. Five days afterwards, however, finding forbearance no longer availing, he secured their ringleader. The mutineers now attempted to seize the Alarm-House, but were anticipated by Major Grame, who fortunately reached it before them. With the assistance of the six men on the station, he opened a fire of grape-shot on the insurgents for a time, but was, at last, compelled to abandon it. The governor, in the interim, had despatched about eighty men, under Major Bazett, to his assistance; they surrounded the mutineers, after several exchanges of fire in the Alarm-house, killed three, and took upwards of a hundred prisoners. Many escaped in the night; but ninety-nine were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. Only the serjeant, however, who headed the mutiny, and nine others, were executed.

Governor Brooke arrived at St. Helena, in 1788, and introduced a variety of useful military measures, by which the order of the garrison was effectually secured, its numbers increased, and the island made a nursery of effective troops for the service of the East-India Company. An accurate survey of the various positions was now taken; and the heights, which had been hitherto neglected, were strongly fortified. A strong corps of artillery, and a battalion of infantry, were stationed here in 1796; Major Rennell, Sir Archibald Campbell, and the Marquis Cornwallis, successively inspected the fortifications of the island: a chain of signal-posts was established round the coast for the first time, and every pass and defile on the island properly defended.

After reforming the habits of the troops, Governor Brooke introduced a new code of regulations respecting the slaves. The power, formerly lodged with the master, was now transferred to the magistrate. No correction exceeding twelve lashes was allowed to be given them by their owners; and crimes of a serious nature were to be referred to the governor or justice of the peace. Excessive violence to them was to be punished as an assault; and Sunday was to be expressly reserved to them as a day of rest. Marriage was also encouraged among them; their evidence upon oath in all judicial proceedings was admitted; and their property, lawfully acquired, was fully protected by law. Since the 24th of February, 1792, the further importation of this persecuted race into the island has been prohibited.

The next object of attention was the augmentation of the live-stock on this island, under the management of the governor. In 1790, it amounted to two thousand five hundred head of black cattle, two thousand three hundred and ninety sheep, and the sales to ships calling here, of cattle and fruits, to 6,600*l.* in the year. The potatoe-plantations were also extended, and the whole island began to assume a flourishing appearance. The salary of the governor was now increased to 1,000*l.* per annum; to which were added the commission and

pay of a colonel. After the most useful administration of the affairs of the island, during a period of fifteen years, Colonel Brooke retired, on account of his health, to England, in 1800, and was succeeded by Colonel Patten. This gentleman established telegraphs, of his own invention, on the island; the artillery service continued to receive the greatest encouragement; and the heights were rendered still more effective in defence.

"In making a voyage to St. Helena," says a contemporary writer, "it is generally necessary, on account of the trade-winds, to stretch along the Brazil coast, quite out of the tropics, and then round to the eastward, with variable winds, till the island can be gained by the south-east winds. On approaching it in this direction, it appears like a lofty irregular ridge of rocks, the northern extremity of which is very abrupt, and the southern more shelving. At a small distance from the latter there are two rocks, called the Needles, one of which resembles a large ship under full sail. Barn's Point, the next promontory, is passed by ships at a cable's length: it is nearly perpendicular, and about sixteen hundred feet high. From hence vessels steer close along the shore for Sugar-loaf Hill and Point; on the peak of the former there is a telegraph, and, on a jutting crag of the latter, about fifty or sixty feet above the level of the sea, there is a small battery of three or four guns, to compel vessels to heave-to, and send their boats on shore. If this be not attended to, the batteries open in succession upon the vessel. On rounding Rupert's Hill, James's Town and Valley present themselves, abreast of which vessels cast anchor, about half a mile from the shore. While the ship and fort are saluting, the reverberations of sound among the rocks and mountains resemble the loudest peals of thunder; and, joined to the novelty of the surrounding prospects, form a striking contrast with the monotonous scenery, to which the eye is accustomed during a long voyage from Europe to Asia."

But to return to Buonaparte.—The first day of his arrival on board the Northumberland, he ate a very hearty dinner, with which he drank claret. In the evening he amused himself, on the quarter-deck, by listening to the band of the fifty-third regiment; and the national airs of "God save the King," and "Rule Britannia," were played at his request. He occasionally conversed familiarly with such of the officers as spoke the French language; and, on these occasions, he invariably maintained the commanding attitude which it is well known he learned from Talma, the tragedian, and which he used to exhibit with such self-importance, when giving audience to his marshals or officers of state in the Thuilleries.

The next day he breakfasted at eleven o'clock, upon meat and claret, succeeded by coffee. At dinner, he was observed to help himself to a mutton-cutlet, which he devoured without the assistance of either knife or fork.

On the third day, he passed much of his time on deck, and seemed to have paid greater attention than usual to his dress. In the evening, he played at whist, but apparently in a different manner from the English practice: at the conclusion of the game, he proved to be a loser; but that circumstance did not appear to ruffle his temper: at least, whatever chagrin he might have felt, he thought proper to conceal it.

The next morning he remained secluded in his cabin, being evidently affected with sea-sickness: this, however, he would by no means acknowledge; and his suite, who still paid him all the devotions that the most absolute despot could require, were too refined courtiers to question the veracity or discernment of their *imperial* master, when he ascribed his illness to a different cause.

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the Corsican was sufficiently recovered to go on deck, and this he did, though the wind blew strong, and the motion of the vessel was so great, that he who had once marched so triumphantly over the various nations of the continent, could now with difficulty keep his feet, and was repeatedly obliged to catch hold of the persons around him, to save himself from falling.

He asked a number of questions with his usual rapidity; such as, whether the gale were likely to subside?—how many leagues the vessel went in an hour?—what strange sail appeared on the bow of the Northumberland? &c. He also asked one of the midshipmen how long he had been in his majesty's service, and, on being answered *nine years*, he observed it was a long time. "Yes," said the officer, "it is so; but part of it was passed in imprisonment in France; and I happened to be at Verdun when you, sir, set out on your expedition to Moscow." At this remark, "the disturber of the world" shrugged up his shoulders, and immediately dropped the conversation.

Among the baggage belonging to Buonaparte, which was removed from the Bellerophon, were two camp-beds, which had accompanied him in several of his campaigns. They are represented, by an eye-witness, as being about two yards long, and one yard wide, with furniture of green silk: the frames are of steel, and are so extremely light that they can be moved with the utmost facility. One of these was placed in Napoleon's cabin, for his personal accommodation; the other was set apart for the convenience of Madame Bertrand.

On one occasion, the attention of the exile seemed particularly excited by two long-boats, which happened

to lay bottom upwards on the booms of the Northumberland. He was much struck with their singular length, and asked so many questions relative to the purposes for which they were designed, that some of his auditors were led to imagine he considered them as part of the flotilla which might be provided to preclude the possibility of his escape from the place of his destination. He was merely made acquainted, however, with their general employment in the naval service; and he asked no further questions.

One evening Buonaparte addressed a series of questions to Captain Beatty, of the marines, respecting the discipline and regulations of the troops which he commanded. His curiosity being satisfied on this head, he entered into a conversation on other military subjects, and, on learning that Captain B—— had served with Sir Sidney Smith, at the siege of Acre, he caught the captain by the ear, and jocosely exclaimed, "Ah! you rogue, were you present?" He then enquired what had become of Sir Sidney: and, on hearing that the brave knight had gone to the continent, and had made a proposal to the congress of Vienna, for the destruction of the Algerine corsairs, he observed, that "the existence of that nest of miscreants was a disgrace to the European powers."

Napoleon next addressed himself to the captain of artillery on board the Northumberland, and asked a variety of questions relative to the officers, miners, and privates of every description; observing, that he felt particularly interested in this subject, having been originally in the artillery service himself. He seemed surprised at the extent and perfection of this branch of the British military force, and expressed great astonishment at our bringing twelve-pounders into the field. He also made strict enquiry respecting the education of the cadets, and asked whether they received instructions in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, the Mathematics, &c. from regular professors.

Several of the English newspapers having expressed an expectation that Buonaparte would put an end to his existence rather than be immured for life, as a condemned exile, among the rocks of St. Helena, the subject was mentioned in his presence; when he replied, "No, no; I am not sufficiently a Roman to destroy myself." This observation was certainly correct; for, after all that has been said and written on the subject, it is sufficiently obvious, that *Napoleon the Great can submit* wherever personal safety is concerned; and no doubt he secretly exulted in the mildness of his sentence, when he knew that he had been once publicly declared an outlaw, and had, by a thousand actions, merited capital punishment.

Mr. Whitbread's name being introduced, together with the fatal termination of his life, he seemed inclined to attribute that melancholy catastrophe to the humidity of the climate in England. He had heard that the gloomy month of November produced the most alarming effects on persons labouring under mental oppression; and he asked a variety of questions concerning the fogs to which the British islands are subject, and which are supposed conducive to those hypochondriacal feelings which have often terminated in self-destruction. With his usual subtilty, he embraced this opportunity of impressing on the minds of those to whom he addressed himself, that he really considered suicide as a *crime*, originating in cowardice, and incapable of justification under any circumstances whatever. Such an observation from a man possessing any sense of *religion* would indeed have been truly appropriate; but, from a character chiefly distinguished by *blasphemies* and *atrocities*, it certainly comes with a very ill grace.

The Northumberland now approached Madeira, but the atmosphere was so hazy, that it was impossible to see it until the vessel got between the Desert Island and Puerto Santo. The former of these being pointed out, as having a slight resemblance to St. Helena, in the appearance of its rocks, which are almost perpendicular, Napoleon rose from the dinner-table, and came on deck: but, whatever might have been his feelings in contemplating this place, and comparing it, in idea, with his destined prison, he said nothing. It was observed, however, that he shrugged up his shoulders, and affected a smile of contempt.

Few days elapsed without some enquiries, on the part of Napoleon, concerning the health of the crew, and the nature and treatment of the disorders with which some of them were afflicted. To the practice of phlebotomy, which, at this period, happened to be particularly necessary, he appeared to have a strong objection; ridiculing it as the discipline of *Doctor Sangrado*, and urging the necessity of sparing a fluid which he conceived could scarcely be sufficiently kept up by the provisions obtainable on board a ship. Notwithstanding the good effects which were obviously and repeatedly produced by the application of the lancet, he persisted in ridiculing the practice; and, on meeting the surgeon, he would ask, (applying his fingers to the inside of the opposite arm,) "Well, how many men have you bled to-day?" and, if any of his own suite appeared unwell, he would exclaim, "O bleed him, bleed him! the lancet is the never-failing remedy!" The recovery of Madame Bertrand, however, from a dangerous inflammatory fever, in consequence of her losing twenty-four ounces of blood, and abstaining from wine and animal food, silenced his ridicule, if it did not convince his understanding.

The state of his own health is truly surprising, when we reflect on the diversity of climates to which he has been exposed, and the fatigue which he must necessarily have undergone during the last twenty-five years of his life. To some questions on this subject, he replied, that he could only recollect two instances in which he had ever required medical assistance; and, on these occasions, he was relieved, in the first instance, by a single dose of physic; and, in the second, by the application of a blister. The professional gentleman, also, who voluntarily undertook to accompany him to St. Helena, when his own surgeon refused to attend him, has observed, that his temperament is admirable, and that his pulse is never known to exceed sixty-two.

One day, whilst Buonaparte was questioning the surgeon of the Northumberland on various points connected with the practice of phlebotomy, that gentleman ventured to ask whether his *sleep* were, in general, *sound*. This was a question well calculated to rouse the furies of a guilty conscience, and to harrow up every feeling of one who, whilst he reprobated the loss of a little blood by the lancet, had caused rivers of that "precious fluid" to be shed in the course of his usurpations and vile aggressions. The heart of Napoleon, however, is too callous to be affected by any recollection of crime, or feeling of remorse; he therefore replied, with perfect composure, "*No: I have been an indifferent sleeper from my infancy.*"

One Sunday, while sitting at the admiral's table, Buonaparte thought proper to put a series of categorical questions to the chaplain of the Northumberland, on the tenets, forms, and ceremonies, of the English church. These questions, with the answers of the clergyman to whom they were addressed, were to the following effect:

Buonaparte.—"How many sacraments are recognised by the church of England?"

Chaplain.—"Two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper."

Buonaparte.—"Is not marriage considered as a sacrament?"

Chaplain.—"It is not."

Buonaparte.—"What are the tenets of the English church?"

Chaplain.—"Episcopal protestant, or Lutheran."

Buonaparte.—"How often is the eucharist administered?"

Chaplain.—"In the capital, and other large towns, it is observed once a month; but, in country places, where the population is not so considerable, it is only celebrated once a quarter, that is to say, on the festivals of our Saviour's nativity, or Christmas-day; of his resurrection, or Easter-day; the descent of the Holy Spirit, or Whit-sunday; and the feast of St. Michael."

Buonaparte.—"Are all the communicants permitted to drink out of the same chalice?"

Chaplain.—"They are."

Buonaparte.—"Is common bread used in the administration of the eucharist?"

Chaplain.—"It is wheaten bread, and the best that can conveniently be procured."

Buonaparte.—"If wine could not be procured for the celebration of this sacrament, would it be allowable to introduce any other liquid as a substitute?"

Chaplain.—"That is a case which probably never occurred; as wine may be procured in all parts of England."

Buonaparte.—"Are the bishops in the habit of preaching frequently?"

Chaplain.—"No: they seldom preach, but on particular occasions."

Buonaparte.—"Is it customary for them to wear the mitre?"

Chaplain.—"I think I may venture to assert, that they never wear it. I will not undertake, however, to say, whether the archbishops wear the mitre, or otherwise, at the king's coronation."

Buonaparte.—"Do not the bishops sit in the House of Peers?"

Chaplain.—"They do."

Buonaparte.—"What term of residence at the university is necessary to a candidate for holy orders?"

Chaplain.—"Four years; but it must be understood, that seven or eight years have been generally spent by such candidates at some classical school, prior to their admission into the university."

Buonaparte.—"What period must elapse before a member of the university can attain the degree of doctor in divinity?"

Chaplain.—Nineteen years, reckoning from his matriculation."

Buonaparte.—"Which are considered as the best seminaries for the study of divinity?"

Chaplain.—"The universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

Buonaparte.—"What are the tenets of the church of Scotland?"

Chaplain.—"Calvinistic, and their discipline is called *presbyterian;* because they reject episcopacy, and acknowledge only the government of priests and *presbyters*, or elders."

Buonaparte.—"In whose care are the registers of baptisms, marriages, and funerals, reposited?"

Chaplain.—"They are sometimes placed in the hands of the minister; but, in general, they are kept in a

strong chest in the vestry-room of the church. This chest is secured by three locks, each having a different key; that it may only be opened in the presence of the minister and the two church-wardens."

It is possible that the mention of *locking up* led the mind of Buonaparte to a very different and less agreeable subject of contemplation; as his questions concerning the Anglican church proceeded no further.

After crossing the Line with the accustomed ceremonies, and making a sweep off the Gulf of Guinea, in consequence of the wind blowing from the south-west, the lofty peak of St. Helena was obscurely perceived, at sun-set, on the 14th of October; and, the next morning, announced to the inhabitants of the island the arrival of their too-celebrated guest.

Buonaparte remained in his cabin about an hour after the Northumberland had cast anchor in the bay; but, at the expiration of that time, he went upon deck, and ascended a ladder, from which he could plainly perceive the entrance of James Valley, strongly fortified with cannon. His feelings, perhaps, were not of the most pleasing nature: but as he had evidently studied, throughout the voyage, to conceal the natural impetuosity of his temper, and to impress the English with an idea that he had formerly been misrepresented, he neither made any remark on the scene before him, nor suffered his countenance to betray any emotion.

The curiosity excited in the colonists of St. Helena, in consequence of the arrival of a man who had so long agitated and convulsed the distracted nations of Europe, may be more easily conceived than represented. In consequence of the arrangements, however, which were necessary to be made relative to the accommodation of the Corsican and his suite, Buonaparte remained on board till the evening of the 17th; and, when the inhabitants had retired to their respective homes, he proceeded privately to the house of the lieutenant-governor, which had been fixed on, by the admiral, as his first and temporary residence.

The next morning, at an early hour, Buonaparte and Sir George Cockburn set out on horseback for Longwood, which was the place intended for the fixed habitation of the former.

About half-way up the mountain leading to this spot, is the country-house of a respectable merchant, named Balcombe. It occupies about two acres, on a level, which seems to have been formed by dint of human labour in the acclivity; and, being well supplied with water, it exhibits a scene of vegetation admirably contrasted with the rocky cliffs above and below. To this place, called *the Briars*, Buonaparte paid a visit on his return from Longwood, and, in compliance with the invitation of Mr. Balcombe, he relinquished his design of returning to the house of the lieutenant-governor, and thus avoided the gaze of the assembled colonists, who were anxiously waiting to see him.

About one hundred and fifty feet from the mansion, on an elevated mound, is a Gothic structure, comprising one apartment on the ground-floor, and two small rooms above. This place struck the fancy of Napoleon, and he determined to take up his abode here till Longwood should be ready for his reception. The confined limits of the edifice admitted of no choice in respect of arrangement. The ground-floor was therefore set apart for Napoleon, whilst the upper story was divided between the Count de la Casas, his son, and the valet in waiting.

A short time after Buonaparte had fixed his residence at this place, the surgeon of the Northumberland called to enquire after his health; and found him reclining upon a sofa, after a walk in the garden, where he had found the heat too oppressive. He was apparently in good spirits; and, after some enquiries relative to the officers with whom he had sailed from England, he observed that the military force on the island appeared to be quite as great as the produce of the place could maintain; and expressed much astonishment at the fifty-third regiment being sent out: "but this," said he, "is the manner in which the English get rid of their money." To this remark it was very properly replied, that, when any measure is determined to be adopted, the employment of every means to render that measure completely effectual, must be regarded as the result of sound policy.

An invitation to dine with Mr. Balcombe led the surgeon of the Northumberland again to *the Briars*, in the month of November; and, at a short distance from the house, he met Buonaparte, whose approach was announced by the clattering noise of his heavy military boots among the rocks. After expressing his surprise at the long absence of this officer, Napoleon seated himself on a rough board placed between two stones, where he was soon joined by De la Casas. On all sides of this spot, rocks were heaped on each other to the height of many hundred feet above and below; and Buonaparte, perceiving that the singularity of the scene had rivetted the attention of his visitor, asked him his opinion of it, and enquired whether the English government had acted kindly in assigning him such a retreat. He then recurred to the state of the island, and remarked, that all the descriptions of it which he had seen, appeared to have been much too favourable, unless there were parts of a more agreeable appearance than those which had hitherto come under his notice.

From the time of Napoleon's removal to the Briars, it was thought advisable that an officer should con-

stantly reside there, and be considered responsible for the security of the exile. Certain limits were also assigned for exercise, surrounded by a cordon of sentinels; and, in case of the prisoner going beyond these limits, an officer was appointed to accompany him. It was also determined that no person should be suffered to visit him without a passport from the governor, or the admiral. These arrangements were highly offensive to Napoleon; and, as his remonstrances on the subject proved ineffectual, he appeared inclined, after his removal to Longwood, to confine himself to the grounds surrounding his own house.

The same gentleman to whom we are indebted for the bulk of our information on this subject, having one day escorted Madame Bertrand to Longwood, received an invitation to dine with Napoleon. He was received in the anti-chamber by General Montholon, in full dress, who introduced him to another apartment, where the *great man* was amusing himself, with Bertrand, at the game of chess. After the usual salutations, Buonaparte continued the game; and our author remarked that the conversation which was carried on by the persons in the apartment, was uttered in a sort of whisper, which evinced their consideration of the *exalted personage* in whose presence they were assembled.

At dinner, the British visitant was seated between Napoleon and Marshal Bertrand, while a vacant chair seemed to be ceremoniously reserved for the *empress*. A decanter of water and a bottle of claret were placed by the side of every plate; but no healths were drank during the meals, and the wine was withdrawn with the dishes. The entertainment occupied about an hour; but the questions of Napoleon were so numerous, and succeeded each other with such rapidity, that our author observes he scarcely knew either what he ate, or what he drank; though it seems the French ragouts and fricasees were inferior, in his opinion, to "a piece of roast beef, or a leg of mutton, with caper-sauce." After asking a number of questions relative to the disease and treatment of General Gourgord, who was at this time confined by indisposition, Napoleon withdrew into another room, and sat down to cards, at which he seemed to play with great carelessness, though he was evidently well acquainted with the game. It seems, he remained with his party about half an hour longer than usual; and, when he had laid aside his cards, he walked to and fro in the room, asking so many questions, that, when our author had taken his leave, De la Casas expressed a fear that his invitation to dinner had proved a punishment, from the categorical examination he had undergone.

A few days after this interview, the surgeon was again sent for by Napoleon, who understood that a ship had just arrived from England. He enquired if this were the fact, and asked particularly what newspapers she had brought out. Our author replied that he had seen a file of the Courier, and had also obtained a glimpse of the Times, and a provincial journal.

"Is not the Morning Chronicle sent?"

"I have not seen it."

"What intelligence is there from France?"

"I glanced at the French news very slightly."

"At all events, you must recollect the substance of what you did peruse."

"There were a few articles concerning you; but the part which I read related principally to Marshal Ney's trial and condemnation."

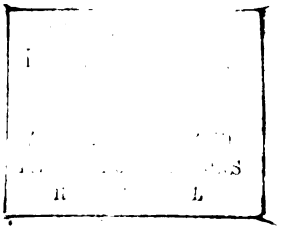
"What," said Buonaparte, without the least emotion, or the slightest change of countenance, "the marshal has been sentenced to death."

"He has; after making a fruitless representation to the ministers of the allied sovereigns, that he considered himself guaranteed by the twelfth article of the convention of Paris. On his trial, he stated that you had grossly deceived him respecting the designs of England and Austria; and he asserted that the proclamation which he issued on your behalf, was drawn up by Major-general Bertrand."

In consequence of this remark, Bertrand, who happened to be in the apartment, observed that Ney could not be blamed for advancing any fabricated story which might have been calculated to save his life; but, he added, the assertion concerning the proclamation was equally false and absurd; as Ney was fully capable of penning it himself, and required no assistance. Napoleon, for whom the marshal had forfeited his honour and his life, listened to these remarks with the most perfect *sang froid*, and merely remarked, that this victim of his second usurpation was "a brave man."

One of the most interesting anecdotes that has hitherto been related of Buonaparte since his seclusion in the island of St. Helena, is, in substance, as follows:—In riding through a deep ravine, clothed with a rich exuberance of vegetation, the residence of a farmer caught his eye, and he immediately determined to alight, and gain some information respecting its inmates. Fortunately, for the gratification of his curiosity, the family were prevented, by this sudden surprise, from retreating; which they would infallibly have done, had they received the slightest intimation of the approach of such a guest. The tenant of the house, a plain and simple peasant, met him at the door, and asked him to walk in; when Napoleon, attended by De la Casas, immediately accepted the invitation, and, seating himself on a chair, enquired whether his host were married?

BONAPARTE AT ST. HELENA.



"Yes, and please you, Sir Emperor," replied the farmer; fearful of offending by an omission of the *imperial* title.

"What number of children have you?"

"Six."

"How many acres of land do you hold?"

"About one hundred."

"Are they all capable of cultivation?"

"No, not half of them."

"What profit do you derive from your land?"

"Not much; though it has certainly increased since you, Mr. Emperor, came to this island."

"How can you explain that?"

"Why, Sir Emperor, you must know that we do not grow corn, and our vegetables require a quick sale. Now we have often had to wait for the arrival of a fleet, and if it did not come in when we expected it, our articles were all liable to spoil; but since you, Sir General, came to reside among us, we have a ready market for every thing."

"Where are your wife and children?"

"Dang it, I fancy they be scared, and please you; for they all seem to have run away."

"Call them in, that I may see them. Have you any good water?"

"I have, sir, and wine too; such as can be procured from the Cape."

The farmer now stepped out of the apartment in quest of his wife, and, after some persuasion, led her forward to his illustrious guest; whom the good woman evidently contemplated with mingled emotions of reverence and astonishment. At the instigation of her husband, however, she brought forward a bottle of Cape wine, and had the *honour* of sitting down with the adventurer of Ajaccio, recently styled, by the caprice of fortune, *Napoleon the Great*, and now metamorphosed into the *Exile of St. Helena!*

When Buonaparte, La Casas, the farmer, and his wife, had each drank a glass of wine, the visitors withdrew; and a few subsequent calls on the part of Napoleon rendered the inhabitants of this rural mansion so much at their ease, that the hostess was no longer in danger of being *scared*, but even the children would boldly enquire when *Boney* would come to see them again.

We have now to lay before the reader some curious assertions relative to the fate of Captain Wright, the Duke D'Enghein, the sick and wounded French troops at Jaffa, and the unfortunate Turks at El Arish, which have appeared in a recent publication; but it must be remembered that these are *merely the representations of Buonaparte himself*, whose falsehoods and perjuries have been long and universally known; and who may be considered as standing in the situation of a prisoner, who, after *every fact* has been *proved* against him, sets up such a defence as he conceives most plausible.

After stating, one day, to our author, that he had attained a sufficient knowledge of the English language to read the newspapers with facility, he started the subject of Captain Wright; and, with his usual finesse, pretended that the death of that officer had deprived him of a most valuable evidence on the trial of certain conspirators in and about Paris.

"The British government," said he, "had sent out Captain Wright in a brig of war, for the express purpose of landing spies and traitors on the western coast of France. This was accordingly done, and seventy persons thus landed were actually forwarded to Paris, where they adopted such measures to screen themselves from observation, that, although I was informed of the fact through the medium of the police, the place of their resort remained undiscovered. I was every day assured that some attempt would be made upon my life, and I accordingly adopted every necessary precaution. In the mean time, the English brig was taken, at a short distance from L'Orient, and on her commander, Captain Wright, being taken before the prefect at Vannes, he was immediately recognised;—the prefect having attended me in the expedition to Egypt. News of this circumstance being forwarded to Paris, orders were immediately returned to question all the sailors separately, and transmit their answers to the minister of the police. The first examination was of no importance; but some light was, at length, thrown on the subject, by one of the crew, who acknowledged that his captain had landed several Frenchmen, and that one of them, named Pichegru, was a remarkably merry fellow. This statement led to the developement of a conspiracy, which, in the event of its success, would have plunged France a second time into all the horrors of a revolution. Captain Wright was now forwarded to Paris, and committed a prisoner to the Temple, till I should find it *convenient* to bring the accomplices in this plot to trial. The life of Wright would have been forfeited by the law of France; but he was, comparatively, of small importance. My primary object was to secure the principals, and the evidence of Captain Wright would have been of the greatest importance.

He then asserted, as seriously as he did in Egypt, that *God had no Son*, and that he *himself* was a *disciple of Mahomet*, that Captain Wright committed suicide in the Temple, as stated in the Moniteur, and at an earlier period than has been generally supposed. He added, that his assertion could be proved by existing documents; and actually performed the farce of turning over the leaves of a volume, consisting chiefly of Ex-

TRACTS FROM THE MONITEUR, &c., as if in expectation of finding some of the documents to which he referred. In this, however, he happened to fail; and, had he succeeded, what new light would have been thrown upon the subject by papers written under his own express direction? We cannot dismiss this subject, without reminding the reader that Captain Wright's *evidence* to the existence of a plot in which the British government was *never* implicated, would, no doubt, have been of *great importance;* and, for that reason, it is generally believed that he was actually *put to the torture*, to extort from him a false confession, and that, in consequence of the *repetition* of that torture, the gallant Briton breathed his last.

Having thus impudently endeavoured to exonerate himself from the imputation of the murder of Captain Wright, he recurred to that of the unfortunate, *Duke D'Enghein*, although the author of the "*Letters from St. Helena*" acknowledges, that on *this* subject he always remarked "*an evasive silence, or contradictory statements*," among those of the Corsican's retinue, "who were *always on tiptoe to be his apologists*."

"At the period to which I now allude," said the dethroned usurper, "a nation which had been rent in pieces and deluged with blood by contending factions, had been happily tranquillized by my exertions; and in consequence of this I was placed, by the voice of the people, at the head of their government. I did not attain the supreme power like Oliver Cromwell, or Richard the Third. No,—I found a diadem in the kennel, I wiped it clean, and placed it on my own brow. The preservation of my life was now identified with the continuance of that tranquillity which I had so lately succeeded in restoring. Every night, however, I received information that some treasonable plot was agitating, and that meetings of the conspirators were actually held at certain houses in Paris; though, notwithstanding all the exertions of the police, no *satisfactory* proofs could be brought forward. After some time, suspicion fell on General Moreau, and I was immediately advised to arrest him; but his name and character stood so high in the public opinion, that I conceived he had every thing to risk and nothing to attain by conspiring against me. I accordingly refused, at that time, to order his arrest; but said to the minister of police, 'You have denounced Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru: let me be convinced that the latter is in Paris, and I will instantly cause the former to be secured.' Another circumstance of a very singular nature led to the discovery of the plot. Happening to be particularly *wakeful and agitated* one night, I arose and read over the list of suspected persons; when CHANCE, WHICH GOVERNS THE WORLD, led me particularly to notice the name of a surgeon, who had recently returned from confinement in England. The age, experience, and education of this man, convinced me that his conduct was rather to be attributed to pecuniary circumstances than to any fanatical attachment to the cause of the Bourbons. I accordingly caused him to be arrested, and ordered a *summary mock trial* to be instituted, by which he was pronounced guilty, doomed to death, and told that his execution would take place within six hours. This stratagem *terrified him into confession*, and it now appeared that Pichegru had a brother, a priest of the monastic order, resident in Paris. A party of gens d'armes were immediately sent to seize this man; and in the moment of his arrest, the old monk, forgetting the consequences of such a question, enquired, 'Am I thus treated for having afforded shelter to a brother?'

"The object of the conspiracy was my destruction, and I was aware that the plot emanated from England, and that the Count D'Artois was at the head of it. To the east he despatched the Duke D'Enghien, and to the west he sent the Duke De Berri; whilst accessaries of the plot were landed in France by British vessels, and Moreau was induced to embrace the traitorous cause. The moment was pregnant with danger. I perceived that I already tottered on the brink of a precipice, and I determined to hurl back the thunder upon the heads of the Bourbons even in the British capital. I was strongly importuned to arrest the Duke D'Enghien, notwithstanding his being on a *neutral territory;* and the policy of that measure was urged by the Prince of Benevento with all his eloquence. I would not, however, sanction the order with my signature *till I was convinced of its necessity.* Between me and the Duke of Baden, the affair could be *easily arranged;* and, in fact, I only adopted the principle of your government when it seized the Danish fleet, which was supposed to be destined against your country. It had been repeatedly urged to me as a *sound political principle*, that, *whilst the Bourbons existed, my dynasty could never be secure.* This opinion I carefully examined, and the result was, a *thorough conviction of its necessity.* The Duke D'Enghien was implicated in the conspiracy as an accessary, and, although residing on a neutral territory, the urgency of a case in which my security and the tranquillity of France were involved, fully justified my conduct. *Accordingly I ordered him to be seized and tried;* and, on being found guilty, *he was sentenced to death, and shot immediately;* and, *had Louis XVIII. been in his place, he would have shared the same fate.*"

Now, if any persons have been led to justify the conduct of the usurper of the throne of St. Louis from this statement, we must deplore their want of perception. Notwithstanding all the art and duplicity of the

speaker, he has here avowed himself an unblushing *atheist*, believing that the world is governed alone by *chance*;—a *complete despot*, establishing a *mock tribunal*, and *terrifying* a man into confession by an *illegal sentence* of death;—a *lawless tyrant*, dispensing with the usages of civilized nations, because the affair could be *easily arranged* between him and a very inferior power;—*a coward*, who knew he *dared not* bring the Duke D'Enghein to a *public trial*, and therefore ordered him to be tried and sentenced to death by one of his *mock tribunals*;—and a *cool calculating assassin*, who anxiously anticipated the destruction of the whole race of the Bourbons. Such, courteous reader, are the *actual confessions* of the Exile of St. Helena.

With respect to his allusion to the seizure of the Danish fleet by Great Britain, it is equally futile and contemptible. Great Britain *knew* that the Danish flotilla was designed to act against her; and, therefore, demanded that it should, for a certain time, be deposited in her hands, then to be restored without deterioration; and it was not till this demand was peremptorily refused, that an appeal was made to force. For every drop of blood, therefore, which was spilt on that occasion, the Danish government, or rather Buonaparte himself, the dictator to that government, was responsible. How dare he then to make a comparison between this circumstance, which transpired openly before the world, and his murder of an amiable and innocent prince, in the gloom of midnight, and by the brink of the grave into which he was instantly precipitated, lest "CHANCE, which rules the world," should have discovered the mangled corpse to some patriotic eye, and France should have risen to crush the assassin.

As to the *letter* said to have been written by the unfortunate duke to his murderer, we certainly regret that an officer in the British service, and a gentleman so respectable as the author of the "Letters from St. Helena," should have given publicity to what he confesses to have been but "*a copy* in the possession of the Count de la Casas," and what he must certainly conceive, upon cool reflection, to have been a *vile fabrication*; as *every part* of it is inconsistent with the high character of the duke, and only calculated to represent him as a *disloyal traitor* to his legitimate prince.

On being reminded that he was also universally considered, in England, as the murderer of Pichegru, Buonaparte exclaimed, "How absurd and disingenuous! This is a fine proof how the reasoning faculties of the English are obscured by prejudice! Why should a man be despatched in private, who was already doomed to die by the hands of the executioner? In regard to *Moreau*, the case would have been different. Had *he* died in prison, there might have been some foundation for the opinion that he had not fallen by his own hands. He was not only popular throughout the nation, but *beloved by the army*; and, had his end resembled that of Pichegru, I should always have been considered the author of his death."

From this speech it appears, that the usurper considered the death of Pichegru as an event which might be easily slurred over by the *improbability* of his occasioning it; and that Moreau escaped a similar fate merely through the *fears* of the man who feels indignant at the appellation of *coward*, after abandoning his wretched armies in Russian Poland, and on the plains of Waterloo, whilst he hastened to hide his guilty and degraded head beneath the roof of the Thuilleries.

He next adverted to his conduct toward the sick and wounded of his own soldiers at Jaffa; whose melancholy fate has been so fully stated, and so ably illustrated, by the pen of Sir Robert Wilson.

"Had I committed," said he, "the act of which I am accused, I should have drawn upon myself the execration of my troops; and it is even probable that they would have refused to obey my further orders. To no part of my conduct, therefore, have I given more publicity than to this."

After asking our author whether he had perused Sir Robert Wilson's publication on the Egyptian campaign, and whether Sir Sidney Smith had ever attempted to corroborate the statements of Sir Robert, he spoke to the following effect:—

"After the siege of St. Jean d'Acre was raised, it became indispensible that the army should retire upon Jaffa. The force, however, which Jezza Pacha had under his command, precluded the possibility of occupying this town for any length of time. Great numbers of my soldiers were either sick or wounded, and their removal occupied my first attention. Some of them were forwarded to Damietta by water; and the most convenient carriages, that could be constructed, were appropriated to the accommodation of the others, in their necessary passage through the desert. It was stated, however, by the chief of the medical staff, that *seven* persons, who were at that time in a quarantine hospital, were infected with the *plague*, and that the disorder was so malignant, that they were not likely to survive forty-eight hours."

Napoleon was here interrupted by the surgeon of the Northumberland, who enquired whether there were *no more* than *seven* persons in the hospital; remarking, at the same time, that Sir Robert Wilson mentioned either *fifty-seven* or *seventy-seven*.

To this the fallen usurper replied, "The Turks, at this time, were in considerable force, and their barbarous treatment of the Christian prisoners, who happened

to fall into their hands, was proverbial throughout my army, and consequently influenced my conduct. I repeat that there were but *seven* men whom I was compelled to leave at Jaffa, and they were in such a state that it would have been impossible to remove them, even setting aside the danger of infection, which they might have communicated to their healthy comrades. Thus circumstanced, I sent for the senior medical officer, and, after some conversation, in which he stated that they could not be expected to live forty-eight hours, I, *from a motive of humanity*, recommended him to *shorten the sufferings* of these persons *by the administration of opium;* adding, that if I were situated like them, I should wish such a mode of conduct to be adopted with respect to myself. Contrary to my anticipation, however, *my proposal was rejected.* I therefore halted my troops a day longer than I had designed; and, on my leaving Jaffa, I left a rear-guard in the city, who remained there till the third day, when I received intelligence that the sick persons were no more."

Now the fact is, that this mysterious business has been so ably developed, and so well explained, by Sir Robert Wilson, that we can by no means wonder at any falsehood which Buonaparte should utter to invalidate, if possible, the veracity of that writer; nor must the reader remain ignorant of the fact, that, with all the *littleness of soul* by which *Napoleon the Great* is really characterised, a base insinuation was held out to our author, that Sir Robert Wilson, both in his writings and the humane assistance which he rendered to Lavalette, had been simply actuated by a desire of *pecuniary gain;*—an idea too contemptible to have been formed by any one but the low-born adventurer of Corsica.

Conceiving, perhaps, that the present was an admirable opportunity of glossing over *several* of his horrid transactions, Buonaparte next adverted to his massacre of the Turkish garrison of El-Arish. "At this time," said he, "General Kleber was stationed in the neighbourhood of Damietta, and Desaix, in Upper Egypt. Quitting Cairo, I traversed the desert, in order to form a junction with the former at El-Arish. The town was vigorously attacked, and compelled to capitulate; when it appeared that many of the prisoners were natives of Nazareth, or Mount Tadmor. These were set at liberty, on their promising to return peaceably to their families: at the same time they were desired to tell their countrymen, that the French would no longer consider them as enemies, unless they should find them in arms under the banners of the pacha.

"The army now proceeded towards Jaffa, having previously made themselves masters of Gaza. The city wore a formidable aspect, and its garrison proved to be very numerous. A flag of truce was sent in, summoning the place to surrender; but the officer who carried it, had no sooner entered the gates, than the Turks struck off his head, fastened it on a pole, and exhibited it to the French army. This horrid spectacle rendered the soldiers perfectly furious, and I yielded to their unanimous request of leading them on immediately to the attack. After an assault and resistance more sanguinary than I had ever previously seen, the place was carried by storm, and it required all my exertions to restrain the vengeance of the troops.

"Early the next morning, I received intelligence that five hundred men, who had recently formed a part of the El-Arish garrison, and whom I had permitted to depart on condition of returning to their homes, were recognised among the prisoners. This intelligence was afterwards confirmed, and *I ordered the five hundred men to be drawn out, and shot immediately.*"

We shall only remark here, that, from Napoleon's own account, he appears to have been really guilty of the massacre laid to his charge; and, as to his attempts to palliate the circumstances of his guilt, no one need be surprised who has any recollection of the *veracity* of his bulletins, or of the statements occasionally inserted by his commands in the polluted pages of the *Moniteur.*

After some conversation relative to "*the infernal machine,*" as the Parisians called it, which Buonaparte impudently ascribed to the contrivance of the British ministry, he expressed an idea, that a sensation which he felt in his right foot might be a symptom of the gout; observing, that, though neither of his parents had been afflicted with that disorder, his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, had suffered severely from its attacks. On the surgeon of the Northumberland remarking, that he hardly appeared to take exercise enough for the preservation of his health, he observed, "I am aware that my rides are too limited; but the circumstance of being attended by an officer is so unpleasant to my feelings, that I feel necessarily obliged to shorten them. I do not, however, experience any inconvenience from the want of exercise. It is easy to accustom oneself to privations; and, as a proof of this, I can tell you, that, though at one period of my life I was on horseback several hours every day during six years, I once passed eighteen months without quitting my house."

Recurring to the circumstance of being accompanied by an officer, he said, "You are well acquainted with this island, and must be perfectly aware, that, from either of the hills, a sentinel could keep me constantly in view from the beginning to the end of my excursion. But, if a single soldier or officer thus stationed would not satisfy your governor, let him place a whole troop of dragoons as spies on my conduct, and let them con-

stantly keep me in view, only let me ride out without an officer by my side."

On the arrival of a fleet from India, at St. Helena, the Countess of Loudon paid a visit to the governor, at Plantation-house; and, for the gratification of her curiosity, Buonaparte was invited to a dinner of ceremony given by Sir Hudson Lowe. The wily Corsican, however, conjectured the cause of his being invited, and refused even to return an answer to the governor's card. Our author reminded him that the strangers in the town anticipated the pleasure of seeing him, as he passed to Sir Hudson's house: but this piece of intelligence was received with such displeasure, that he forgot, for a moment, his hypocritical affectation of mildness and courtesy; and, with the utmost petulance of "tone, look, and gesture," exclaimed, "What! go to dinner, surrounded, perhaps, by a file of soldiers!" In a short time, however, he seems to have recollected that he had displayed something of his genuine character; as, he added, in less impassioned language, "They certainly could not suppose that I would accept the invitation. The length of the way, and the unseasonableness of the hour, might be urged against it: besides, I have almost determined to keep within the length of my chain, rather than submit to be accompanied by an officer."

The Countess of Loudon felt greatly disappointed at being obliged to leave St. Helena without seeing Napoleon; and this was mentioned at Longwood a few days after her departure. "Pray," enquired Buonaparte, "would the English have considered it indecorous, if the countess, accompanied by Lady Bertrand, had visited me in this garden? Several ladies have been thus introduced, on their returning to England." He then abruptly changed the subject, (anxious, we presume, to convey an idea of his *general knowledge*,) and enquired whether our author understood physiognomy, and whether he had ever perused Lavater's work on that subject. Mr. W—— replied, that he had seen some extracts, but had never made physiognomy an object of his study.

"Cannot you judge from the features of a man's face, whether he be possessed of talents?"

"I can only say, that I know when a countenance produces an agreeable or displeasing effect upon myself."

"Ah! you have discovered the secret. Have you remarked the face of Sir Hudson Lowe?"

"I have."

"And what is your opinion of it?"

To this question our author, with equal wit and gallantry, replied, that the face of *Lady* Lowe was much more pleasing.

One day, after Mr. Raffles, the late governor of Java, had paid a visit to the Corsican, our author arrived at Longwood just as the *great man*, surrounded by all his retinue, male and female, was preparing for an excursion. The carriage was drawn up to the door, the saddle-horses by the side of it, and the nobles and generals standing with their hats under their arms, whilst a brisk gale was blowing the petticoats of the ladies about them in a very unmannerly way. Buonaparte no sooner saw the surgeon, however, than he stopped as usual to ask a series of questions.

"Are you acquainted with this governor of Java?"

"I am not; nor did I ever see him till this day."

"Have you any knowledge of the island?"

"I know it merely from the representation of other persons."

"The climate has been represented, by the Dutch, as very pestilential; but I think it is now considered in a more favourable light than formerly."

"I believe it is: at all events, it has not been found so unhealthy as we had been led to anticipate."

"Are you acquainted with the plague, and have you ever seen a person labouring under that disease?"

"I have never seen a case of that description, and am only acquainted with the disorder in consequence of what I have read."

"In Egypt, the French army suffered severely by it, and I found it extremely difficult to support the spirits of many who were not attacked by it: yet, during two years, I contrived to conceal from the troops what was perfectly well known to myself."

Our author having remarked, that the infection might be conveyed by the touch, he replied, "No; it can only be communicated by the breath. As a proof of this, I visited the hospital repeatedly, and touched the patients, to inspire their attendants with confidence; knowing, as I did, that the disorder could only be conveyed through the organs of respiration. On these occasions, I always dined and took a few glasses of wine previous to going to the hospital; and, whilst there, I always took the precaution of standing in such a position, that the breath of the sick person was blown from me."

After some more conversation of a general nature, our author was asked to accompany the ex-emperor in his ride; during which, Napoleon proposed several questions relative to the comparative skill of the French and English surgeons,—the highest fees given to physicians in England,—the expense of the British army and navy, &c. He then stated that it was, at one time, his intention to have divided the medical men in France into three distinct classes; the first of which, being selected from the most eminent of their profession, should have had some honorary badge of dis-

tinction; whilst the third class should have been extremely humble, and allowed to administer none but the most simple medicines.

"According to my idea," said he, "a physician, like a general officer, should be a man possessing great powers of discernment and observation; which will enable him to discover the position and strength of the enemy:—such a practitioner will dispossess the foe, without employing force, which might dilapidate the citadel. Now, I conceive, that the application of the lancet, or the administration of mercury, if carried too far, cannot fail of injuring the constitution, which they are designed to improve."

Some allusion being made to the state of his own health, he observed, that, when the army of Italy suffered greatly from fever, in consequence of being encamped in a swampy situation, he had no attack; as he had always sufficient exercise, and invariably observed the greatest temperance.

On being asked if he had not once been subject to a cutaneous eruption, he replied in the affirmative, and related the following anecdote:

"Whilst commanding a battery of two guns at the siege of Toulon, two cannoneers were killed by my side, in consequence of a discharge from one of the English gun-boats. I immediately seized a ramrod, which fell from the hand of one of the soldiers. The man happening to be afflicted with the *itch*, and the ramrod falling *warm* from his hand, I received the infection, and, in a few days, found myself completely diseased. I accordingly had recourse to bathing, which seemed to answer the desired end; but, at the expiration of five years, I had a second attack of the complaint, which I suppose must have remained undestroyed in my blood. A cure, however, was speedily effected, and I have had no recurrence of the disease since that time."

He admitted that he was very thin, and subject to a troublesome cough, on his return from Egypt; but that Doctor Corvesart (who, it seems, received three thousand Napoleons for his attendance, as *accoucheur*, at the birth of the *king of Rome*) had recovered him, by blistering him twice on the chest.

In the last interview which our author had with Napoleon, he felt peculiarly anxious to learn his opinion of that renowned warrior who has immortalized the plains of Waterloo, and filled the world with his heroic deeds. He therefore said, "The English nation particularly wish to ascertain your opinion of the military character of Lord Wellington. They conceive you would do justice to that character, and they are probably inclined to believe that, if frankly questioned on the subject, you would pronounce an eulogy of which the duke himself might be proud." On this occasion, however, our author had *mistaken* the man to whom he addressed himself. The beaten, dethroned, and disgraced Corsican possessed none of the generous feelings imputed to him. The name of his immortal vanquisher sealed his guilty lips in silence, and the question was pitifully evaded by an abrupt allusion to some books recently sent from England.

After listening attentively to General Gourgond's explanation of the *causes* which led to Napoleon's discomfiture in the memorable battle of Waterloo, and which was evidently designed to shew that a series of blunders in the imperial army, rather than the valour of the allies, had wrested the victory from the Corsican's grasp, our author took his leave of Longwood, not "without a considerable degree of sensibility;" whilst *Napoleon le Grand* deigned to rise from his seat, and wished him a safe voyage to his native country.

To these particulars, which collectively form, in respect of the conduct, habits, and conversation of Napoleon Buonaparte, a complete epitome, and *bona fide abridgment*, of the popular "Letters from St. Helena," interspersed with our own occasional observations, we shall subjoin an extract from an authentic letter, lately received by a gentleman at the War-office, from his friend, a staff-officer at St. Helena, and dated October the 3d, 1816.

"In some recent interviews between the governor and Buonaparte, the latter gave way to the natural violence of his disposition, and uttered a series of the most unguarded and irritating expressions: indeed his invectives were so furious, that some of his retinue observed, that they had never seen him lose his temper so completely even whilst he wielded the sceptre of France: in fact, he appears to have subsequently regretted that he had exposed his real character by giving the reins to his immoderate passion. I had for some time anticipated an explosion; as several angry conferences had previously taken place, which I expected would terminate in this manner.

"There is very little communication with Buonaparte at present; and, as he has desired that no stranger may visit Longwood, unless he be admissible upon the simple pass of General Bertrand, without a passport from the governor, (to which the latter will not accede,) he now sees no one but the persons who comprise his suite. Some of his attendants are about to be sent away; and this, no doubt, will excite fresh irritation.

"Buonaparte's principal occupation, at present, is the compilation of his campaigns; at which he is said to labour very assiduously. He is also engaged in drawing up a long and violent protest against the conduct

of the British government, and their allies, toward him; and he has already caused a long letter of remonstrance to be addressed to the governor.

"He peremptorily refuses to see or even to recognise the Austrian, French, and Russian commissioners, who would have been equally useful in the characters with which they are invested, had they continued to reside at their respective courts.

"General Meade and Sir A. Campbell, from the Cape of Good-Hope and the island of Mauritius, have recently touched here, on their return to England: and Admiral Sir P. Malcolm has left us for two or three months, to make the tour of his station, which extends to the Isle of France.

"We have taken possession of Trislan d'Acunha, a small island in these seas, and hitherto uninhabited. This measure has been adopted, to prevent the Americans from establishing themselves there; as they might probably prove disagreeable neighbours, under the circumstances in which we are placed, as guardians of the *Disturber of the World.*

"This morning Lady Lowe added a male subject to the population of St. Helena, and I am happy to add, that both are in a very favourable way.

"This insipid place affords no subject of intelligence sufficiently interesting to compensate for the trouble of reading it; BONEY being the only burthen of our song."

As it appears to be an established fact that Buonaparte has repeatedly said, "he ought to have died on the day he entered *Moscow*," when he conceived himself to have attained "the highest pinnacle of glory;" and as it is equally certain that, from this period, he encountered that vigorous and gallant resistance which terminated so gloriously on the field of Waterloo, and which led to his transportation to St. Helena, we conceive we cannot close our account of this extraordinary character better than by subjoining the following lines, which originally appeared in the Portsmouth Courier, as the production of a distinguished poet, and have since been copied into the Gentleman's Magazine.

"BUONAPARTE he would set out
For a summer excursion to Moscow,
The fields were green, and the sky was blue
Morbleu! Parbleu!
What a pleasant excursion to Moscow!

"Four hundred thousand men and more.
Heigh-ho for Moscow!
There were marshals by the dozen, and dukes by the score,
Princes a few, and kings one or two,
While the fields were so green, and the sky so blue,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
What a pleasant excursion to Moscow!

"There was Junot and Augereau,
Heigh-ho for Moscow!
Dombrowsky and Poniatowsky,
General Rap, and Emperor Nap:
Nothing would do,
While the fields were so green, and the sky so blue,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
But they must be marching to Moscow.

"But then the Russians they turn'd too,
All on the road to Moscow;
Nap had to fight his way all through—
They could fight, but they could not *parlez vous;*
But the fields were green, and the sky was blue,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
And so he got to Moscow.

"They made the place too hot for him,
For they set fire to Moscow;
To get there had cost him much ado,
And then no better course he knew,
While the fields were green, and the sky was blue,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
Than to march back again from Moscow.

"The Russians they stuck close to him
All on the road from Moscow;
There was Tormazow and Jemalow,
And all the others that end in *ow;*
Rajesky and Noveresky,
And all the others that end in *esky;*
Schamscheff, Sonchosaneff, and Schepeleff,
And all the others that end in *eff;*
Wasiltschikoff, Kostomaroff, and Tchoglokoff,
And all the others that end in *off;*
Milaradovitch, and Jaladovitch, and Karatchowitch,
And all the others that end in *itch;*
Oscharoffsky, Kostoffsky, and Kazatichoffsky,
And all the others that end in *offsky.*

"And last of all an Admiral came,
A terrible Hun, with a terrible name,
A name which you all must know very well
Nobody can speak, and nobody can spell:
And Platoff he play'd them off,
And Markoff he mark'd them off,
And Touchkoff he touch'd them off,
And Kutusoff he cut them off,
And Woronzoff he worried them off,

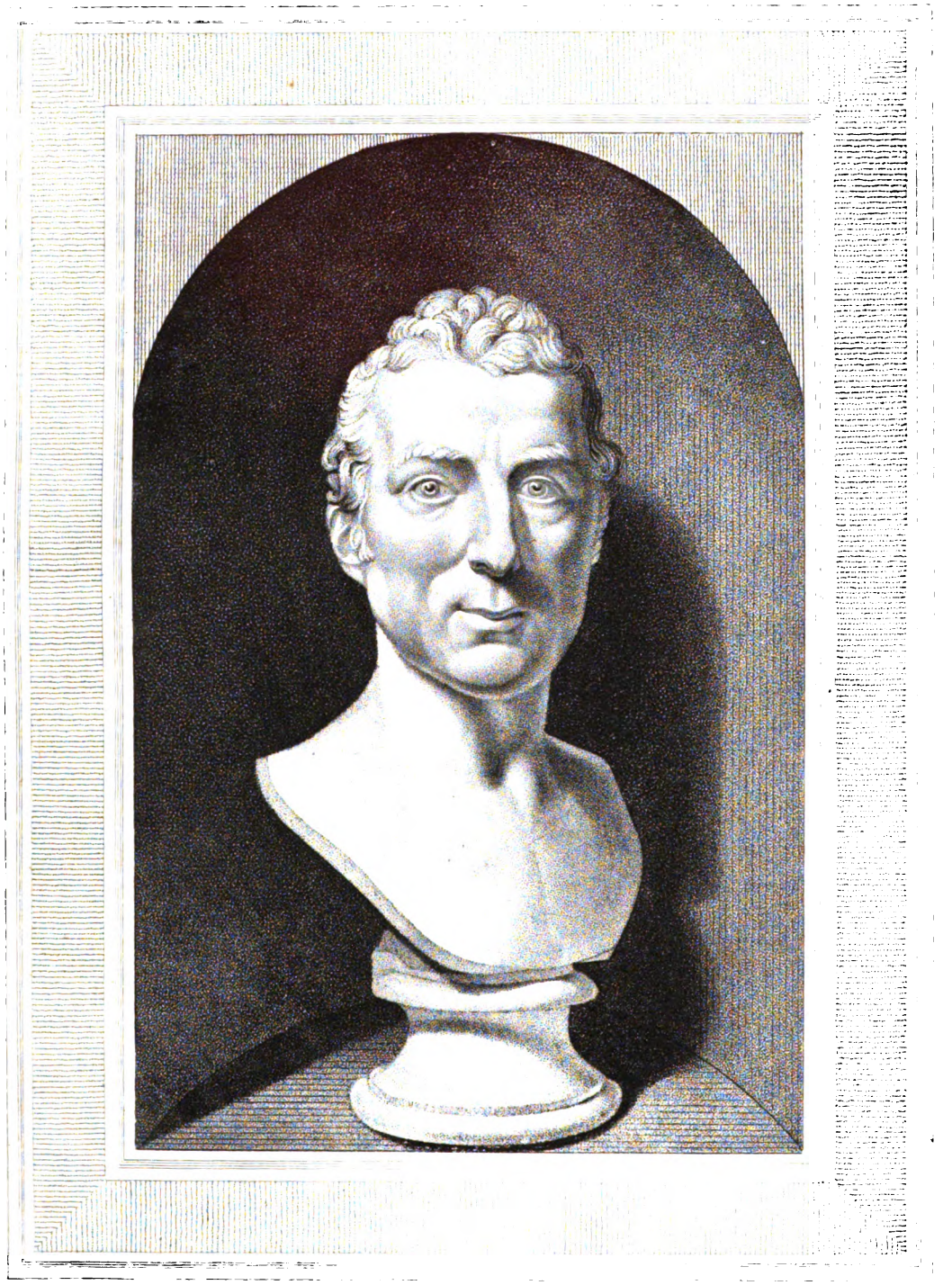
And Dochtoroff he doctor'd them off,
And Rodinoff he flogg'd them off;
They stuck close to him with all their might,
They were on the left, and on the right,
Behind and before, by day and by night;
Nap would rather *parlez vous* than fight—
But *parlez vous* no more would do,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
For they remember'd Moscow.

" And then came on the frost and snow,
All on the road from Moscow;
The Emperor Nap found as he went
He was not quite omnipotent;
And worse and worse the weather grew,
The fields were so *white*, and the sky so blue,
Cacubleu! Ventrebleu!
What a terrible journey from Moscow!

" The deuce may take the hindmost
All on the road from Moscow,
Quoth Nap, who thought it small delight
To fight all day, and freeze all night,
And so, not knowing what else to do,
When the fields were so white, and the sky so blue,
Morbleu! Parbleu!
He *stole away*—I tell you true—
All on the road from Moscow.

" 'Twas as much too cold upon the road,
As it was too hot at Moscow,
But there's a place he perhaps may go to,
Where the fire is red, and the brimstone blue;
Morbleu! Parbleu!
He'll find it hotter than Moscow

Having now conducted our readers to the period in which it may be hoped the tranquillity of Europe has been secured, by the annihilation of the gigantic power of France,—the complete emancipation of the nations who so long groaned beneath her iron yoke,—the decided and brilliant triumph of British constancy and valour,—the removal of the adventurer of Ajaccio to a spot where he may ruminate at leisure on the blasphemies and perjuries with which he has so long insulted Heaven,—the thousands of lives which he has wantonly sacrificed,—the miseries which he has inflicted on families, cities, and nations,—and all the melancholy effects of his insane ambition,—we proceed, with peculiar pleasure, to the *biographical department* of our work; impressed with the gratifying conviction that our remaining pages will be found *replete with interest*, from the authenticity of the documents from which they have been compiled, the celebrity of the characters to whom they relate, and the fund of anecdotes which they necessarily comprise.



HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

Engraved by W. T. Fry, after a Drawing by Ab.m Wivell,

From the Original Bust by Joseph Nollekens Esq.r R.A.

London Published by Thomas Kelly, *September 14th 1816.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

THE HEROES OF WATERLOO,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED

PUBLIC CHARACTERS.

FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

THE ancestors of this great and distinguished warrior appear to have been originally of English descent, being settled, from time immemorial, in the county of Rutland, under the name of Cowley, or *Colley;* and, in Glaiston Church, Rutlandshire, there is still a monument in memory of Walter Colley, Esq., who was lord of the manor in the year 1407.

During the reign of Henry VIII., when several persons of high respectability were induced, by royal grants to emigrate to Ireland, two brothers of this family, Walter and Robert Cowley, removed to Kilkenny, and were presented by his majesty with the office of clerk of the crown in chancery during their respective lives.

Each of the brothers appears to have been educated for the bar; as *Robert*, the younger, became Master of the Rolls; and *Walter*, ancestor of the present family, was appointed Solicitor-general of Ireland, in 1537; but, having surrendered that office at the expiration of nine years, he was subsequently nominated Surveyor-general.

His eldest son, Henry, seems to have devoted himself to the profession of arms; as he held a captain's commission in the army, under Queen Elizabeth, from whom, also, in 1559, he received a warrant to execute martial law in the districts of Carbury, Offaley, &c. In this important commission he acted with such prudence, that he was soon after appointed a commissioner of Array, for the county of Kildare; and was chosen representative for the borough of Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, in the parliament of the same year. As a reward for his services, he was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord-deputy, and appointed a member of the privy-council: but the strongest proof of his worth will appear from the following note written by Sidney to his successor:—

"My good lord, I had almost forgotten, by reason of diversity of other matter, to recommend unto you, amongst other of my friends, Sir Henry Cowley, a knight of mine own making; who, whilst he was young, and the ability and strength of his body served, was valiant, fortunate, and a faithful servant; and having, by my appointment, the charge of the King's County, kept the country in good order and obedience. He is as good a borderer as I ever met with. I left him at my coming thence a counsellor, and esteemed him for his experience and judgment, which were abundantly sufficient for the situation he was called unto. He was a sincere friend to me; so I doubt not but your lordship shall find, when you have occasion to employ him."

Sir Henry is also honourably mentioned by Sir Nicholas Malby, who observes, "He is an English gentleman, seneschal of the county, who governed very honestly, but now is sorely oppressed by the rebels, the Connors." He married Lady Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Cusack, lord-chancellor of Ireland; and by this lady he had three sons, of whom the second, Sir Henry, of Castle Carbury, was the immediate ancestor of the present family. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and during his father's life-time, he was constable of Philipstown Fort, afterwards seneschal of the King's County; and, in 1561, he was appointed by the Lord Deputy, Providore of the Army, an office similar to that of commissary-general.

His efforts were particularly directed to the preservation of the county; and these appear to have been finally crowned with success; for, in 1571, he induced all the leading representatives of the Irish families, in that neighbourhood, to appear before him at Philipstown, and to bind themselves, by mutual recognisances, not only to preserve the public peace, but also to answer for each other's good behaviour. On St. George's Day, 1576, he received the honour of knighthood in Christ Church, Dublin; and he appears to have been elected as representative for the borough of Monaghan, in the parliament of 1613. He married Anne, daughter of Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and his eldest son, *Sir Henry Colley*, succeeded him at Castle Carbury.

This gentleman married Anne, daughter of Christopher Peyton, Esq. auditor-general of Ireland; and his eldest son, *Dudley Colley*, Esq. of Castle Carbury, having distinguished himself in the royal cause, received a commission in the army from Charles II. soon after the Restoration, and had also a grant and a confirmation of the lands of Ardkill and Collingstown, in Kildare. He was also member of parliament for Philipstown. Dudley married Anne, daughter of Henry Warren, Esq, of Grangebeg, in the county of Kildare, and had by her a numerous family, of whom Henry was his successor; and Elizabeth, one of the daughters, married Garret Wellesley, Esq. of Dangan, in the county of Meath, a family of ancient Saxon extraction, being settled in the county of Sussex.

Henry Colley, Esq. by his marriage with Mary, only daughter of Sir William Usher, Knt. of Dublin, had a large family: and his youngest son, *Richard Colley*, was the first who adopted the name of Wellesley, as heir to his first cousin, Garret Wellesley, of Dangan, who bequeathed him all his estates, on condition of his assuming the name and arms of that family. He was auditor and registrar of the Royal Hospital of Kilmainham; second chamberlain of the Court of Exchequer; sheriff of the county of Meath, and member of parliament for the borough of Trim, in the year 1734. In reward of his public services, George II. created him a peer of Ireland, in 1747, by the title of Baron of Mornington. He espoused Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. John Sale, registrar of the diocese of Dublin, and member for the borough of Carysfort; and his eldest son, *Garret*, having succeeded him in his barony, was, in 1760, created Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington, having previously held the office of custos rotulorum of the county of Meath. He married Anne, eldest daughter of the Right Honourable Viscount Dungannon, and had by her, the present Marquis of Wellesley, William, now Wellesley Pole, in consequence of inheriting the estates of William Pole, Esq. of Ballifin, *Arthur*, the subject of the present biographical sketch, and several other children.

The first earl having died whilst several of his family were yet in their infancy, a most important care devolved upon his amiable relict, whose prudent and energetic conduct, however, overcame the obstacles attendant upon an impaired state of fortune, resulting from unavoidable causes. It has been justly remarked, that "her wise and liberal economy, in conjunction with the energies of an active and well-informed mind, supplied not only the deficiencies of fortune, but also the loss of a father." It has been also stated, that much of this *power* to do good, on the part of Lady Mornington, arose from the "very generous and liberal conduct of the present Duke, who, with a magnanimity and fraternal conduct which must always redound to his honour, gave up the entire management of the family estates to her guidance; and, though in the heyday of youth, not only submitted cheerfully to those prudential restraints which her maternal care suggested, but actually paid off all his father's debts, out of an honourable regard to his memory."

Arthur Wellesley, the present Duke of Wellington, was born on the 1st of May, 1769, and, at an early age, received the benefit of a public education, at Eton; and, as he had expressed a wish to enter the army, he went, at the close of the American war, to the military academy at Angiers, in France, then under the direction of *Pignerol*, who was justly celebrated for his extraordinary abilities in the art of modern fortification and engineering.

After acquiring a fund of useful information, and laying a good foundation for future study and practice, Mr. Wellesley received an ensign's commission in the forty-first regiment, on the 25th of December, 1787, when he was but eighteen years of age. As this happened at a time of profound peace, he had leisure to apply his scientific knowledge to garrison and regi-

mental practice, by which he soon obtained the esteem of all his brother-officers; for he applied himself sedulously to the best authors on military subjects, thus forming a basis for future professional fame: and, having his own rank and connections to trust to for promotion, he preserved throughout a gentlemanlike and truly becoming mode of conduct.

His next gradation was a lieutenancy, which he received on the 23d of January, 1788: but, in the ensuing year, he exchanged the infantry for the cavalry service, and, on the 25th of June, received a commission as lieutenant, in the twelfth light dragoons. Here he continued till 1791, when, on the 30th of June, he obtained the rank of captain in the fifty-eighth, or Rutlandshire regiment. In 1792, he again entered the cavalry, and served as captain in the eighteenth light dragoons, his commission being dated the 31st of October; but, on the 30th of April, 1793, he received a commission as major in the thirty-third regiment; and, on the 30th of September, in the same year, purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy in it, and has continued ever since attached to the infantry.

The year 1794, may be regarded as the commencement of that career, which has entwined the brows of our hero with unfading laurels, and has excited the everlasting admiration and gratitude of the British nation. In the early part of that year, Lord Moira commanded the expedition to Britanny, which, it was supposed, would present a rallying point for the royalists, and assist in the accomplishment of the great object for which all Europe was then united in one confederacy. Before any decisive operations could be undertaken, however, the disastrous issue of the campaign in the Netherlands, where the Duke of York commanded, rendered it necessary that Lord Moira should proceed as rapidly as possible, to effect a junction with the troops of his royal highness. This he succeeded in accomplishing, though opposed by many adverse circumstances, and debarked his troops at Ostend. Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley was with his regiment in this expedition. At the moment when Lord Moira arrived at Ostend, the army of the Duke of York was in a most critical situation, principally arising from the languid co-operation of the people. Pichegru and Moreau commanded the republican armies of France, those armies which, animated by a frenzied zeal for liberty, unclothed, unpaid, unfed, and undisciplined, successively defeated all the veteran troops of the allied powers of Europe. Sluys was speedily taken, and the English were repulsed at Boctel, while Crevecour, and Bois-le-Duc, were compelled to surrender. The Duke of York, after sustaining a signal defeat at Pufflech, retired behind the Wahl; and the enemy, flushed with success, began to consider one victory only as the prelude to another.

"The events of this campaign," says an able writer, "must have afforded Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley many opportunities of trying his speculative opinions upon military tactics, by the test of experience. It was marked with difficulty, danger, and defeat; but the example of the noble earl, under whom he served, taught him how to oppose the first with sagacity, to meet the second with fortitude, and to sustain the last with dignity. They were calamities indeed, but inseparable from a small force and inadequate means."

During the whole of the disastrous retreat of the troops from Holland, Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley, at the head of three battalions, covered all the movements of the army, and displayed so much coolness and skill, as excited the greatest admiration among all the officers who witnessed his conduct. His name, however, did not find its way into the official accounts, probably because there was too much of misfortune to disclose to expatiate much upon the vigour or promptitude with which that misfortune might have been alleviated.

On the arrival of the troops in England, the greater part of them were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate expedition to the West-Indies. Accordingly, Colonel Wellesley embarked on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Christian; but the heavy equinoctial gales which prevailed during the autumn of 1795, having repeatedly baffled every attempt to sail for the destined station, the original plan was altered, and the thirty-third regiment was ordered to Ireland to recruit, where they remained till their colonel was again called into active service.

In consequence of the appointment of his brother, the Earl of Mornington, (now Marquis of Wellesley,) to the important station of governor-general of India, Colonel Wellesley accompanied him with his regiment, and they arrived at Kedgeree, at the mouth of the Ganges, on the 17th of May, 1798, when the earl proceeded for Calcutta, and assumed the administration of his arduous office.

A war having, at this time, broke out with Spain, an attack on their settlements in the Philippine Islands was resolved on, and a considerable force was embarked for that service, in which the subject of our memoir would have enjoyed an high command; but the intrigues of the French with the native princes of India, obliged the governor-general to change his plans, and to reserve his troops for the defence of the British possessions.

Notwithstanding the amicable protestations of Tippoo Sultan, it was well known that the loss of the Coimbatoor country and other districts, and even of many of the hill-forts in the Mysore, had produced but little

effect on his mind, and that, in reality, he feared nothing whilst he remained in possession of his capital; the Earl of Mornington, therefore, resolved to adopt decisive measures: and the reduction of Seringapatam was the object which first engaged his attention.

The Madras army, under Lieutenant-general Harris, was assembled at Vellore, in the Carnatic; but, from the delay which occurred in providing the necessary equipments, it was not in a condition to begin its march till the 11th of February, 1799. The contingent of the Nizam, amounting to about six thousand of the Company's troops, under the command of Colonel Roberts, and subsidized by his highness, together with the same number of the native infantry, marched from Hyderabad, under the command of Meer Allum Bahauder, and had arrived at Chittoor, even before General Harris was ready to quit Vellore.

In order to give the utmost respectability to the Nizam's force, the commander-in-chief not only strengthened it with some of the Company's battalions, but appointed the thirty-third regiment to join it, giving the command of the British troops thus serving to Colonel Wellesley.

Our hero had thus under his command the whole of the Nizam's detachment, forming the reserve of the army, and comprising his own regiment, the eleventh, part of the second and fourth, two battalions of the first Bengal regiment, two brigades of artillery, the Nizam's infantry commanded by Captain Malcolm, and the cavalry of the same prince commanded by Meer Allum, a native officer. Together with these, he had a distinct staff; and the cavalry alone amounted to six thousand men: the whole army under General Harris consisting of thirty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine men, all well equipped, amply supplied, and admirably disciplined.

Lieutenant-general Harris, the commander-in-chief, having resolved to advance to Seringapatam, by the route of Talgautporam and Cankanelli, the march commenced at break of day, on the 10th of March, 1799. The cavalry were in advance, the baggage on the right, and Colonel Wellesley's detachment, which had marched by the left, advanced in a parallel line, at some distance on the right flank of the army.

The enemy were no sooner apprised of this movement, than parties of their cavalry appeared in all directions, burning the forage, and destroying the villages; and some of them had the audacity to attack Colonel Wellesley's rear-guard, consisting of a company of Sepoys. Of these twenty were killed upon the spot, and thirty-six wounded; but, in consequence of the prompt measures adopted by the colonel, the assailants were soon and effectually repulsed.

After a fatiguing march through a country abounding with jungles and defiles, intelligence was received that Tippoo's army had advanced to Allagoor, a village near Sultan-pettah; and, on the 28th, the left wing and the cavalry having encamped close to a pass about seven miles from Cankanelli, the right were advanced to Arravully, and Colonel Wellesley's division took up a position at some distance in the rear.

After securing several important passes, the right wing of the cavalry marched from Achil, on the 23d, and encamped at Sultan-pettah; the left wing and the battering train proceeding to Achil, while Colonel Wellesley marched with his detachment from Cankanelli, and encamped in front of the village of Allagoor, from which the Sultan's army had retired. Early on the morning of the day, as the colonel and his advance approached Sultan-pettah, a cloud of dust to the westward evidently denoted that the army of Tippoo was then in motion, and it afterwards appeared that it had just quitted its position on the western bank of the Maddoor river, and had encamped at Mallavelly.

The right wing, the cavalry, Colonel Wellesley's detachment, continued their march till the 25th, when they halted, and were joined by the left wing and the battering train. On the 26th, the whole advanced in compact order, and encamped five miles to the eastward of Mallavelly, on an open ground, which could be easily seen from the adjacent heights. Some advanced parties of the enemy's forces, with some elephants, soon appeared upon a distant ridge, as if reconnoitring the British encampment; and, in the evening, fourteen or fifteen guns were seen in motion; which circumstances seemed to intimate that the sultan was preparing for an attack.

The next morning, at day-break, Colonel Wellesley's division was ordered to move parallel to the left, but at some distance, so as to cover the baggage, and to be ready to act as circumstances might require; whilst the main body of the army marched from its left flank on the road leading to Mallavelly. The advance of the whole was commanded by Major-general Floyd, having under him all the picquets, together with five regiments of cavalry. He approached within a mile of Mallavelly, but was there obliged to halt; as a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry was discovered on the right flank, whilst the heights beyond that place were covered by their infantry.

Having reconnoitred his position, he perceived some guns moving towards the right of the enemy's line, as if with the design of occupying a ridge which enfiladed the low ground on the eastern flank of the village. He immediately concluded that these guns were intended to open upon the troops whilst passing this

ground; and, having communicated his suspicions to the commander-in-chief, measures were immediately adopted, in order to frustrate this plan, by an immediate attack.

Colonel Wellesley was directed to attack the right flank of the enemy with his division, whilst the picquets, under Colonel Sherbrooke, supported by the right wing of the main body, under Major-general Brydges, were to penetrate through Mallavelly, towards the centre of the enemy's line: and Major-general Popham, with the left wing and the rear-guard, was to remain at the fort-end of the village, in order to protect the battering-train and baggage; the five regiments of cavalry being formed on the left of the road, with orders to support the attack of Colonel Wellesley.

The colonel no sooner put his force in motion, than the sultan ordered his guns to be drawn off to a ridge beyond that which they at first occupied. Here the main body of the enemy's infantry was drawn up, but at such a distance, that it was at first supposed they intended to retire: and at this period General Harris, who had led the picquets and the right wing in person, arrived at the fort of Mallavelly, whilst Lieutenant-colonel Richardson, having advanced to reconnoitre the ground on the western side of the fort, waited for instructions.

From the enemy remaining at so great a distance, the general conceived that he did not intend to advance; he, therefore, gave orders for a new encampment; but the ground was scarcely marked out for this purpose, when thirteen or fourteen guns opened from different parts of the enemy's line, and, though at a distance of two thousand yards, did some execution. Colonel Sherbrooke immediately pushed forward with the picquets, to a village in front of the left of the sultan's army, whence he soon drove a party of their cavalry and rocket-men. This position was of such importance, that a body of the enemy's cavalry soon began to hover on the right flank; but they were kept in check by Colonel Cotton, with the twenty-fifth dragoons, who still maintained their position. The picquets were the most advanced part of the army, and had been judiciously posted by Colonel Sherbrooke with their right to the village; but they were now so severely annoyed by the cannonade and rockets, that the fifth, first, and third brigades, were ordered to advance and form upon the left.

Colonel Wellesley, supported by Major-general Floyd, with the three remaining regiments of cavalry, now advanced *en echellon* of battalions; and the whole line thus moving steadily, sufficient time was given for the whole to act in concert; the enemy's cannonade being answered by as many of the field-pieces, as could be brought up, the action soon became general along the whole front.

At this juncture, a desperate attempt was made by Tippoo, who moved forward a column of two thousand men, in excellent order, towards the thirty-third regiment; but this gallant corps, reserving its fire, received that of the enemy at the distance of sixty yards; and, continuing to advance, the column gave way, and were thrown into confusion, which soon terminated in a general rout, in consequence of the appearance and furious charge of General Floyd at this critical moment.

The enemy's first line were now forced to retire, with the whole of their guns, to the next height, where their second line was formed; and from this they also thought proper to withdraw; finding it impossible to withstand the determined valour and steadiness of the British troops.

On the 5th of April, the British army took up a position opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of only three thousand five hundred yards, the left being to the river Cauvery, whilst Colonel Wellesley was encamped, with his division, to the right.

In front of the camp were several rocky eminences and ruined villages, besides an aqueduct, which, passing from the left of the camp, takes there an easterly direction, till it approaches within one thousand seven hundred yards of the fort, where it turns off to the right to a large grove of cocoa-trees and bamboos, called the Sultan-pettah Tope. These positions afforded shelter for the enemy's infantry and rocket-men within so short a distance of the camp, that many of the rockets thrown from these places fell among the tents.

With a view to remove this annoyance, Colonel Wellesley received orders to have the thirty-third regiment, and the second Bengal regiment, in readiness at sunset, on the 5th of April; whilst Colonel Shaw, with the twelfth, and two battalions of Sepoys with their guns, received similar orders: the former being destined to scour the Sultan-pettah Tope, whilst the latter was to attack the posts at the aqueduct. When these detachments advanced, which they did at the same instant, the obscurity of the night proved unfavourable to their operations. Colonel Wellesley had no sooner entered the Tope than he was assailed on every side by a hot fire of musketry and rockets, which circumstance, added to the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the enemy's force, and the badness of the ground, obliged him to confine his operations to the mere object of making a diversion, whilst Colonel Shaw was enabled to seize upon a ruined village within forty yards of the aqueduct, so as to secure his troops from the fire of the enemy

The next morning, the commander-in-chief (perceiving that the possession of the Tope was absolutely necessary, not only for the support of Colonel Shaw's post, but also for the security of the camp against the annoyance of rockets) made a disposition to drive in the whole of the enemy's out-posts, extending from the Canuery to the Tope, and ordered that three distinct attacks should be made at the same time, under cover of some guns brought forward for that purpose. This plan proved successful; and the British army not only drove the enemy from all his posts, but secured to themselves a strong-connected line of posts, extending from the river to the Tope, a distance of nearly two miles, and forming, by means of the aqueduct, a complete line of contravallation, at a suitable distance both from the camp and from the line of attack.

As the enemy still retained possession of some parts of an entrenchment, at the distance of two hundred and thirty yards from the approaches, it was found necessary, in order to facilitate the operations of the siege, that they should be dislodged from it, to secure the working-parties from the effects of musketry.

The attacks, for this purpose, were under the direction of Colonel Wellesley, who commanded in the trenches, with such precision and gallantry, that his troops stormed the entrenchment with great spirit, threw the enemy into confusion, and succeeded in establishing the posts, which were secured as effectually as possible from further annoyance.

The siege continued with great obstinacy and courage on both sides till the 3d of May, when the breach being considered practicable, the troops destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches, before daybreak. Our hero was directed to take the command of the reserve in the advanced works, in order to act as circumstances might require; his own regiment, forming part of the left column, under Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, which was to attack the northern rampart.

The arrangements being completed, about half-past one in the afternoon, General Baird stepped out of the trench, drew his sword, and exhorted his men to follow him, and to prove themselves worthy the name of British soldiers. The columns, destined for the attack, immediately rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the fire from the batteries; but, being discovered by the enemy, they were immediately assailed by a discharge of rockets and musketry.

The Forlorn Hope was led on by a serjeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, named Graham, who volunteered his services on the occasion. He ran forward to examine the breach; and mounting it, pulled off his hat, and, with three cheers, called out, "Success to Lieutenant Graham," alluding to his obtaining a commission if he survived. He then rejoined his party, and remounted with them with the colours in his hand. Upon reaching the rampart, he struck the colour-staff in it, exclaiming, "I'll shew them the British flag!" but, at that moment, he was shot through the head.

The British colours were no sooner displayed, than the breach was crowded with men, who, being now collected in sufficient force to enter upon the rampart, filed off to the right and left, according to General Baird's instructions.

On this occasion, Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop received a wound, in a personal contest with one of Tippoo's sirdars, who assailed him with his scymeter, about half way up the breach, making a desperate cut at the colonel, which the latter was so fortunate as to parry and instantly returned with a cut that laid his adversary's breast open: the sirdar, although mortally wounded, made another blow at Colonel Dunlop, which struck him across the wrist of the right hand, and nearly cut it through. The sirdar then instantly reeled back, and fell on the breach, where he was bayonetted by the soldiers as they passed. Colonel Dunlop still went on at the head of his men until he ascended to the top of the breach, where he fell from the loss of blood, and was carried off to the rear by some soldiers.

It seems that the sultan, according to his usual custom, went out early in the morning to one of the outer ramparts, whence he could observe what was passing on both sides. He remained there till about noon, when he took his usual repast. At this time he seems to have had no idea of an immediate attack, even though informed that the British lines were unusually crowded with Europeans; but merely sent orders to Meer Goffar, a favourite officer, to keep a strict guard. He was informed a few minutes afterwards, that Meer Goffar was killed by a cannon-shot. "Well," said he, "Meer Goffar was never afraid of death." At this time, however, he was evidently agitated, ordered the troops near him under arms, and desired his servants to load their carbines; and, hastening along the ramparts towards the breach, he met a number of his troops retreating before the van of the assailants, who, he now first perceived, had ascended the walls. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, encouraging them both by his voice and example, and repeatedly fired on the British troops himself.

At this juncture, the front of the European flank companies approached the spot where the sultan stood: he now found himself almost deserted, and was obliged to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts. These he defended, one after another, with the bravest of his

troops; and, assisted by the enfilading fire from the inner walls, obliged the assailants to halt in their advance, until the twelfth regiment, crossing the inner ditch, took him in flank. Yet even then, whilst any of his soldiers remained with him, he fought resolutely, until he approached the passage leading across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort. Here he complained of weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a wound in his youth; and, ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted; but, seeing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he hastened to the gate, followed by his palanquin, and a number of officers, soldiers, and attendants. Here, as he was crossing the gate, he received a musket-ball in his right side, a little below the breast; he, however, still pressed on, until he was stopped about half-way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the twelfth light infantry from within, when he received a second ball close to the other. His horse, being also wounded, now sunk under him; and his turban fell to the ground. Many of his people fell at the same time, on every side, by discharges of musketry, both from within and without the gate. The sultan was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palanquin, under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he reclined some minutes, faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered the gateway. A servant who survived stated, that one of the soldiers seized his sword-belt, which was very rich, and attempted to pull it off; that the sultan immediately made a cut at the soldier with his sword, which he still grasped, and wounded him above the knee; on which the European put his piece to his shoulder, and shot Tippoo through the temple, when he instantly expired. About three hundred men were killed under this gateway, besides great numbers wounded, so that it soon became impassable, except over the bodies of the dead and dying.

During the contest, Major Allan had gone to the sultan's palace with a flag of truce, in order to convince the sons of Tippoo, of the folly of resistance. All of them were alarmed at the proposal of submitting, and were particularly reluctant to suffer the gates to be opened, except on the authority of their father, to whom they desired to send. At length, however, Major Allan, having promised that he would post a guard of their own Sepoys within, and a party of Europeans on the outside; and having given them the strongest assurances that no person should be allowed to enter the palace, except by his authority, and that he would return and remain with them until the arrival of General Baird, he convinced them of the necessity of compliance.

On opening the gate, the major found General Baird and several officers, with a large body of troops. He accordingly returned into the palace, for the purpose of bringing the princes to the general: and, after much reluctance on their part, permitted him and Colonel Close to conduct them to the gate.

The indignation of General Baird was at this moment excited, by a report that the sultan had inhumanly murdered all the Europeans who had fallen into his hands during the siege; and this feeling was, no doubt, heightened by a recollection of his own sufferings, during more than three years confinement in that very place. He was sensibly affected, however, by the sight of the princes; and his gallantry, in the assault, was not more conspicuous, than the humanity which he displayed on this occasion. He received the sons of Tippoo with every mark of respect, assuring them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to Lieutenant-colonel Agnew and Captain Marriott, by whom they were conducted to head-quarters in the camp, escorted by the light company of Colonel Wellesley's regiment, the thirty-third; whilst, as they passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms.

General Baird now resolved to search the most retired parts of the palace, in hopes of finding the sultan. He accordingly ordered the light company of the seventy-fourth regiment, followed by others, to enter the palace-yard; and, having disarmed Tippoo's troops search was immediately made through the various apartments. The *killedar*, or commanding officer of the palace, being entreated, if he had any regard for his own life, or that of the sultan, to inform the British where he was concealed, he laid his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, and protested that the sultan was not in the palace, but that he had been wounded during the assault, and lay in a gateway in the north face of the fort, whither he offered to conduct the party; saying, that, if he were found to have deceived them, the general might inflict on him whatever punishment he thought proper. On hearing this report, General Baird proceeded to the gateway, which was covered with the slain. The number of the dead, and the darkness of the place, rendered it difficult to distinguish one corpse from another, and the scene was altogether shocking; but, aware of the great importance of positively ascertaining the death of Tippoo, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out, and the killedar and the other two persons with him were desired to examine them one after another. This, however, appeared endless; and, as it was now becoming dark, a light was procured, and Major Allan accompanied the killedar into the gateway. During the search, they discovered a wounded person laying under the sultan's palanquin: this man was afterwards ascertained to be

Rajah Cawn, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants. He had attended his sovereign during the whole of the day; and, on being made acquainted with the object of the search, immediately pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. The body, being brought out, was soon recognised as that of the sultan, and was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace.

When Tippoo Sultan was first brought from under the gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm, that Colonel Wellesley, who was on the spot, doubted whether he were not alive; but, on feeling his pulse and heart, it appeared that the vital spark was completely extinct. His features had undergone no distortion, and the whole countenance was serene and composed. His sword-belt, turban, and jacket, were gone; but the body was recognised by the eunuchs and other servants of his family; and an officer, with the permission of General Baird, tore off from his right arm the *talisman*, which contained an amulet of a brittle metallic substance, and some manuscripts in Arabic and Persian characters, sewed up in pieces of flowered silk.

At the time of his death, Tippoo was about fifty-two years of age. His constitution was greatly impaired, and he was subject to some disorders, the frequent recurrence of which kept him under a constant course of medicine. He was about five feet eight inches high, and rather inclined to corpulence, although, in his youth, he was remarkably thin; his face was round, and his large full eyes gave a peculiar animation to his countenance: he wore whiskers, but no beard; was very active, and sometimes took very long walks. He had eleven children: but only two of these, a boy and girl, were born in wedlock.

He was naturally passionate, revengeful, and cruel; but his feelings and designs were frequently concealed under the most hypocritical language. He professed himself a *Naib*, or precursor of one of the twelve prophets whom the Mahometans believe are yet to appear; and, under this pretence, he persecuted all other casts, forcing numbers of Indians to adopt the creed of the impostor of Mecca. In the war of 1790, in particular, when he had ravaged the country of the Nairs, on the Malabar coast, it was computed that upwards of twenty thousand persons had suffered under his persecutions, in the short space of four months. The men who refused to submit to the initiatory rite of his religion, were hanged on the trees surrounding the villages; and the women of the noblest cast in India, on refusing to adopt the Mahometan custom of covering their bosoms, which they considered as a badge of slavery, had their breasts cut off, and were exposed to many other indignities.

After the conclusion of the first war with England, his wealth appears to have been immense; for, in an inventory which he caused to be taken of his effects, he was stated to possess seven hundred elephants, six thousand camels, eleven thousand horses, four hundred thousand bullocks and cows, one hundred thousand buffaloes, six hundred thousand sheep, three hundred thousand firelocks, three hundred thousand matchlocks, two hundred thousand swords and daggers, and two thousand guns of different calibres.

His thoughts were constantly occupied by war and military preparations: and he has frequently asserted, that he would rather live *two days* like a *tiger*, than *two hundred years* like a *sheep*; and, on this principle, he adopted the figure of the royal tiger, as the emblem of his state.

His revengeful disposition will appear from the following extract from one of his memorandums:

"The means I have adopted to keep in remembrance the misfortunes I experienced six years ago, (alluding to the war with Lord Cornwallis,) from the malice of my enemies, are to discontinue sleeping in a cotton bed, and to make use of a cloth one: when I am victorious, I shall resume the bed of cotton."

Every respect was shewn to the remains of the fallen sultan; and the preparations for his funeral were superintended by the principal Canzee of Seringapatam, in order that the ceremony might be performed with as much pomp as circumstances would admit of. Indeed, Colonel Wellesley, who was now appointed commandant; ordered four flank-companies of Europeans to attend, and directed that minute-guns should be fired during the ceremony.

Colonel Wellesley was no sooner appointed to the permanent command of Seringapatam, than he immediately adopted means to prevent every kind of excess. Public notice was given, that any persons detected in the act of pillaging the houses, or molesting the inhabitants, would be liable to capital punishment; and four men were actually executed for plundering. These examples, and the activity of the colonel, who went personally to the houses of all the principal inhabitants to establish safeguards, soon restored the most perfect tranquillity. The inhabitants who had fled on the night of the storm, returned and resumed their usual occupations; and, in a few days, the bazaars were stored with all kinds of merchandise and provisions, and the principal streets were so crowded as to be almost impassable.

Our hero was next appointed one of the commissioners for the final regulation and establishment of the new conquest; and the first duty which devolved to him, in consequence of this appointment, was the removal

of the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. This delicate but indispensable office, fell to his lot as commandant; and though he might, no doubt, have listened to the suggestions of the other members of the commission; yet it is generally acknowledged, that, to his prudential precautions and humanity, throughout the whole of this arduous task, is to be ascribed the facility with which it was accomplished.

The governor-general, in his instructions relative to this delicate business, observed, that it could not be entrusted to any person more likely to combine every office of humanity, with the prudential precautions required, than Colonel Wellesley; and he therefore committed to his discretion, activity, and humanity, the whole arrangement; subject, however, to such suggestions as might be offered by the other commissioners. He added, that Colonel Wellesley, in his name, would give the most unequivocal assurances of protection and indulgence to every part of the sultan's family; and that he was persuaded that the humanity of General Harris would induce him to exert every effort to mitigate all the rigorous parts of this revolution, which a due regard to British interest, and the welfare of the natives themselves, rendered indispensable.

A report having been circulated, that a considerable quantity of jewels were concealed in the seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley for permission to search, which he readily granted; having previously ordered the females to be removed from the apartments which it was intended to examine. The search, however, terminated in disappointment; and it was subsequently ascertained that the sultan never entrusted his women with the care of his jewels, or even of their own.

On this examination it appeared, that there were six hundred and fifty women within the seraglio and the palace, including some of the wives and other ladies of the late Hyder Ali's family.

This business soon became the theme of conversation and animadversion; and, on its reaching the ears of the governor-general, he immediately wrote to the commissioners, stating his regret, that the apartments of the women had been disturbed. He acknowledged that, in the heat and confusion of an assault, such excesses might have been unavoidable; but he lamented that this circumstance should have occurred long after the contest had subsided, and when the whole place had submitted to the victorious troops. He then observed, that if any personal ornaments, or other valuable articles, had been taken from the women, he trusted that the commander-in-chief would vindicate the humanity of the British character, by adopting the most prompt measures to obtain a full restitution of such property. After this observation, he hinted that it was superfluous to express his anxious expectation, that the utmost degree of care should be taken to secure the personal property of the princes and of the females, when the period of their removal should arrive.

To this despatch the commissioners replied; assuring the governor-general, that, before the *Zenana*, or women's apartment, was searched for treasure, separate apartments were prepared for the ladies, and that every precaution had been taken to secure them from the possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience.

The jewels ultimately found were said to be worth ten lacks of rupees: which (as Major Rennell has observed, that one lack of rupees may be calculated as equal to ten thousand pounds sterling) is equal to one hundred thousand pounds. The captors also found a quantity of muslins, shawls, rich cloths, and various kinds of merchandise, sufficient to load five hundred camels.

The sultan's throne, being too unwieldy to be removed entire, was broken up: it was a *howdar*, or sort of arm-chair, upon a tiger, covered with sheet-gold; the ascent to it was by steps of silver, gilt, having silver nails, and other fastenings. The canopy was extremely superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of fine pearls. The eyes and teeth of the tiger were of glass. It was valued at sixty thousand pagodas, or twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. The sheet-gold alone was estimated at forty thousand pagodas. The howdar was completely covered with Arabic sentences, chiefly from the Koran, raised and polished in the most beautiful manner.

The top of the canopy was ornamented with a golden figure of a bird, covered over with precious stones; its beak consisted of a large emerald; its eyes were carbuncles; the breast was covered with diamonds; and the wings, which were expanded, as if in the act of hovering, were completely lined with diamonds; the back was also enriched with large jewels, well and fancifully disposed; the tail, which resembled that of a peacock, was studded in a similar manner; and the whole was so arranged as to imitate the plumage.

Several tigers were found in the palace-yard; but these were all ordered to be destroyed, to prevent accidents.

The greatest part of the treasure, found upon this occasion, had been plundered from the unhappy Mysore family, and many inferior Rajahs. It is well known, indeed, that Tippoo never hesitated as to the *means* by which he might accumulate wealth. Every article in the palace was regularly arranged and labelled; and,

the sultan always passed the greatest part of his leisure time in reviewing this splendid assemblage of riches.

It is worthy of observation, that the public despatches to or from the different presidencies with Lord Cornwallis, and such other public or private letters as had been intercepted by Tippoo during the preceding war, were all found carefully packed up in the palace: and, what is more singular, not more than three or four of the letters had been opened, the seals of all the others remaining unbroken. Here were also found the records of Tippoo's government, and the whole of his correspondence with the French.

In one of his despatches to that people, he told them that he acknowledged the sublimity of their constitution; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he proposed to their nation a perpetual treaty of alliance and fraternity, founded on the republican principles of sincerity and good faith; and he concluded by exclaiming—"Happy moment! the time is come, when I can deposit in the bosoms of my friends the hatred which I bear against those oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India! you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes. With these new citizens, (much dreaded by the English,) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of those villains! The springs which I have touched, have put all India in motion, and my friends are ready to fall upon the English."

In the further prosecution of this research, the Europeans found Tippoo's only brother, Kerim Saheb, confined in a dungeon, and heavily loaded with chains. In this horrid condition he had languished for many years, from an unfounded jealousy which the tyrant had conceived of him.

It was now necessary to determine in what hands the future government of the Mysore should be placed; and, as the Earl of Mornington feelingly expressed himself, in one of his public despatches, the claims of humanity, on both sides, rendered the decision a painful and ungracious task. There was, in fact, no other alternative than to depose the dynasty which was found upon the throne, or to confirm the Mahometan usurpation, and, with it, the perpetual exclusion of the legitimate Hindoo sovereigns of those countries. It was also a matter of serious reflection, that the usurpation, although not sanctioned by remote antiquity, had yet subsisted for so long a time, that the hopes of the Hindoo family were nearly extinguished, and they had become accustomed to the humility of their fortune; whilst the sons of Tippoo, born in a state of splendor, and educated with the most exalted expectations of sovereignty, would be proportionably sensible of the sudden change of their condition.

Upon this view of the subject, Lord Mornington declared, that he should have wished to have restored the throne to the sons of Tippoo, securing at the same time a munificent provision for the ancient family of Mysore, if such a measure could have been adopted, without exposing the Mysore to the perpetual danger of internal commotions, and of foreign war; and also without endangering the stability of the mutual interests of England and her Indian allies.

These objects were evidently of the first importance; for there was every reason to believe that the favourite and unremitting object of Tippoo's hopes and exertions, for many years, had been the annihilation of the British power in India; and that he had prosecuted this favourite object with all the ardour of passionate resentment and vindictive hatred, as well as with the steadiness of state policy. It was, therefore, natural to conclude, that his heir must have been educated in the same principles, prejudices, and passions; and that he would never be brought to consider himself in any other than a degraded state, if placed on the throne by British favour, and limited by British control. Nay, it was highly probable that the descendant of Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Sultan, animated by the spirit and example of his ancestors, and accustomed to the prospect of independent sovereignty, and the splendor of military glory, would embrace the first opportunity of attempting the recovery of that powerful empire, which, for so many years, had rendered his family the scourge of the Carnatic, and the terror of almost the whole of Southern India.

On the other hand, it was considered, that the restoration of the descendants of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore was likely to be attended with the best consequences; for the indignities which that unhappy family had suffered, particularly during the tyrannical reign of Tippoo Sultan, and the state of degradation to which they had been reduced, would naturally excite a sentiment of grateful attachment to that power which should not only deliver them from oppression, but raise them to a state of considerable affluence and distinction. It was also an important consideration, that an intercourse of friendship and mutual kindness had always subsisted between that family and the British government; and that at no period of adversity had they ever formed the slightest connection with the enemy.

Independent of these arguments, however, every moral consideration, and every sentiment of generosity and humanity, pleaded for the restoration of the ancient family. Their high birth, the antiquity of their legitimate title, and their long sufferings, rendered them peculiar objects of compassion and respect; nor could it be doubted that their government would be both more lenient

and agreeable than that of the Mahometan usurpers, to the mass of the inhabitants of the country, who consisted almost entirely of Hindoos. The governor-general, therefore, announced his determination of setting aside the heir of Tippoo Sultan, in favour of the descendant of the Rajahs of Mysore.

Having adopted this resolution, Lord Mornington issued a commission, appointing Colonel Wellesley, General Harris, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, and Lieutenant-colonels Kirkpatrick and Close, commissioners for the adjustment of the affairs of the Mysore; and the first step taken by them was to make provision for the surviving officers and chiefs of the late sultan, and for the families of those who had fallen during the campaign. This measure was productive of the most salutary effect, in tranquillizing the minds of the principal Mussulmen remaining in Mysore, and in placing the generosity of the British government in a conspicuous point of view.

The next important duty which devolved on our hero was that of removing the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan from Seringapatam to the Carnatic, where the fortress of Vellore was fitted up for their reception, with every accommodation suitable to their former rank.

Previously to the departure of the princes from Seringapatam, Colonel Wellesley, and the other commissioners, cautiously abstained from any intercourse with the family of the Rajah of Mysore; but, as soon as the four eldest sons of Tippoo had left that capital, our hero paid a visit to the young Rajah, whom he found, with others of his persecuted family, in a state of indigence and humiliation which excited the strongest emotions of compassion. The particulars of this visit were detailed by the commissioners in a despatch to the governor-general, in which they state, that, having signified, through a confidential friend of the family, the general outlines of the plan intended for their restoration, a written answer was returned by the grandmother and aunt of the Rajah, then only a child of five years old, in which they expressed the most lively gratitude, in consequence of the pleasing prospects before them. "Forty years," say they, "have elapsed since our government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the government of this country, and nominated Purneah to be his minister, we shall, while the sun and moon continue, commit no offence against your government. We shall, at all times, consider ourselves as under your protection and orders; your having established us must ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your government, on whose support we shall depend."

Upon the receipt of this letter, Colonel Wellesley, and three of the other commissioners, signified their intention of paying their respects to the family; and accordingly went to their residence in the evening, accompanied by a Hindoo, named *Purneah*, who acted as their interpreter. The male part of the family received them with every token of respect and joy; the *rana*, or queen-mother, expressed, in the most eloquent and energetic terms, the sense which she entertained of British generosity, which had thus rescued her family from the lowest abyss of misery, and restored it to that station from which it had been precipitated by a cruel usurper. She dwelt particularly on the persecution to which she and her family had been exposed from the unfeeling disposition of the late Tippoo Sultan; but added, that the generosity of the East-India Company, having restored the ancient rights of her house in the person of her grandson, had opened to her a prospect of passing the residue of her days in peace.

This venerable lady, whose name was Letchima Amany, was the second wife of the Rajah, who was deposed by Hyder Ali. The maternal aunt of the young Rajah was Dewaj Amany, the second wife of Chiaum Raige, his father, who had married eight wives, the young chief's mother and this lady being sisters.

The Rajah, who, as we have already observed, was only about five years of age, betrayed some symptoms of alarm on the first arrival of the commissioners. These, however, soon subsided; and, during the subsequent ceremony of his inauguration, his conduct was equally decorous, and consistent with the dignity to which he was now elevated.

It was next resolved to remove the seat of government from Seringapatam, to the ancient town of Mysore, as the most eligible situation: and our hero, assisted by the other commissioners, had the gratification of placing the young Rajah upon the throne of his ancestors.

On this occasion, every attention was paid to the prejudices of the native inhabitants; and the Brahmans were permitted to select the month which they considered most auspicious for the removal of their sovereign to Mysore, where suitable preparations were made for his accommodation, whilst General Harris, attended by his suite, and a body of European cavalry, arrived there, in order to preside on the occasion.

On the 30th of June, Colonel Wellesley, and the other commissioners, accompanied by the Nizam's general and his son, preceded by the twelfth regiment of foot, went to the Rajah's residence, where the ceremony of inauguration was performed before an immense concourse of spectators, whose countenances beamed with the most lively satisfaction.

That part of the ceremony which consisted of placing the Rajah on the *musnud*, or throne, was performed by General Harris, as senior commissioner, and by the Nizam's general, each of whom took a hand of the young prince, to whom General Harris also presented the royal seal and signet; the whole taking place under three vollies of musketry from the troops on the spot, and a salute from the guns of Seringapatam.

After this arrangement, Colonel Wellesley was confirmed in the command of Seringapatam by the governor-general, who observed, from his conviction of the importance and delicacy attached to that trust, that he considered it necessary to repose it in a person of "approved military talents and integrity."

The tranquillity of the Mysore, occasioned by the overthrow of Tippoo Sultan, and the restoration of the legitimate sovereign, was interrupted, in the year 1800, by a freebooter, of the name of *Dhoondiah Waugh*, whose force soon increased to such an alarming extent, as to threaten the security of the Company's possessions, and also the territories of their allies, on the western borders of the Peninsula. It was necessary, therefore, to send out a force for his suppression; and the governor-general, knowing the military and political talents of his brother, gave the command of the expedition to Colonel Wellesley, from whose exertions he expected the most extensive advantages.

In consequence of this appointment, our hero assembled a considerable British and native force; and, crossing the Malpurba at Jellahaul, on the 3d of September, entered the territories of the Nizam at Hanamsagur on the 5th. Colonel Stevenson, who had a force under his command to co-operate in this service, being compelled to cross the river in boats, was unable to advance until the 7th; and as it was highly probable that when Dhoondiah should be pressed by the whole of the force on the northern bank of the Duab, he would return into Savandre, by Kannagherry and Bopul, and would thus impede the communication; or, if favoured by the Patans of Cannoul, and the Polygars on the right side of the Tumbundra, he would pass that river, and would enter the territories of Mysore; Colonel Wellesley resolved to lead his detachment to the southward, in order to prevent the execution of either of these designs. He also subsequently determined to drive the insurgent to the eastward, and to take all possible advantage of his movements; while Colonel Stevenson should move by Moodgul and Nohsry, at the distance of between twelve and twenty miles from the Kistna; and the Mahratta and Moghul cavalry then collected in one body between the British force and the corps of the freebooters.

Having made these arrangements, the colonel arrived with his little army at Kannagherry, on the 7th, and next day moved with the cavalry to Baswapoor, arriving on the 9th at Yepalperwy; the infantry being at Howley and Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in the rear. Dhoondiah now quitted his position at Malgherry, a place about twenty-five miles from Rachoor, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but having, in the course of his march, discovered Colonel Stevenson's camp, he returned and encamped about nine miles in front of Colonel Wellesley's force: it was evident, however, that he was not aware of the near approach of the British, but imagined they were still at Shinnoor.

On the morning of the 10th, Colonel Wellesley moved forward with his force, and met Dhoondiah's army at a place called Conahgul, about six miles from Yepalperwy, being then on their march to the westward, apparently with the intention of passing between the British and native detachments. Dhoondiah's army consisted of five thousand cavalry: but our hero immediately attacked him with his little force, consisting only of the nineteenth and twenty-fifth dragoons, and first and second regiments of native cavalry.

Dhoondiah being strongly posted, with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conahgul, sustained the attack for some time with great firmness: such, however, were the rapidity and impetuosity of the charges made by the four regiments, which their gallant commander was obliged to form in one line, in order to bear some proportion in length to that which they had to attack, that the whole of the enemy's line gave way, and were pursued for several miles with prodigious slaughter. Dhoondiah and many of his officers fell in the retreat; and the remainder of his troops were completely dispersed, and scattered in small parties over the country. Colonel Wellesley then returned to the enemy's camp, about three miles from Conahgul, where he took possession of all the elephants, camels, and baggage of every description.

The death of Dhoondiah, and the entire dispersion of the rebels, put a complete end to the war, and freed the government from any further alarm respecting the tranquillity of the country.

In his despatches relative to this action, Colonel Wellesley gave the greatest credit to the officers and men, and particularly to Colonel Stevenson; to the movements of whose detachment he expressed himself as indebted for an opportunity of destroying one who might have become a formidable opponent of the British government.

The governor-general was highly gratified by the success which had crowned his brother's exertions; and in the orders in council, subsequently published, he expressed his high sense of the judicious arrangements

made by the colonel for the supply of his army, of the indefatigable activity displayed in its operations, and of the distinguished ability manifested in those dispositions, which had so fortunately terminated in the complete discomfiture of the enemy. These orders, also, noticed the patience with which the officers and troops had endured a series of fatiguing services, the spirit and zeal by which they had been distinguished, and the matchless bravery with which their small force had acted against an enemy whose numerical force was so much superior.

On the restoration of tranquillity in India, one of the first objects that suggested itself to the mind of the governor, (now created Marquis of Wellesley,) was an expedition against Batavia; and though circumstances prevented the accomplishment of his design, there can be no doubt that this bold measure laid the foundation for the subsequent conquest of Batavia, Bourbon, and the Mauritius, and thus secured to Great Britain the exclusive property of the East.

The expedition was to be commanded by General Baird, under whom Colonel Wellesley was appointed to act. Accordingly, in December 1800, he was recalled from his command in the Mysore, and quitted Seringapatam, followed by the good wishes and prayers of the native inhabitants, and the most sincere testimonies of friendship and respect from the troops under his command. He was succeeded in his government by Colonel Stevenson, who had so ably co-operated with him in the war with Dhoondiah.

The conquest of Batavia, which Marquis Wellesley was so anxious to effect, was partly prevented by some misconception of Admiral Rainier, who then commanded in the Indian Seas, as to the extent of the governor-general's powers. In consequence of this, the plan was discontinued, and the disposeable force under General Baird, amounting to five thousand men, was ordered to proceed to Egypt, to co-operate with the English army commanded there by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. In this expedition it seems to have been the intention of government, that Colonel Wellesley should have participated; for he was actually gazetted, on the 25th July, 1801, as Brigadier-general in that country; and it is a curious fact that Lord Elgin, in a letter which he wrote to England, dated the 5th of June, 1801, stated that "Lord Keith had received a despatch from Admiral Blanket, (of the 6th of May,) announcing the arrival of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley with the Indian army."

Instead, however, of marching to share in the glories of his countrymen on the plains of Syria, our hero returned, in obedience to an order from the governor-general, to resume his command in Seringapatam. But a new scene was now to open before him, in which he was destined to act a conspicuous part.

The Mahratta states, stimulated either by the intrigues of France, or by a natural jealousy of the English ascendancy, so much augmented by the destruction of Tippoo and the annexation of the Mysore, commenced hostilities against the government of India. The *causes* that led to this aggression have been thus concisely stated by a writer of great respectability:—

"The triple alliance formed by Lord Cornwallis in 1790, between the British government, the Peishwah, and the Nizam of the Deccan, had long been an object of the utmost jealousy and a source of the greatest uneasiness to Tippoo. A main purpose of that alliance was to reserve a balance against the power of the sultan; and, through the supposed influence of the Peishwah over the other Mahratta chieftains, (as their acknowledged superior,) to form a barrier against the designs of Zeman Shah in northern Hindustan. In 1795, the bond of reciprocal alliance between those three powers was dissolved by the Mahrattas, who, regardless of the existing treaty, and without any just cause of quarrel, suddenly commenced a war of aggression against the Nizam, according to the accustomed policy of Asiatic states. In this war, however, the British government took no part, and both powers, therefore, remained in ostensible alliance with us.

"The state both of the Nizam's government, and of the Mahratta empire, was extremely favourable to the machinations of Tippoo. The councils of the Nizam were controlled by a party of French officers, whom he had retained in his service, to whom he had given the command of 14,000 of his best troops, who had openly displayed the standard of France, in the vicinity of his capital, and who maintained a secret correspondence with Tippoo; while, on the other hand, the existence of this prince's government was menaced by the known intentions, and occasional aggressions of Scindiah, a powerful Mahratta chieftain; who, by the decisive sway which he had gained in the councils of the Peishwah, could at any time make that prince the instrument of his ambitious views on the dominions of the Nizam, without appearing himself to be any further concerned in those views, than what belonged to his political situation as a feudatory of the Mahratta empire, bound to obey the commands of his superior.

"The Mahratta empire had, for some years, been distracted by internal dissensions, partly arising from the peculiar nature of its anomalous constitution, but principally from the conflicting interests of its feudatory chieftains. The great object of contention among those chieftains, and the main spring of their policy, was the attainment of a paramount and exclusive influence in

the councils of the Peishwah; and, at this period, that influence had been completely acquired by Scindiah, the most formidable potentate in northern Hindustan. That prince maintained this pre-eminence by his extensive and populous dominions, by a powerful military establishment, formed and disciplined on the European system, and commanded by French officers, and by the circumstance of his holding in possession the person of the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, together with the cities of Delhi and Agra, the ancient seats of the Mogul sovereignty and greatness. Hence, as a feudatory of the Mahratta empire, the measures of his policy were recommended by the supreme authority of the Peishwah, while, as a prince of Hindustan, they were ratified by the express sanction of the Mogul emperor, whose name still received, from the prejudices of his Mohammedan subjects, something of that homage which they had formerly paid to his power.

"The concurrence of Scindiah in Tippoo's scheme, was the more easily obtained, because it flattered his hope that Holkar, his principal rival in the Mahratta empire, might, from his warlike and predatory disposition, be led to engage in a general contest against the English dominions, and thus separate himself from the politics of the Peishwah's court.

"The dissolution of the triple alliance formed by Lord Cornwallis, by the unprovoked and sudden irruption of the Mahrattas into the Nizam's diminions, under the authority of the Peishwah, proved, that the peace of India, and the relative situation of its different states, could not be preserved on the principles of that treaty; that the power of the Nizam could no longer exist without permanent foreign protection; and that it would inevitably be subverted by the Mahrattas, unless the British government interfered, in the most effectual manner, to prevent it. As, therefore, the peace of India, and the consequent safety of some of the British provinces, in a certain degree, depended on the Mahrattas being prevented from annexing the Nizam's dominions to their own overgrown empire; and as it was evident, from the great disparity in the relative strength of these powers combined with the known views and dispositions of the Mahrattas, as well as with their subsequent conduct, that nothing could have deterred them from the execution of their project, but a British military force, permanently stationed in the Nizam's country, the policy of a treaty of defensive subsidiary alliance and protection with that prince, appears to have been strictly adapted to the nature of Lord Wellesley's government, and to the circumstances in which it was placed.

"It has already been observed, that the authority of the Peishwah was completely under the rival influence of Scindiah and Holkar, who aimed at the prosecution of their own ambitious views under the ostensible sanction of the constituted head of the Mahratta empire. The influence of Scindiah, however, predominated, and Holkar had recourse to arms, defeated the united forces of Scindiah and the Peishwah, took possession of the capital of the latter, and finally elevated a creature of his own to the high office and dignities of Peishwah. The deposed Peishwah, meanwhile, fled to the British territories for protection, being conveyed in an English ship from one of his own ports to the strong fortress of Severn Droog, on the coast of Malabar.

"French intrigue and French interference were exerted to a great extent in all these transactions. The favourite object of establishing a dominion within the Indian peninsula was cherished by France, and the disturbed state of the Mahrattas seemed to afford a desirable opportunity for accomplishing that object. A considerable force, therefore, under the command of Monsieur Perron, a native Frenchman, but trained up, from his youth, in Asiatic courts, was introduced into the Mahrattas, and placed at the disposal of Scindiah. The policy of introducing French officers into the armies of the native states, with a view to influence their councils, and to instigate them against the English, was originally begun by the ancient government of France, and was encouraged by those states for the purpose of improving their military discipline, skill, and efficiency. The French establishment, in the service of Scindiah, was originally formed in 1784, by De Boigne, to whose military enterprise and skill that prince was indebted for a considerable part of his dominions. As the reward of his eminent services, Scindiah granted him a jâedâd, which is an assignment of the revenues of certain districts in the provinces he had conquered, for the support of his army; together with a jâgheer, which is an assignment of the revenues of a district, during life, for his personal use. In addition to the great power derived from these grants, he had the sole command of the conquered provinces of Delhi, Agra, and part of the Duab; so that he not only held in charge the capital of the Mogul empire, but the person of the unfortunate emperor. His army was called the 'Imperial army,' and himself a servant and subject of the emperor. When he went to Europe, in the beginning of 1798, the whole of his power and authority was transferred to Monsieur Perron, who was no less indefatigable than his predecessor, in opposing, as far as he could, the British ascendancy in India.

"It is remarkable, that, at the time when the victorious successes of Holkar enabled him to expel the Peishwah from his capital, not only he, but Scindiah

also, as well as the Peishwah himself, were actually soliciting the interference of the British government. The case was a critical one for the governor-general to determine, whether to strengthen the bonds of alliance between the British government and the Peishwah, and thus plunge into hostilities with the feudatory chieftains, or, by endeavouring to conciliate them, create new alliances, whose permanency could be relied on. The latter course, perhaps, might, under some circumstances, have been the wisest: but, on the other hand, it was so obviously our policy to prevent the authority of the Peishwah from being usurped by either of the rival chiefs, and this triple appeal from the contending parties afforded so favourable an opportunity for renewing our alliance with the Peishwah, on a basis calculated to render it solid and lasting, that it would have been unwise to risk such positive benefits for the contingent success of any negotiations with Scindiah or Holkar."

It was now determined to resort to warlike measures, to restrain the power of the hostile chiefs, to re-establish the Peishwah, and to restore tranquillity throughout the north of India: and an army was accordingly assembled at Hurryhur, on the north-west frontier of the Mysore, under the command of Lieutenant-general Stewart, amounting to three thousand five hundred and eighty-one European and native cavalry, three hundred and ninety artillery, two thousand eight hundred and forty-five European infantry, including the thirty-third, and one thousand two hundred and twelve native infantry, together with forty field-pieces, besides small guns and a battering train. On the 27th of February, 1803, General Stewart was ordered to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops in the Mahratta territory, and to detach such a force as he thought sufficient for that purpose.

In a memoir, drawn up by the Marquis of Wellesley on this occasion, it was stated, that the command of this advanced detachment necessarily required the united exertion of considerable military talent, and of great political experience and discretion. No one, however, appeared so fit to assume it as our hero, who had now attained the rank of major-general. And this was not only the opinion of the governor-general, but that of Lord Clive, (then governor of the Madras Presidency, and within whose government the army was formed,) who expressed his conviction that "the extensive local knowledge of General Wellesley, and his personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, obtained by his conduct in the command of the Mysore, and his victories over Dhoondiah, as well as his military skill, peculiarly qualified him to carry on the future important operations in a manner best calculated to ensure the ends of government."

Instructions to this effect were accordingly given by Lord Clive to Lieutenant-general Stewart; and a detachment of nine thousand seven hundred and seven infantry, from the main army, with about two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's cavalry, were placed under the command of General Wellesley, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta territory. This force consisted of one European, and three native, regiments of cavalry; with two regiments of European, and six battalions of native infantry.

On the 3d of March, our hero advanced from Hurryhur, and nine days afterwards arrived at the Tumbudra river, which he then crossed. In the whole line of his march through the Mahratta territory, the British troops were received as friends, and many of the chieftains joined him with their forces, and accompanied him to Poonah. Among the principal causes of this success, the activity, skill, and conciliation, of the general were conspicuous; as by these he anticipated difficulties that were inevitable, and removed those that were susceptible of removal. All excess, on the part of the troops, was rigidly prohibited, and, if committed, exemplarily punished;—a proceeding which necessarily excited confidence in the minds of the natives.

Poonah, the capital of the western Mahrattas, was menaced with devastation by Amrut Rao, (an officer of Holkar's army,) upon the approach of the British army to its relief. Holkar himself was at Chandore, about one hundred and thirty miles to the north-east of Poonah, and Rao was left in the latter city with about one thousand five hundred men. To save this place from the calamity with which it was threatened, became an important, but, at the same time, a difficult object, because there was reason to apprehend that any means adopted for its safety would, in fact, hasten its destruction. One only course presented itself, which was to advance with the British army to within the distance of a forced march, and then, by the sudden appearance of the British cavalry and the Mahratta troops before the city, to take Amrut Rao by surprise. This plan was accordingly adopted by General Wellesley, and executed with such rapidity and effect, that it was crowned with complete success. Amrut Rao, alarmed and disconcerted by the unexpected appearance of so large a force, abandoned the place before he had time to perpetrate his meditated vengeance on it, whilst General Wellesley and his gallant few (for only a small portion of the whole army had advanced) were welcomed by the inhabitants as their friends and deliverers.

The Peishwah's capital being thus rescued from usurpation, by the able operations of General Wellesley, the Peishwah himself returned to it on the 13th of May, under an escort from Bombay, commanded

by Colonel Murray, and resumed his seat upon the musnud with the customary ceremonies.

Scindiah was now in arms, with the ostensible view of opposing Holkar; but his sincerity was justly doubted by the governor-general, who suspected that a secret alliance existed between those chiefs and the Rajah of Berar. It became necessary, therefore, to unite the control of all political affairs in the Deccan, connected with the negotiations then going on, and with the movements of the army, under a distinct local authority, subject indeed to the governor-general in council, but possessing ample power to conclude, upon the spot, such arrangements as might become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of the war. It was likewise obvious, that these powers ought to be held by the commanding officers of the troops: and, therefore, according to the statement of the governor-general himself, he determined to vest them in Major-general Wellesley, whose influence among the Mahratta chiefs, and intimate knowledge of his sentiments, concerning the British interests in the Mahratta empire, eminently qualified him for discharging the arduous trust in a way most beneficial to the public welfare.

Invested with these powers, and authorised to obtain the desired object, either by force or negotiation, as circumstances might suggest, General Wellesley addressed a letter, on the 18th of July, to the British resident, desiring him to state both to Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, the anxious desire of the English government for peace; at the same time observing, that the only proof which could be accepted, of their amicable professions, would be the immediate disbanding of their armies, and their return from the Nizam's frontier to their own capital. If these terms were not complied with, Scindiah was to be informed that the resident had orders to quit his camp immediately.

After several attempts to elude the conditions of this proposal, the two chieftains sent an answer, on the 31st of July, which was couched in terms either of consummate insolence, or unparalleled ignorance. They professed their willingness to retire from their position, provided General Wellesley would also return with his army to its usual stations; adding, that, on the same day the British troops reached Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, (the relative distances of which places differed from one thousand and forty-nine to three hundred and twenty-one miles,) the Mahratta confederates would encamp their united forces at Boorhampoor, a city belonging to Scindiah, and not more than fifty miles distant from the Nizam's frontier. This absurd proposal was of course rejected, as were several others, which evidently sprung from mere artifice.

As it appeared that nothing could be accomplished by negotiation, it was now resolved to resort to the most vigorous hostility. The army opposed to General Wellesley, under the immediate command of the Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, amounted to about thirty-eight thousand cavalry, ten thousand five hundred regular infantry, five hundred match-lock men, five hundred rocket-men, and one hundred pieces of ordnance. And, in addition to these forces, Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thousand horse, dispersed through the surrounding hills. The artillery was served by French officers.

A heavy fall of rain, which lasted three days, prevented the immediate advance of the British troops. On the 7th of August, however, it subsided; and the troops proceeded on the following day, when General Wellesley despatched a messenger to the Kellahdar of Amednagur, (about thirty miles distant from Poonah,) requiring him to surrender his fort. When he himself arrived in the vicinity of the Pettah, (or town protected by the fortress,) he offered protection to the inhabitants; but as this was refused, he resolved to storm the Pettah, which was accordingly done, in three separate, but simultaneous attacks, under the respective commands of Lieutenant-colonel Harness, Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, and Captain Vesey.

The wall, surrounding the Pettah, was very lofty, and defended by towers, but it had no ramparts; so that when the troops had ascended by their scaling-ladders, no footing presented itself upon which they could easily follow up their advantages. Notwithstanding this impediment, however, they soon made themselves masters of the place, though the garrison, which consisted partly of Arabs, fought with desperate valour.

Having so far established his troops by the successful assault on the Pettah, General Wellesley immediately began to reconnoitre the ground in the vicinity of the fort; and an advantageous position was discovered and taken possession of, on the 9th, by a detachment under Colonel Wallace. In the course of the night, a battery of four guns was erected, to take off the defences on the side where it was intended to make the principal attack.

The next morning, at break of day, this battery was opened, and continued to pour in such an effective fire, that the Kellahdar proposed a temporary suspension of its operations, to afford time for capitulating. General Wellesley, aware of the fraudulent expedients which the Asiatics are ever ready to adopt for the accomplishment of a desired end, replied, that the firing should not cease until he had either taken the fort by arms, or that it was surrendered to him: though he professed

his willingness, in the mean time, to receive any proposals which might safely terminate the attack. There was no alternative left, therefore, but to fight or yield; and the former being hopeless, the latter became inevitable. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, two vakeels, or commissioners, came to the general, and proposed a surrender, upon condition of being allowed to depart with the garrison, and to have private property secured. These terms were willingly acceded to; but notwithstanding this virtual arrangement, the firing was continued till the very moment that hostages arrived in the British camp, as a security for the full performance of the stipulations. On the 12th, the Kellahdar marched out of the fort, with a garrison of one thousand four hundred men, and the British troops took immediate possession of it. The general then proceeded to take charge of all the districts dependent upon it, which were computed to yield an annual revenue of six hundred and fifty thousand rupees. These districts were placed under the provisional superintendance of a British officer.

The loss of the British, after the 8th, was comparatively trifling, owing to the spirit with which the attacks on that day were carried on; and their conquest was an object of great importance from the advantageous situation of Amednagur, on the frontiers of the Nizam's territory, not only covering Poonah, but serving as an important point of support to all the future operations in the northern district. It was, in fact, considered as one of the strongest forts in the country: and the general himself said, in his public despatches, that, with the exception of Vellore, in the Carnatic, it was the strongest country fort he had seen, and was in excellent repair, except that part exposed to the fire of the British artillery. The whole number of the assailants killed were eighteen Europeans and twelve natives; and sixty-one Europeans and fifty natives were wounded.

The coolness of the Europeans in the attack will appear from the fact, that though the attack under Captain Vesey succeeded without difficulty, yet the scaling-ladders of the party on the left, under Lieutenant-colonel Harness, being placed against a part of the wall which, as it has been noticed, had no ramparts, the troops were fired upon from the inside of the town as soon as they reached the top of the ladders, without the possibility of descending into the town to dislodge the enemy; upon which Lieutenant-colonel Harness, finding that he could not obtain a secure footing on the wall, very coolly drew off his party, and entered the town at another point. In the mean time the centre attack, under Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, had moved on and placed the ladders against a bastion, which they carried with great facility. The enemy made some resistance in the streets, and a party of Arabs actually charged the grenadiers of the seventy-eighth, but they were instantly repulsed, and put to flight; which immediately led to the evacuation of the town by the rest of the troops, who by that time had suffered severely.

No sooner had our hero stationed a garrison in Amednagur, sufficient for its protection, than he crossed the river Godaveri with his whole army, on the 24th of August; and, having arrived at Arungabad on the 29th, he received intelligence that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had entered the territories of the Nizam, by the Ajuntee Ghaut, with a large body of cavalry. They had actually passed between Colonel Stevenson's corps, which had moved to the eastward, towards the Badowley Ghaut, and Arungabad, and had proceeded as far as Jalnapour, a small fort, the capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of that city; but no sooner did they hear of the arrival of the British troops, than they moved to the south-east, with the reported intention of crossing the Godaveri, and marching upon Hydrabad, the metropolis of the Nizam's territory. In consequence of this movement, General Wellesley immediately marched to the left bank of the Godaveri, and proceeded, by that route, to the eastward; a line of march which effectually interposed his army between Hydrabad and that of the enemy. Thus disappointed by the celerity and skill of the general's movements, they retraced their steps, and proceeded to the northward of Jalnapour. Colonel Stevenson, in the mean while, returned from the eastward, and on the 2d of September attacked and carried the fort of Jalnapour.

The rapidity of General Wellesley's movements completely preserved the territories of the Nizam from any predatory incursion; and the confederate chiefs, finding that their usual mode of desultory warfare was not attended with its customary success, resolved to carry on their operations in a different manner. Accordingly they crossed over to the northward, towards the Ajuntee Pass, where they were reinforced by a detachment of regular infantry, commanded by Messrs. Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a numerous and well-equipped train of artillery. The whole of this force was collected in the vicinity of Bokerdum and Jaffierabad.

As it does not fall within the province of this work to describe the co-operating movements of General Lake's army in the northern parts of India, or those of the small Bombay force which was employed against Baroach, we must pass over many exploits honourable to the British name, in order to fix the reader's attention upon that exalted character whose biography it is our exclusive object to sketch with fidelity.

On the 21st of September, the two corps of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson effected a junction near Budnapour, when it was judged expedient to advance in separate bodies, and attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. The sedulous anxiety with which the confederate chiefs had hitherto avoided every endeavour, on the part of the Europeans, to bring them to action, and the evident impolicy of protracting a harassing warfare to a longer period, left no other choice to General Wellesley, who was anxious to close the campaign, than to adopt the course he finally determined upon.

On his arrival at Naulnia, on the 23d, our hero received intelligence that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off their cavalry in the morning, and that the infantry, though still encamped, were about to follow. He accordingly resolved to march at once to the attack;—a determination, to use the words of the Marquis of Wellesley, "dictated both by prudence and courage." Delay would have permitted the enemy to retreat during the night, and thus have extended, to a more remote period, the opportunity of deciding the conflict; or, on the other hand, it might have exposed the British general to more difficulties, by enabling Scindiah to ascertain the precise position of his baggage, stores, &c., which are necessarily very considerable in an Indian army.

Pursuant to their leader's orders, the British army moved on immediately, and found the enemy posted between and along the course of the rivers Kaitna and Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north side of the Kaitna, the banks of which are high and rocky, and impassable for guns, except at places close to the villages. The enemy's right, consisting entirely of cavalry, was posted in the vicinity of Bokerdum, and extended to their line of infantry, which was encamped, in a manner somewhat resembling a European entrenched camp, near the fortified village of Assye. The numerical force of the respective armies was widely different; as the troops of the confederates amounted, altogether, to about forty thousand men, while those of General Wellesley did not exceed five thousand, and of these not more than two thousand were Europeans. The skill of his arrangements, and the valour of his men, therefore, were all that he had to counterbalance this inequality. These, however, proved sufficient. Colonel Stevenson, with the troops of the Nizam, had not arrived, though he was hourly expected.

Having forded a river, which flowed nearly in front of the enemy's position, General Wellesley drew up his infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry behind them, as a third line in reserve. His design was to attack the right of the Mahrattas, it being his grand object to avoid their artillery, which was on the left, and to turn their right; knowing that, if he defeated the infantry, the guns must necessarily follow. His orders, however, were either misconceived or disobeyed. The officer commanding the picquets, which were on the right of the first line, moved upon the enemy's left: This immediately made a gap in the first line. The seventy-fourth, which was on the right of the second line, naturally followed the picquets, and General Wellesley was consequently obliged to bring the whole of his force into one line. The result was as he had anticipated. The right of his line was exposed to the fire of upwards of one hundred pieces of artillery, and was nearly destroyed. Nothing, however, could surpass the promptitude and skill with which his operations were conducted, when he found himself obliged to alter, instantaneously, the whole plan of attack.

A circumstance now occurred, which, when the inferiority of the English army, in point of numbers, is considered, might have excited alarm and dismay in any commander who did not possess the firmest reliance upon the resources of his own genius. It was discovered that the artillery, of which there was but little, could not be brought into use, while the numerous cannon of the enemy, served by French officers and engineers, were placed so as to do the greatest execution. General Wellesley, however, with his characteristic perception of the precise course to be adopted in any exigency, immediately ordered his troops to abandon the guns, and come to close combat. He took his own station of peril and command, at the head of the whole line, and having placed Colonel Maxwell, with the cavalry, so as to cover his right, (being secure on his left from the nature of the ground, and the position of the enemy,) he advanced to battle.

The Mahrattas were at first astonished and dismayed at the firmness of the dauntless band that opposed itself to their hosts: but, after a very few minutes, they rallied from their consternation, and their tremendous cannon opened a most destructive fire upon the assailants. English courage, however, led on by such a general as Wellesley, was not to be intimidated. The gallant soldiers had recourse to the bayonet, and soon compelled the first line to give way; and though they rallied again, as if struck by a sense of shame that such an inferior force should subdue them, they again gave way, and fell back upon their second line, which was posted on the river Juah.

In the mean time, the Mahratta cavalry, who covered the adjacent hills in numerous cohorts, made a furious attack on the seventy-fourth, being a part of that force which General Wellesley had posted on his right, to

secure his rear and flanks. This attack, however, was received with undaunted firmness, and the cavalry, led on by Colonel Maxwell, rushing to the assistance of the seventy-fourth, followed the Mahratta horse up the hills, and routed them with immense slaughter.

The second line of the enemy yet remained unbroken, and an attack was now directed against it. This line had been thrown into some confusion by the incorporation of the first with it, which fled before the fierce assault of the British bayonets. The cavalry under Colonel Maxwell, and the infantry, headed by General Wellesley, made a furious charge upon them all at once, and they immediately fled in all directions. The British, deeming the victory complete, now followed the fugitives with all the ardor of conquest: but this impetuosity had nearly proved fatal; and the discretion of General Wellesley, and the intrepid bravery of Colonel Maxwell, alone prevented it from robbing our army of all the fruits of its glorious exertions.

A considerable number of the Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, as if slain, were passed, unnoticed, by the British troops in the pursuit of the flying enemy; but suddenly they arose, seized the cannon, which had been left in the rear by our army, and began to open upon them a most destructive cannonade. The British, scattered by pursuit, could not effectually act against them in a mass. The Mahratta infantry, seeing this, and encouraged by the momentary confusion which they had occasioned, began to re-form, and faced about upon their pursuers.

By this manœuvre the British were placed between two fires, and were also divided into small bodies from the pursuit which they had commenced. The whole battle was now, therefore, to be fought over again; and General Wellesley, seeing at once the imminent danger in which his army was placed, put himself at the head of the seventy-eighth, and a battalion of sepoys, and charging the Mahrattas who had seized the guns, after a sanguinary conflict, in which his horse was shot under him, and his person was in imminent danger, he routed and put them to flight. At the same time, Colonel Maxwell, charging the enemy's infantry at the head of the nineteenth dragoons, completed the victory with the loss of his own life, adding one name more to the list of those heroes whose memories are embalmed with the tears of a grateful nation. The slaughter was immense. The Mahratta soldiers fought with the fury of men stung to madness by the shame of yielding to an inferior force: while the British, partly stimulated by their conscious inferiority, and partly incensed by the artifice that had nearly proved so fatal, displayed even more than their wonted valour and fortitude. The enemy now retreated in full flight, leaving behind them ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, their camp-equipage, a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, and one thousand two hundred dead on the field of battle.

We cannot close this account better than in the words of the Marquis of Wellesley, who observed that, "during the whole of this severe and brilliant action, the conduct of Major-General Wellesley united a degree of ability, prudence, and dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed. It is, indeed, impossible to bestow any commendation superior to the skill, magnanimity, promptitude, and judgment, which he displayed on this memorable occasion; nor can any instance be adduced from the annals of our military glory, of more exemplary order, firmness, discipline, and alacrity, than was manifested by the British troops, in every stage of this arduous contest, leading to this splendid VICTORY OF ASSYE. The whole line, led by the general in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without its guns, against a most destructive fire of round and grape shot, until within a very short distance of the enemy's line, when the gallant few obliged them at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding their superior numbers, to abandon their artillery, and finally to relinquish the field of battle, after a brave resistance on the part of Scindiah's infantry for upwards of three hours. It has also been said, by several officers in the British army, who had served during the preceding campaigns on the European continent, that it was no disparagement to the French artillery to say, that cannon were never better served than by the enemy at the battle of Assye, on the 23d of September, 1803: yet notwithstanding this powerful circumstance, and the presence of numerous bodies of hostile cavalry, who repeatedly manifested a disposition to charge the line; still the British troops, animated by the gallant spirit of their general, and emulating the noble example of his zeal and courage, exhibited a degree of resolution, firmness, and discipline, which completely overawed both the cavalry and infantry of the enemy, forcing them thus to retire in such a manner, at length, as not to be formed again for actual service." Major-general Wellesley himself, in his despatches, stated that the victory, which was certainly complete, had nevertheless cost very dear; the loss in officers and men being very great; and that of Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and other officers, in particular, being greatly to be regretted. He gave great praise to Lieutenant-colonels Harness and Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades; and to all the officers of the staff, for their prompt and useful assistance; and observed, that the officers commanding brigades, nearly all those of the staff, and

the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them.

Colonel Stevenson was not able to join General Wellesley till the evening of the 24th, having been prevented by several impediments from prosecuting his march as rapidly as was expected. This shews more fully the propriety of the general's conduct in hastening the attack; but, at the same time, reflects no blame upon the gallant colonel, who had been invariably characterised by the greatest zeal and activity. On his arrival, he was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, and his success in harassing their retreat fully justified our hero's reliance upon his services.

The consequences of this memorable victory were very important. The complete discomfiture of the confederate armies was accomplished; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources in the Deccan was struck; a hostile and predatory force was expelled from the territory of the Nizam; and an effectual check was interposed against the ambition and rapacity of the enemy.

As a mark of public distinction to the brave troops who won this glorious victory, the governor-general ordered that honorary colours, with suitable devices, should be presented to the various corps employed on the occasion; and he directed, also, that the names of the officers and men who fell in the battle, should be commemorated, with the circumstances of the action, upon a public monument to be erected at Calcutta.

The confederate chieftains now began to think of peace, and wished that an accredited British agent should be sent to their camp: but, as some circumstances of ambiguity attended this proposal, General Wellesley declined acceding to it, and proceeded to pursue his military operations against the enemy; and these operations, combined with those which were carrying on under General Lake, on the north-west frontier of Oude, soon completed what the battle of Assye had begun.

As Scindiah and the Berar Rajah moved their army along the bank of the Taptee river to the westward, as if meditating an attack on Poonah, General Wellesley determined to remain to the southward, in order to watch their motions. In the execution of this system, he continued to harass them for several weeks, constantly frustrating their plans by his rapid and judicious movements, but still unable to bring them to action. The battle of Assye was yet too fresh in their memories, and as often as they heard of the near approach of the British forces, so often did they retreat before them. A truce was even sought by Scindiah, and granted by General Wellesley, on the 23d of November; but finding that the terms of this armistice were violated by the former, whenever such violation seemed expedient, it was resolved to prosecute hostilities with renewed vigour. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, the British troops came up with a considerable body of Scindiah's cavalry, accompanied by the greater part of the Berar infantry. The day was extremely sultry, and the general felt inclined to postpone the further pursuit till the evening; but he had scarcely halted, when the dispositions manifested by the enemy, obliged him to alter his resolution. Large bodies of their cavalry were observed in advance, and the picquets, being immediately pushed forward, the whole army of the confederates was distinctly perceived, formed in a *long* line of horse, foot, and artillery, presenting a front of five miles in extent, on the plains of Argaum.

The moment was critical, and no time was admitted for deliberation. General Wellesley, therefore, instantly advanced with the whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line. The British cavalry were in the van. As the two armies approached each other, a furious attack was made by a large body of Persian troops. The conflict was sanguinary, and, for a long time, doubtful; but victory finally declared in favour of the British, and the Persians were completely destroyed. While this engagement took place at one part of the extensive line presented by the enemy, a charge of Scindiah's cavalry was made at another, and repulsed with the most heroic intrepidity by the first battalion of the sixty-eighth; after which the whole line gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition, in the hands of the conquerors. In the trepidation and confusion of flight, their numbers only added to their embarrassment, and the trembling fugitives became an easy prey to the discipline and valour of their British pursuers.

The next operation of General Wellesley, was to invest Gawilghar, a strong hold, containing such natural and artificial defences, as were deemed almost impregnable.

This fortress stands on a lofty mountain in the very heart of a range of mountains, between the Poonah and Taptee rivers; and consists of a complete inner fort, which fronts to the south, where the rock is steepest. There is also an outer fort, which covers the approach from the north, by the village of Labada, and all the walls are strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications with the whole of the works are through three gates; one to the south, with the inner fort; another to the north-west, with the outer fort; and a third with the north wall. The ascent to the first is very steep, and is only practicable for troops; that to the second is wider, and is by a road

formed for the communication of the garrison with the southern countries, but passing round to the west side of the fort, and exposed for a considerable distance to its fire; it is also so narrow as to secure it from regular approaches, and the rock is scarped on each side. The communication by the northern gate is direct from the village of Labada, and in this direction the ground is level with that of the fort; but the road leads through the mountains for about thirty miles from Elichpoor, from whence the difficulty of moving ordnance and stores is extremely great.

On the night of the 12th, Colonel Stevenson's detachment opened two batteries, for brass and iron guns, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; and a third to clear and destroy the defences on the point of attack. Another battery was also erected by General Wellesley's own division on the mountain, under the southern gate, in order to effect a breach in a wall near that gate, or at least to divert the attention of the garrison. On the night of the 16th, the breaches of the outer wall of the fort were judged practicable; and a storming party was ordered for the attack, at ten o'clock on the ensuing morning, under Lieutenant-colonel Kenny. At the same time, two attacks were to be made from the southward; one on the south gate by a strong detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, and the other on the gate of the north west, by a similar force under Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers. These latter dispositions, however, were chiefly intended to divert the enemy's attention from the real point of assault.

At the appointed hour the three parties moved forward; and that under Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers reached the north-west gate, just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it, from the bayonets of the storming party under Lieutenant-colonel Kenny. A dreadful slaughter now ensued, and Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers entered the fort without any difficulty. The wall in the inner fort, in which no breach had been yet made, was still to be carried; but, after some attempts upon the gate of communication between the inner and outward forts, a place was at length found, which afforded the means of escalading the wall: and here Captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the ninety-fourth regiment, fixed the ladders, scaled the wall, and opened the gate to the storming-party, who were soon in complete possession of the place.

The result of these splendid triumphs soon manifested itself, in a way most conducive to the permanent interests of the British government in India. On the 17th of December, 1803, General Wellesley concluded a treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar, in his camp at Deogaum, in which he renounced all adherence to the confederacy, ceded to the Company the provinces of Cuttack and Balasore, and stipulated never to retain in his service the subjects of any state which might be at war with England.

This treaty, which thus deprived Scindiah of a powerful ally, was soon followed by another between that chief and General Wellesley, which was concluded on the 30th of December, 1803, and included several conditions highly favourable to the British interests in India.

The subsequent events of the Mahratta war, including the defeat and subjection of Holkar, who still continued a sort of predatory hostility, belong rather to a history of India than a biographical sketch of the Duke of Wellington; for though the army which he still commanded in the Deccan, occasionally co-operated with the forces under General Lake, yet no opportunity presented itself for our hero to assume an active station. A few circumstances, therefore, which resulted from the brilliant events of his campaign, are all that remain to be narrated before the reader will have to contemplate this favourite son of Mars and Fortune moving in a more extensive and important sphere.

In April, 1804, General Wellesley visited the presidency of Bombay, and was there received with all the honours due to the conqueror of Assye. The most respectful addresses were presented to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his important services; to which he replied with that modesty peculiar to an elevated mind and conscious genius, ascribing all his successes, not so much to his own presiding skill and animating example, as to the zealous services of the officers under him, and the unwearied bravery of his troops. Due notice also was taken of his diplomatic skill in the treaties he had concluded, and it was justly affirmed, that "the difficult negotiations he had carried on with two hostile powers, when, at the same moment, his attention was occupied by the operations of the field, did the greatest honour to his talents as a statesman, and displayed a happy union of political skill and military science."

In February, 1804, our hero's officers agreed to present him with a vase of gold, worth two thousand guineas, of superior workmanship, with an inscription, recording the battle of Assye. This intention was communicated to him by the committee appointed to carry it into execution, and he accepted the honourable memorial with those expressions of personal gratitude and of commendation to the officers themselves, which the occasion naturally suggested.

Nor was the government at home unmindful of what was due to such distinguished services. On the 3d of May, 1804, he received the thanks of both houses of

parliament, which were conveyed in the most flattering terms;—a distinguished honour, and one which was afterwards to be repeated in consequence of a repetition of glorious deeds. A handsome sword, of the value of one thousand guineas, was also presented to him at Calcutta.

On the 1st of September, in the same year, he was elected a knight companion of the most honourable order of the Bath, and henceforth he is to be spoken of as the Honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley.

"It may be doubted, however," says one of his biographers, "whether any of these multiplied marks of private, of national, and of royal distinction, gave him more heartfelt satisfaction than what he derived from an address which was presented to him in the month of July, 1804, by the inhabitants of Seringapatam. In the quality of governor of that city, he possessed ample opportunities of manifesting the beneficence of his character; and, when it is recollected how slender was the augmentation of his private fortune, either from his function as governor or commissioner, they who know what such situations in India are commonly made to produce, will best know how to appreciate the moderation, equity, and forbearance of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

"The exercise of these virtues would, of course, chiefly affect the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, who found themselves secured in the possession of all their political and private rights, the victims neither of extortion nor treachery; and, in their address, they feelingly adverted to these blessings: they declared that they had reposed for five years under the shadow of his auspicious protection; that they had felt, even during his absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that his care for their prosperity had been extended to them in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied his mind; and that they were preparing, in their several casts, the duties of their thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God who had brought him back in safety. They concluded with this affectionate and memorable prayer, evidently breathing the language of gratitude for past kindness, and of sorrow for its future loss. 'When greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all casts, and all nations, deign to hear with favor our humble and constant prayer, for your health, your glory, and your happiness!'

"Conquerors and rulers may exult in the adulation of selfishness, or the subdued accents of terror, but he who would not prefer this free and artless offering of a grateful people, strangers in tongue, in religion, and in government, but brethren in the universal language of benevolence and gratitude, would prove himself insensible to the only true glory which can attend upon greatness. It is not the wreath which slaughtered thousands bind around the victor's brow, that stamps upon him the unfading mark of real nobility and honor:—ambition, fraud, and tyranny, may obtain this; but it is the application of victory and power to the amelioration of mankind, to the diffusion of happiness, the maintenance of truth, and the support of justice. This elevated greatness, free from every spot, untouched by the language of reproach, and unsullied even by the breath of envy, belongs in a peculiar manner to the Duke of Wellington, who has passed through all the arduous duties of his splendid career, with the almost unanimous applause and admiration of the world.

"In March, 1805, he prepared to return to England, whither he was followed by the general good wishes and respect of all classes of society in India. He arrived there towards the conclusion of that year; and the distracted state of Europe, caused by the restless ambition and implacable temper of the late ruler of France, soon presented an opportunity for the employment of his military talents."

Sir Arthur Wellesley returned to England in the latter end of the year 1805; and shortly afterwards accompanied Lord Cathcart, in an expedition to Hanover; but as the force sent out was too small to effect any thing of importance, it was remanded, and our hero landed at Yarmouth, in February 1806.

After his return from Hanover, Sir Arthur had a command, for a short period, upon one of the coast-districts; and, in this situation, he acquired universal esteem, both by the excellence of his discipline and management, and his general deportment.

On the demise of the Marquis of Cornwallis, then colonel of the thirty-third regiment, Sir Arthur was appointed to succeed him, having been Lieutenant-colonel in that regiment thirteen years, and present with it almost the whole of that time, during a period of active service.

On the 10th of April 1806, our hero was married to the Honourable Miss Elizabeth Pakenham, daughter of the late Lord Longford, and sister to the present earl. About this time also he distinguished himself in the House of Commons, (where he represented an Irish borough,) by his able vindication of his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, against the charges that were brought against him by Mr. Paull. The principal of these were, that the noble marquis, during his government in India, had applied a million and a half of money to purposes not sanctioned by the East-India Company; and that he had annually expended twenty-five thousand pounds in purposes of ostentation and splendid profusion, which ought to have come out of his own salary.

In the debates of the 22d of April, on this question, Sir Arthur observed, that, though he did not rise to object to the printing of the first charge brought forward by Mr. Paull, yet he could not help saying a few words upon the manner in which the noble marquis had been frequently held up as a public delinquent. The house would recollect how often the noble marquis had been *thanked* by the house, and by the court of directors, for those very measures which were now brought forward as matters of charge. He said, that the accuser had not laid any ground for his charges, much less had he produced any evidence in support of them. The service in which he had been personally employed, enabled him to say that some of them were entirely unfounded; and, with respect to others, they were either totally misrepresented, or mis-stated. It was true, that an Indian director had said he had in his pocket a paper which would prove many of them. If so, why did not Mr. Paull move for the production of that paper? If the honourable gentleman had really any such paper in his pocket, and could produce it, he was ready to meet it. The honourable director had stated, that the letter which had been previously moved for, contained proofs of several of the accusatory statements: but this he begged to dispute; the letter contained *no* such proofs. It might, indeed, contain references to documents relating to the allegations in the charge, but these could not amount to proofs. He confessed, that he could easily conceive the delicacy of situation into which the house had been brought by the course that had been adopted. He could conceive that it might be a question with the house, whether, in justice, it could receive a charge, without any proof being offered in support of it. He felt it also due to justice, that some inquiry should be made. On this ground it was that he supported the motion of the right honourable secretary, (Mr. Fox,) to adjourn the consideration of the subject; he did not wish to press the house to any precipitate judgment, but he hoped they would consider the feelings of his noble relative, and come to such a decision as would lead to a speedy and ample discussion of the case.

When the adjourned debate was resumed, on the 28th of April, and Mr. Paull, complaining of want of papers, wished to induce the house to *adopt the charges in the absence of all evidence*, Sir Arthur said, that he believed the practice of parliament was, that the evidence should precede the charges, and he saw no necessity for departing from that rule; though he admitted, every case ought to stand on its own merits. The charge, he said, as brought against his noble relative, was for squandering the money of the East-India Company, in unnecessary purposes of personal splendour; but the papers produced applied to charges of which no notice had hitherto been given.

In alluding to a contemptible effort which had been made to prejudice the house against himself, by an insinuation that *he* was implicated in some of his brother's illegal measures, he briefly observed, that what he did in India was in obedience to the orders he had received; and, for the manner of that obedience, and its immediate result, he was ready to answer either to that house, or to any other tribunal in the kingdom.

On the 8th of May, he again came forward, and valiantly repelled the unfounded and cruel charge of murder, which Mr. Paull had brought against his noble relative, without even the shadow of a proof. Feeling the importance of placing this affair in a proper point of view, he explained, that the zemindars of the country which was ceded to the Company, instead of paying their tribute in a regular manner, had combined to resist it, and had even taken up arms for that purpose, with which they retired to their forts. It now became necessary to reduce them to obedience; and, to effect this, the commander-in-chief was ordered to attack them, at the head of the Bengal army. In the conflict which ensued, some persons fell, and some blood was spilt, and this was what the accuser had chosen to construe into the foul crime of murder. But the house would judge how far it was proper to arraign with so serious a charge a great public officer, who was bound by the very nature of his office to enforce those laws of which he was appointed the guardian, and who would have been guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, had he acted otherwise.

On the 10th of July, he made an excellent speech on the financial affairs of India; in which he made it apparent, that the revenues of that country had increased between six and seven millions annually during his brother's administration, and that the commerce of India had so much improved, as to be capable of supplying the demand for bullion in the China market.

Early in 1807, our hero was appointed to the office of chief secretary for Ireland, under the Duke of Richmond, and, at the same time, he was sworn in a member of the privy council.

On the arrival of the British armament in the Sound the main body of the army was landed in the island of Zealand, and a proclamation was issued by the commanders, stating, that the enterprise was merely undertaken from motives of self-defence, to prevent the naval resources of Denmark from being directed against Great Britain; that, for this reason, they were authorised to take possession of all the Danish ships of the line; and that, if these were yielded up as a deposit, they should be subsequently restored without any de-

terioration; that Zealand should be treated by the British troops, while on shore, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power of Great Britain; the strictest discipline being observed, and persons and property held inviolably sacred; and, finally, that the innocent blood which must be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on those only who advised resistance to a measure thus dictated by imperious circumstances.

As this proclamation failed of producing the desired effect, the reserve of the army landed early in the morning of the 19th of August, 1807, with the ordnance of a light brigade, and occupied the heights of Hellerup, before Copenhagen. A flag of truce was then received from Major-General Peyman, commander-in-chief in Copenhagen, requesting passports for the two princesses of Denmark, nieces of his Danish Majesty, to leave Copenhagen, which were readily granted; and at day-break, the next morning, the whole army marched in three columns to invest the capital; and every arrangement was made for that purpose in the course of the day. About noon, hostilities actually commenced by an attack on the picquets towards the left; whilst the Danish gun-boats, rowing out of the harbour, cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round shot.

The picquets being supported by the advance of part of the line, soon drove in and pursued their assailants, and resumed their posts; and the British gun-brigs and bombs, having been towed as near the harbour as possible, opened a fire, though at a considerable distance, upon the Danish gun-boats, and compelled them, after a long and heavy cannonade, to retire into the harbour.

On the 18th, the gun-boats renewed their attack upon the light British vessels in advance: but a brigade of artillery on shore being brought to enfilade them, they were soon driven back; and part of the garrison, which had come out in advance upon the road, were also obliged to retire. In the course of the day, the engineering and entrenching tools were landed, and every thing was prepared for regularly commencing the siege.

Early in the morning of the 24th, the centre of the army advanced its position to the height near the road which runs in a direction parallel with the defences of Copenhagen, occupying the road to Fredericsburg, and some parts beyond it. The guards, at the same time, occupied the suburbs on that side, flanked by a detachment of the seventy-ninth; and there they dislodged a picquet of the enemy, who, in their retreat, concealed thirteen three-pounders, which, however, were afterwards discovered.

All the picquets of the garrison now fell back to the lake in front of the town, the British picquets occupying their ground; and, in the afternoon, the garrison having shewn themselves in all the avenues, as if with a design either to recover the ground they had lost, or to burn the suburbs, the different corps in advance drove them in on all sides, and at the same time took possession of all the suburbs on the north bank of the lake, some of which were not more than four hundred yards from the ramparts.

In the course of the evening, the Danes set fire to the end of the suburb nearest to Copenhagen, the upper part of which was now occupied by the guards. This measure, however, was of little avail; for, in consequence of the general success along the whole line, the works, which had been commenced by the British army, were abandoned, and a new line of attack was taken, within about eight hundred yards of the main body of the place.

On the 25th, a brisk cannonade was kept up on both sides; and, on the 26th, it being understood that the Danish general, Castenschield, had formed an army in the interior of the island, consisting of three or four battalions of disciplined troops, besides a number of armed peasantry, it was judged necessary to disperse this force; and our hero was despatched for that purpose, having with him the reserve of the army, eight squadrons of cavalry and horse-artillery, under Major-general Linsingen, the sixth battalion of the line, the King's German legion, and a light brigade of artillery. Accordingly he marched to Roskild Kroe, and, on the 27th, advanced in two divisions to attack the enemy in front and rear at Koenerup; but, on receiving intelligence that Castenschield had moved up towards Kioge, he took a position to cover the besieging army. On the evening of the 27th, he placed Colonel Redan with a force at Vallens-break, and, on the 28th, General Linsingen marched towards Roskild, thereby forming on the right of Sir Arthur's main body.

Conceiving that General Castenschield still remained at Kioge, Sir Arthur Wellesley resolved to attack him on the 29th, and arranged with General Linsingen, that he should cross the Kioge rivulet at Little Sellyas, and turn the left flank of the Danes, whilst he himself should move along the sea-coast towards Kioge, and attack them in front.

This plan was accordingly adopted, and Sir Arthur found the enemy in force on the north side of the town and rivulet, from which they immediately opened a cannonade upon the patroles of hussars in front of the British troops. Their force consisted of three or four battalions of the line, with cavalry on both flanks, and a large body beyond the town and rivulet. Accord-

ing to his arrangement with General Linsingen, Sir Arthur formed his infantry in one line, with the left toward the sea, having the two squadrons of hussars upon the right; and, as there had been some appearance of a movement by the enemy to their left, and he had not had any communication with General Linsingen, and of course was uncertain whether he had passed the rivulet, our hero, with his accustomed promptitude, immediately ordered the attack to commence *in echellon* of battalions from the left; the whole being covered by the first battalion of the ninety-fifth regiment, and by a well-directed fire from the artillery.

This attack was led by the ninety-second regiment, supported by the fifty-second and fifty-third; all of whom acquitted themselves so gallantly, that the enemy were soon obliged to retire to an entrenchment which they had formed in the front of a camp on the north side of Kioge: even here they perceived so little safety, that they immediately proceeded to make a disposition of their cavalry upon the sands, to charge the ninety-second in flank, should they advance to attack the entrenchment.

This disposition of the Danish force rendered it necessary for Sir Arthur to move Colonel Redan's hussars from the right to the left flank, and to throw the forty-third into a second line; after which the ninety-third carried the entrenchment, and compelled the enemy to retreat hastily into the town. They were immediately followed, in the most gallant style, by Colonel Redan and his hussars, and by the first battalion of the ninety-fifth regiment, and subsequently by the whole line of infantry. Upon crossing the rivulet, it appeared that General Linsingen's corps had advanced upon the right flank, and the whole joined in the pursuit.

At this juncture, Major-general Oshoken, who had joined the enemy on the preceding evening with four battalions, endeavoured to make a stand in the village of Herfolge; but he was so vigorously attacked by the hussars, and a small detachment of the first and ninety-fifth regiments, that he was obliged to surrender, together with Count Wedel Jarisburg, and several other officers. The loss of the enemy, in this affair, was very great; many fell during the action, and about sixty officers and eleven hundred men were taken prisoners. Many stands of arms were also thrown away by the fugitives in their retreat, and several pieces of cannon were abandoned.

The following anecdotes of this battle have been published on the authority of an eye-witness:—

"On the arrival of the British troops before Herfolge, they found the church-yard of the village occupied by a party of the Danish militia, who had retreated from Kioge apparently resolved to defend themselves there. Colonel Alten immediately sent some hussars round the village, in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy, if they should attempt it. In the mean time, a corporal of the hussars dismounted from his horse; and, creeping along under the banks, arrived, unseen, within a few paces of the church-yard, which he reported to be full of infantry, who lay behind the walls, prepared to discharge their pieces upon any who should approach. Upon this intelligence, the colonel brought down two light field-pieces, and several rounds were fired at the steeple; the height of the banks on each side of the road being too great to allow a direct fire at the church-yard. The stones and rubbish falling with much noise amongst the Danes, probably alarmed them, as they almost immediately displayed a flag of truce. Upon this, Colonel Alten, putting himself at the head of a party of fifteen men, led them towards the church-gate; but, upon turning the corner of a house and coming nearer, they received several musket-shot, by which a corporal and two horses were wounded. This, however, afterwards appeared to have arisen from some mistake; for, at the same moment, the gates were opened, and General Oshoken and his party surrendered; but, whilst the officers were delivering up their swords, some of the hussars, exasperated at what they supposed the treachery of the Danes, particularly as two or three additional shots were again fired, galloped into the church-yard, and were proceeding to take their revenge, when the interference of General Oshoken and Colonel Alten put an end to all farther hostilities. The Danes were then ordered to bring all their arms without the church-yard, and to lay them down there.

"The whole business was finished, when some of the ninety-fifth regiment came up; and, in searching the steeple of the church, found the colours of the corps that was taken.

"A surgeon of the ninety-fifth now took care of the wounded in the church-yard; and Sir Arthur Wellesley coming up, Colonel Alten delivered to him the swords of the Danish officers, and the prisoners."

The siege of Copenhagen, in the mean time, was carried on without intermission; and, on the 30th, the batteries were nearly completed, and two-thirds of the ordnance mounted. The next morning, the enemy attempted a sortie on the right, before sun-rise, but were stopped for some time by a picquet of the fiftieth regiment, under the orders of Lieutenant Light. They still persevered, however, until they were repulsed by all the picquets with some loss; and in this affair General Sir David Baird was twice wounded but he would not quit the field.

On the 2d of September, the land-batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels, opened such a tremendous fire upon the town, that in the course of a very short time a conflagration appeared to have broken out in several places; whilst the fire was but feebly returned from the Danish ramparts and batteries.

On the ensuing night, the assailants slackened their fire; as the commander-in-chief humanely hoped that the impression already made might induce them to accede to a capitulation. The enemy, however, supposing that this resulted from want of ammunition, were encouraged to greater resistance; and, in consequence of this, the bombardment was resumed on the 4th, with such effect, that the next day a trumpeter was sent out.

On the evening of the 5th of September, a letter was sent by the Danish general to propose an armistice of twenty-four hours, in order to prepare an agreement on which articles of capitulation might be founded. The armistice was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and the works were continued; but the firing was countermanded, and Lieutenant-colonel Murray was sent to explain that no proposal of capitulation could be acceded to, unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet.

On the 6th, this basis having been admitted by a subsequent letter, Lord Cathcart sent for Sir Arthur Wellesley, from his command in the country, where he had distinguished himself in a manner equally honourable to himself and advantageous to the public service; and he, with Sir Home Popham and Lieutenant-colonel Murray, was appointed to prepare the terms of capitulation.

These officers having insisted on proceeding immediately to business, the capitulation was drawn up in the night of the 6th of September; and the ratifications were exchanged in the course of the next morning; Lieutenant-colonel Burrard taking possession of the gates at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The British grenadiers, with detachments from all the other corps of cavalry and infantry, under the command of Colonel Cameron, of the seventy-ninth regiment, with two brigades of artillery, now marched into the citadel; while Major-general Spencer, having embarked his brigade, crossed over in boats, landed in the dock-yard, and took possession of the line of battle ships, and of the arsenal; the Danish guards withdrawing when the British were ready to replace them.

Anxious to avoid any thing that might irritate the public mind at this crisis, Lord Cathcart willingly acceded to the request, that no British troops should be quartered in the city, and that neither officers nor soldiers should enter it for some days; and having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might happen to be necessary to use it, he made no objection to leaving the other gates in the possession of the Danish troops, together with the police of the place, &c.

The Danish navy, delivered up in consequence of this treaty, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks: in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit this fleet for sea; and though all the men of war, both English and those captured, were laden with those stores, there still remained enough to fill ninety-two sail of transports, &c. amounting to upwards of twenty thousand tons.

The loss sustained by the British, both in the naval and military service, was comparatively trifling; but that of the Danes is said to have amounted to about two thousand persons, with the destruction of nearly four hundred houses, and other edifices. Among these was the great cathedral, the steeple of which fell in with a dreadful crash. All the buildings in the neighbourhood of the cathedral were a heap of ruins, it being chiefly against that quarter that the bombardment was directed, from a wish in the hearts of the assailants to do the least possible injury; that being the worst built part of the town. Several of the buildings of the university were also destroyed.

On the return of our hero from Copenhagen, the thanks of the House of Commons were communicated to him by the Speaker, in his place in the House; to which Sir Arthur modestly replied:—

"Mr. Speaker,—I consider myself fortunate that I was employed by his Majesty in a service which this House has considered of such importance, as to have marked with its approbation the conduct of those officers and troops who have performed it. The honour which this House has conferred upon my honourable friends and myself, is justly considered by the officers of the navy and army as the highest which this country can confer; it is the object of the ambition of all who are employed in his Majesty's service and to obtain it has been the motive of many of those acts of valour and good conduct, which have tended so eminently to the glory, and have advanced the prosperity and advantage, of this country. I can assure the House, that I am most sensible of the great honour which they have done me, and I beg leave to return you thanks," &c. &c.

From this period until the breaking out of the war in Spain, nothing occurred to call into action the military talents of our hero: but his active mind found ample employment in his official duties; and we find

him taking a considerable share in the debates in the House of Commons, particularly on the affairs of Ireland.

In consequence of the determined resistance of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the tyrannical conduct of Buonaparte, the British government resolved to adopt a system of active co-operation; and, on the French being driven from the northern provinces of Spain, an army was sent out, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, with directions to offer immediate assistance to the patriotic Spaniards.

This expedition, which, at first, consisted of about ten thousand men, sailed from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of the same month. A few days previous to its arrival, the battle of Rio Seco had taken place; and the Spaniards, unable to maintain their positions, were retreating in various directions; Cuesta proceeding with one division to Salamanca; whilst Blake, with another, was pushing on towards the mountains of Asturias.

According to his instructions, Sir Arthur immediately offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Gallicia; but they replied that they did not want men, and required nothing from the British government, but money, arms, and ammunition. At the same time, they stated that the British army would render an essential service to the general cause, if it could be employed in expelling the French from Lisbon. It was also observed, that the enemy were still in force in the north of Portugal; and therefore against them, in the first place, the British troops might commence an attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Gallicia, if the insurrection at Oporto still existed, or could be revived.

From Corunna, Sir Arthur sailed to Oporto, where he was informed by the bishop, who then acted as governor, that the Portuguese force in the north was fully sufficient to repel any probable attack of the French. In order, however, to ascertain whether the object of the expedition would be best accomplished by landing at Lisbon, our hero left his little army at Oporto, and joined the English admiral, Sir Charles Cotton, to consult on the practicability of forcing the entrance of the river Tagus, and making an attack upon the Portuguese capital. The business was decided, however, immediately, by his receiving a letter from General Spencer, who was then off Cadiz with about six thousand men. It had been designed that this force should co-operate with the Spanish army under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont in Andalusia, or in conjunction with Sir Arthur Wellesley's army; and, as the junta of Seville considered the aid of the British unnecessary for the former service, and Sir Arthur was decidedly of opinion, that little could be expected from either his own force, or the smaller one of General Spencer, singly considered, he immediately sent orders to that officer to join him, in order to proceed upon a plan of operations in Portugal, preconcerted with the naval commander. He, therefore, joined his own division; and, having procured all the information possible respecting the numerical strength and disposition of the French army, he resolved to make a landing in Mondego Bay, to the northward of Lisbon, where he conceived he might be able to form his army in order of service, without any immediate opposition from the enemy; whilst the Portuguese troops, which had already assembled and advanced towards Coimbra, would probably be enabled to join him.

Whilst making the necessary arrangements, Sir Arthur received despatches from the British government, informing him, that five thousand men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that upwards of double that number, under Sir John Moore, would speedily be despatched for the same purpose. At the same time he received intelligence from the shore, that Dupont had surrendered, and that Junot's army was greatly weakened by the necessity of detaching six thousand troops, under General Loison, to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal.

This information induced Sir Arthur Wellesley to disembark his troops immediately; and, soon after their debarkation, the corps under General Spencer also landed. On the 9th of August, the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. On the 12th, the army reached Lieria, from which the French had retreated, after plundering the town, and committing the greatest atrocities. On the 15th, the advanced guard came up with a party of the enemy at Oviedas, where a slight action took place. On the 16th, the army halted; and the next day Sir Arthur resolved to attack the enemy in his position at Roleia.

Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, are the town and ancient Moorish fort of Oviedas, whence the enemy's picquet had been driven on the 15th; from which time they had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of their army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, and the

whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in their rear.

From the intelligence which Sir Arthur received, he supposed that the enemy's force consisted of at least six thousand men, of whom about five hundred were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and he also understood that General Loison, who was at Rio Major, would join General Laborde in the night of the 16th. The plan of attack was formed accordingly; and the army, breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns; the right, consisting of one thousand two hundred Portuguese infantry, and fifty Portuguese cavalry, being appointed to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left, consisting of Major-general Ferguson's and Brigadier-general Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and twenty British and twenty Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major-general Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Oviedas, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia: this corps was also ordered to watch the motions of General Loison on the enemy's right; the centre column, consisting of four brigades under Generals Hill, Nightingale, Fane, and Craufurd, with four hundred Portuguese light-infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine-pounders, and another of six, was destined to attack Laborde's position in front.

The columns being formed, the enemy's posts were successively driven in; and, finding the British rapidly advancing, they retired by the passes into the mountains, with great regularity, and with but trifling loss. The position now taken up by the enemy was very formidable; but dispositions were immediately made to attack it, and the British army advanced with such determined bravery, that, after a desperate conflict, the French were completely driven from the mountains, and the road was cleared to Lisbon.

Immediately after the battle, Brigadier-general Anstruther arrived from England with reinforcements. Our hero now marched to Lourinho, about eight miles distant from Villa Verde, inclining towards the sea, in order to cover the landing of the troops, and to effect a junction with them on the 20th. He accordingly advanced, and took up his ground on the evening of that day at the village of Vimiera. At the same time, Sir Harry Burrard arrived from England, for the purpose of taking the command of the troops in Portugal, until Sir Hew Dalrymple should join them from Gibraltar. He, however, declined taking the command. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, in expectation of being attacked by the enemy, ordered the troops to be under arms at sun-rise the next morning, the 21st.

After the affair of the 17th, General Laborde had fallen back about seventeen miles to Torres Vedras, and was there joined by General Loison. General Junot arrived on the following day; and thus the whole French force being concentrated, they resolved, as Sir Arthur Wellesley had anticipated, on attacking him at Vimiera.

In the morning of the 21st, the French appeared in large bodies of cavalry on the left, upon the heights, and on the road to Lourinha; as if intending to make an attack on the advanced guard, and upon the left of the position. Sir Arthur Wellesley therefore ordered General Ferguson's brigade to move across the ravine, with three pieces of cannon, to the heights on the Lourinha road, where he was followed by other brigades, all of which formed with their right upon the valley leading to Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine which separates those heights from the range towards the sea, and on which the Portuguese troops were posted, supported by Brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade. Sir Arthur considering that the advanced guard, on the heights to the south-east, was sufficient for their defence, Major-general Hill was ordered with his brigade as a support to the main body of infantry in the centre, and to serve as a reserve for the whole line; and, in aid of this, the cavalry were drawn up in their rear.

The enemy's attack now commenced, in several columns, upon the whole of the troops on the height in the centre; and, on the left, they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the fiftieth regiment, and were only checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The second battalion of the forty-third regiment was also closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been stationed in the church-yard, to prevent them from entering the town. On the right of the position they were also repulsed by the bayonets of the ninety-seventh regiment, successfully supported by the second battalion of the fifty-second, which, by an advance in column, was enabled to take the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the British troops had merely acted on the defensive; but now General Anstruther's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, attacked the enemy in flank, whilst a cannonade was kept up in the flank of their columns by the artillery on the same heights. At length, after a most obstinate contest, the whole of the French in this quarter were driven back in confusion from the attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. They were pursued by a small detachment of the

twenty-eighth light dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment suffered severely, Lieutenant-colonel Taylor being killed whilst leading it on.

About the same time, the enemy made an impetuous attack on the heights, in the road to Lourinha, supported by a numerous body of cavalry. This attack, however, was received with great steadiness, by Major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the thirty-sixth, fortieth, and seventy-first regiments; and, without waiting for the enemy to close, the British charged them so bravely with their bayonets, that they instantly gave way, whilst the whole line continued to advance, supported by Brigadier-general Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, advanced, and formed part of the first line. This support was further strengthened by the twenty-ninth regiment, and by the brigades of Brigadier-generals Bower and Ackland, whilst Brigadier-general Craufurd, and his division, with the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced upon the height on the left.

The advance of General Ferguson's brigade proved decisive; for he took six pieces of cannon, made many prisoners, and killed and wounded a considerable number. In this engagement, the French lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition-waggons, and about three thousand in killed, wounded, and missing; one general-officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another killed. The loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly eight hundred.

The day after the battle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been called from his situation of Lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, to assume the command of the British army, arrived at Cintra, whither the conquerors had proceeded after the battle. A few hours after his arrival, General Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from Junot, in order to propose a cessation of hostilities, as a preliminary to the conclusion of a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops.

This proposal was readily received by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, on the conclusion of the famous *Convention of Cintra*, forwarded the following despatch to Lord Castlereagh:

"*Head-quarters, Cintra, September* 3, 1808.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your lordship that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of August, the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy sustained a signal defeat, where the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed. A few hours after my arrival, General Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French general-in-chief, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The enclosed contains the several articles at first agreed upon, and signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the British admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the seventh article, which had, for its object, the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that Lieutenant-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general to the British army, and General Kellermann, should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification of the French general-in-chief, and the British commanders by sea and land.

"After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the convention was signed, and the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.

"That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather, and the surf upon the shore; I sent orders to the buffs, and forty-second regiments, which were on board of transports with Sir C. Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts of the Tagus, whenever the admiral thought it proper to do so. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julien, and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours.

"As I landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question; my opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the convention the late defeat had induced the French general-in-chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great *importance of time*, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong

places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.

"When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived; and doubts were even entertained, whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and, that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence, of Captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary.

"Captain Dalrymple, of the eighteenth dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to your lordship this despatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required.

"HEW DALRYMPLE, lieut.-general."

[A suspension of arms agreed upon between Sir A. Wellesley and General Kellermann, on the 22d of August, was the basis of the following convention; the seventh article of that preliminary treaty (which was afterwards rejected by Sir Charles Cotton) stipulated that the Russian fleet should be allowed to remain in the Tagus, unmolested, as long as it thought proper, or to return home.]

"*Definitive Convention for the Evacuation of Portugal by the French Army.*

"The generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d instant, for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the under-mentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz: On the part of the general-in-chief of the British army, Lieutenant-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and, on the part of the general-in-chief of the French army, M. Kellermann, general of division; to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. Those two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:

"I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.

"II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

"III. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient inclusively.

"IV. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.

"V. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say, its military-chest, and carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospitals; or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account, as the commander-in-chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

"VI. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses, at the disposal of the British commanders, are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred; and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it, which cannot be embarked.

"VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.

"VIII. The garrisons of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon: that of Almaida, at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British

commissaries charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.

"IX. All the sick and wounded, who cannot be embarked with the troops, are intrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of, whilst they remain in this country, at the expense of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.

"X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

"XI. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and be so placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.

"XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the lazaretto or Trafuria on one side, and fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almaida, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time, the general-in-chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

"XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

"XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

"XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in December, 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

"XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected; their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected; and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood, that shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port; and that none of the stipulations above mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.

"XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not to the French government: they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the sixteenth article.

"XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon, shall be given up to the commander-in-chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.

"XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.

"XX. Hostages of the rank of field-officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officers of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officers of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

"XXI. It shall be allowed to the general-in-chief of

the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

"XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board ships of war.

"Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed) "GEORGE MURRAY, quarter-master-gen.
"KELLERMANN, le gén. de division."

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES TO THE CONVENTION OF THE 30TH OF AUGUST, 1808.

"I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made prisoners, either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

"II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation: the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses. The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-mentioned period till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expense beyond the estimation, to be made by both parties, of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British government, in like manner, with the magazines in the fortresses.

"III. The general commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

"Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed) "GEORGE MURRAY, quarter-master-gen.
"KELLERMANN, le gén. de division."

One of the most pleasing circumstances which resulted from the victory of Vimiera, and the subsequent expulsion of the French from Portugal, was the freeing from bondage, and restoring to their country, the Spanish troops which Junot had ordered to be disarmed, and to be confined on board the vessels in the Tagus. The day on which their arms were delivered to them, presented a grand and truly interesting sight. In order that this act might be performed with the magnificence which was due to it, all the British and Portuguese troops were assembled on the occasion. The sword of the Spanish general was delivered to him by General Beresford, with an appropriate address, in which he congratulated himself on the honour of delivering to a Spaniard, and therefore a man of honour, that sword of which he had been deprived by the artifice and violence of the enemies of his country; and which, now that he had regained it, would undoubtedly be employed in its defence. As soon as the officers and soldiers were put in possession of their arms, they unanimously pronounced a solemn oath, never to repose till they had seen Ferdinand re-established on the throne; and for him, their religion, and their country, they swore they would either conquer or die.

It has been justly observed, that "a battle more important in its consequences was never gained by England; whether we consider it as producing the recovery of an entire kingdom from the grasp of the common enemy;—its raising the national character to so glorious a height in the eyes of all Europe;—and the consequent debasement of the military character of the enemy. Again, if this battle were solely to be estimated by the military talents of the commander, the zeal and good conduct of the officers serving under him, and the individual bravery of every soldier who fought, it would be inferior to none which the annals of England commemorate.

"In the determined fierceness of attack, impetuosity, and obstinate resistance of the enemy, British troops have rarely been so opposed. On the whole, it was a great and glorious day for England, and entwined around the brow of the general, who led her heroes to the field, a wreath of laurel as fresh as it is unfading.

"The boasted French artillery on this day was served in every respect far inferior to that of the British. Indeed, it is impossible to convey an idea of the precision with which the latter was directed, and the execution that it made in the ranks of the enemy. The Shrapnell shells, (so called from their being the invention of Colonel Shrapnell, of the artillery,) in particular, made dreadful havoc among the ranks of the French, who were so dismayed at the effects of this novel instrument of war, that many of the grenadiers, who were made prisoners, declared, that they could not stand it, and were literally taken lying on the ground, or under cover of bushes and the high banks of some ditches in the field of battle.

"The honour of the French military character was, however, for some time nobly supported by its infantry Their mode of attack was in column; a mode of warfare which they had successfully practised against the Austrians and other continental troops. On this occa-

sion, however, it entirely failed. So far from obtaining their object, that of penetrating the English line, and then taking it in flank to the right and left, they never approached near enough for the British bayonet to act, without having their heads of columns invariably broken, and the whole thrown into confusion.

"What also contributed materially to their defeat, was the scientific manner in which the English general met this species of attack. The French army advanced in three large columns, in such a manner, as to bring them all to bear upon the British left and centre. Invariably as each advanced, and independently of the resistance it met in the front, it was taken on the flanks by the fire of corps advanced for that purpose, by a small change in their position; by which means they lost a surprising number of men before they could have recourse to the bayonet. In fact, in no case did the French resort to this latter weapon, without being instantly broken.

"The advance of the enemy to the attack was impetuous, and even furious. As they approached, they saluted the English with all the opprobrious epithets with which their language abounds. While, on the contrary, the latter, in derision, cheered them as they approached.

"Before the action, General Junot harangued his army in the following laconic terms:—'Frenchmen! there is the sea. You must drive those English into it!' And it is certain they did their utmost for three hours and a half to obey his orders; but never, during that time, made the smallest impression on the English line, although they repeatedly rallied, and tried every thing which could be effected by rapidity of movement, and particularly of attack. At length, wearied out and beaten, they were forced to give way in every direction, and were pursued off the field of battle by the British infantry, for a distance of three miles.

"In short, it may be said, that the Battle of Vimiera was decided by superior generalship in the leader, and superior bravery in the soldiers; every manœuvre was practised in it which could arise out of the combined and various movements of attack and defence; repeated change of position occurred on both sides, and the palm of victory was at length the prize of him who best deserved to wear it, after a long and arduous conflict of nearly four hours.

"On this glorious and ever-memorable day, the most conspicuous circumstance connected with it is, doubtless, the conduct of the British commander-in-chief, as well from his rank as his responsibility. On him every thing turned; to his conduct every one looked; the good or the evil which might result from the expedition was referred to him alone.

"It is proper further to remark, that, during the whole of this period, Sir Arthur never went under cover at night, but always slept on the ground in the open air: he was the first up, and the last down, of the whole camp; sleeping constantly in his clothes, and his horse piqueted near him, ready saddled, to be mounted at a moment's warning.

"During the whole of this anxious period, he was cheerful, affable, and easy of access; enduring every privation himself, he was attentive to the wants of all, and ever active to obviate them.

"In personal bravery he has been rarely equalled, never excelled. Conspicuous by the star of the order he adorns, he was constantly in the hottest part of the action: whenever a corps was to be led on, from the death of its officer, or any other unexpected cause, Sir Arthur was on the spot at the head of it."

It is worthy of remark, that, from the day on which our hero assumed the command of the army, until he resigned it to Sir Hew Dalrymple, but three desertions took place;—these were all from the fifth battalion of the sixtieth regiment, a rifle corps; and the parties were foreigners. These men were caught and delivered up by the Portuguese to the English provost-marshal; but were released without punishment, in consequence of the good conduct of the corps to which they belonged. In presence of the whole army, Sir Arthur thanked them for their uniform gallant deportment, and restored them these men, without punishment, as the best reward he could bestow on them.

After the convention of Cintra, Sir Arthur returned to England on leave of absence; having, previous to his departure, received from the general-officers of the army a piece of plate valued at one thousand guineas, and a similar one from the field-officers serving under him, "as testimonies of the high esteem in which they held him as a man, and of the unbounded confidence they placed in him as an officer."

He now resumed his parliamentary and official duties; and, in his place in the House of Commons, upon a motion being made respecting the campaign in Portugal, he explained his views and the motives of his conduct throughout the whole expedition. His plan, he observed, was to engage the enemy as near to Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up his advantage; and he added, that if the enemy had been vigorously followed, there would have been no occasion for a convention.

This statement was fully confirmed by the testimony of Colonel Torrens, who declared, on his examination, that immediately after the defeat of the French right column, and during its precipitate retreat, Sir Arthur Wellesley rode up to Sir Harry Burrard, and said, "Sir

Harry, now is your time to advance upon the enemy; they are completely broken, and we may be in Lisbon in three days; a large body of our troops have not been in the action; let us move them from the right on the road to Torres Vedras, and I will follow the enemy with the left." To this Sir Harry replied, that he thought a great deal had been done, very much to the credit of the troops, and that he did not think it advisable to do more, or to quit the ground in pursuit.

On the 25th of January, Lord Castlereagh rose in pursuance of the notice he had given on a former day, to make his motion for the thanks of the House to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory they had obtained at the battle of Vimiera.

His lordship began by observing, that whatever differences of opinion might have taken place, or might at that moment exist, as to the various matters which had occurred since that brilliant achievement, he was sure, there never was, at any period of our history, a stronger burst of national gratitude than that which was universally proclaimed by the people of this country on the receipt of the first intelligence of the gallant and glorious victory of Vimiera. He was happy in being able to separate that splendid event from any circumstances, not so favourable, which might subsequently have attached to it; and he had no doubt but the house would be ready to coincide and go along with him in opinion, that the success and glory attending the splendid event of the battle of Vimiera, on the 21st of August last, deserved the highest admiration, and the warmest thanks of that house and of the country. It was impossible to find, in the military annals of Great Britain, a more glorious instance of the superiority of her arms, than had been given on that occasion. We had had our victories of Egypt and Maida; but, however brilliant those of any former period, none had ever exceeded that on which he was then speaking, which had afforded us a further striking and unquestionable proof, that whenever or wherever we had brought our troops into action with the French, they had shown themselves greatly superior in courage, hardihood, and discipline. Whether in infantry, artillery, (on which the French so highly plumed and valued themselves,) or cavalry, the character of the soldiers had, on this occasion, once more taken a tone suitable to the free and excellent constitution under which they lived, and the principles which they had from their infancy imbibed and cherished; and though our attempts were carried on upon a smaller scale, yet, whenever our efforts had been engaged for the service of the world, they had, on all occasions, proved triumphant. In speaking of what preceded that day, the attack of the almost impregnable post which the enemy possessed on the 17th, (it was well known they had acted on a confined scale, but in the battle of the 21st, on a much more extensive scale,) would show that there was never a more splendid proof of the superior gallantry and courage of our troops, or the consummate skill of the commander, than had been displayed at the battle of Vimiera. Of twenty-one pieces of artillery, with which the enemy went out that day into the field, only eight remained in their hands. They were also very much superior in cavalry; and, taking all the circumstances which attended that illustrious event into consideration, it was impossible any language could do justice to it, and he really felt that to dwell longer on such an action would only be to weaken the praise it was his wish to bestow on it; he would not, therefore, trespass further on their time than to move—

"That the thanks of the House be given to Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the gallantry and conduct he displayed in the victory he obtained over the French in the battle of Vimiera."

The resolution, being read from the chair, was adopted, after some debate, with only *one* dissenting voice.

On the 27th, Sir Arthur having appeared in his place, the speaker rose and addressed him in the following terms:

"Sir Arthur Wellesley, it was one of the first objects of this House, in directing its attention to the brilliant services of the British army in Portugal, and amidst the contending opinions upon other subjects connected therewith, to express its public approbation of those splendid services you have rendered to your country on that important occasion. You have been called upon to command the armies of your country in that expedition; and it was your peculiar good fortune, by your eminent skill and gallant example, to inspire your troops with that confidence and intrepidity which led them to such signal triumphs in those battles, which have so justly obtained for you the thanks and admiration of your country, and rendered your name illustrious to the extremities of the British empire. Your great military talents, thus eminently successful in your country's cause, have justly entitled you to royal favour, and to the gratitude of parliament; and it is with the utmost satisfaction that I now repeat to you the thanks of this house. I do, therefore, in the name of the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, return you their public thanks for the splendid victories obtained by you over the French army in Portugal, on the 17th and 21st days of August, 1808, so honourable and glorious to the British arms."

Sir Arthur Wellesley returned his thanks to the house for the high honour now conferred on him, and in a

peculiar manner to the right honourable gentleman who filled the chair, for the very polite and obliging manner in which he was pleased to repeat to him the sense which the House of Commons did him the honour to entertain of his humble exertions for the public service. No man felt more gratefully, or valued more highly than he did, the approbation of parliament and his country; the officers and soldiers of the British army looked up to that approbation, as the highest honour that could be held out as an excitement to their valour. Conscious, as he was, of his want of power to express the sense he now felt of the distinguished honour this day conferred upon him, he hoped the house would be pleased to accept his most grateful acknowledgments for their favour.

On the 6th of February, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion relative to our hero, of which he had previously given notice. He observed, that, during the late campaign, a most extraordinary circumstance had taken place, both here and in Ireland, to which he wished to call the attention of the house. The chief secretary for Ireland, and the under-secretary of state, both gallant and distinguished officers, had been employed in the military service of their country, and suffered still to retain the civil employments they before held, though it was impossible for them to perform any of the duties annexed to them. He admitted, that in either capacity the country could not be better served; but contended that no office should be held by any person whose absence made it impossible for him to execute its duties. When the war-department required every exertion of every public officer, it could not be maintained that the under-secretary of state for that department, and the chief secretary for Ireland, could be absent from their offices, without material injury to the public service.

He had asked a question of the noble lord (Castlereagh) opposite, before his gallant relation had returned, and whilst the other gallant officer was attending the duties of his office in Ireland. The answer respecting the former was most satisfactory: but, though it was not his intention to say a word upon that subject in this instance, he must be allowed to say, that he thought the noble lord ought to have filled up the appointment during the absence of his relation. The answer respecting the other gallant officer was not equally satisfactory. He allowed that no person possessed, in a more eminent degree, every qualification for the distinguished command to which he had been appointed, and was equally ready to give him the greatest credit for the manner in which he executed, and the attention which he paid to, the duties of his office of chief secretary for Ireland. But, though he was convinced that no person was better qualified for either situation than that gallant officer, he could never admit, that, whilst fighting the battles of his country in Portugal, he was a fit person to retain the office of chief secretary for Ireland. He was sure that gallant officer was too much alive to true glory, to wish that any injurious precedent should be established by any circumstance connected with his individual interests.

He might appeal to the chair respecting the duties and emoluments of the office of chief secretary, as that office had been held by the distinguished person in the chair, whose mind had ever been more fixed on the duties than the emoluments of the office. It was to him that the public was indebted for having the duties defined, and the emoluments brought forward to public inspection. Though the emoluments were considerable, he did not mean to say that they were greater than the situation merited; but he must insist that, if no duties were performed, the public ought not to be called upon to pay. As to the stipulation of the gallant officer, when appointed to the office, that he should not be required to continue secretary if he should be appointed to any active military command, he could easily give him credit for the feeling which gave preference to military glory. When he had been appointed to his late command, it never could have been expected that it would have been so short as it afterwards turned out; and, when the gallant officer had accepted of the command, he should have resigned his civil office, and insisted on a successor being appointed. But as, on his return, the emoluments of the office would have ceased, if a successor had been appointed, why, he would ask, should they not have ceased as he had not performed the duties? The gallant officer had said that he was not richer from his salary. That he believed; as he did not suppose that any person accepted an office with a view to pecuniary emolument, but rather as an object of honourable ambition. He should not take up more of the time of the house. The resolution he had to submit, he trusted, would be placed on the journals, and would become the means of preventing any person hereafter, whatever his abilities might be, from occupying two incompatible places. He concluded by moving a resolution, "that the office of chief secretary of Ireland is an office of high responsibility, and ought not to be held by any person absent from the realm, and that the emolument of it ought not to be paid to any person unable to perform the duties."

On the question being put, Sir Arthur Wellesley said, that when he was first appointed to the office which he now had the honour to fill, it had been clearly understood by the noble lord at the head of the Irish

government, by his noble and honourable friends near him, and by the illustrious persons at the head of the army, that his appointment should not preclude him from accepting any military employment in the service of his country. Under these circumstances, when the expedition to Zealand took place, he was employed in it, and also on the expedition to Portugal; and, on both occasions, it had been clearly understood, that he had relinquished all claim to the civil office, if a successor should be appointed. He had retained the office solely at the desire of the lord-lieutenant, who thought that he could assist him effectually, as he had already done, by the regulations which he had suggested.

The resolution of the honourable member (Mr. Whitbread) went to declare, that a certain efficient government should, at all times, exist in Ireland. He was not disposed to dispute the truth of the abstract proposition; but he would ask the house to pause before it voted such a proposition, and to inquire whether any inconvenience had resulted from his absence, and whether, in consequence, there had not been an efficient government in Ireland. He would ask the honourable gentleman, whether any public business had been delayed even twenty-four hours, or whether all the affairs of the government had not gone on without interruption? Had not the regulations which he had arranged with his grace the Duke of Richmond, for the various departments of the state, been carried into effect, and the public service been thereby promoted without intermission? Under these circumstances, he would ask the house to pause before it should vote this abstract proposition, particularly as no inconvenience had resulted from his absence. As to the salary of chief secretary, he allowed it to be large, more even than the salary of a secretary of state. But then the Irish secretary had not the same run for situation, character, and consideration, as a secretary of state; and, consequently, the salary was given to him not so much for performing the duties, as to enable him to maintain the situation and the character that belonged to it.

When he had proceeded to Portugal, the lord-lieutenant was desirous that he should retain the office of secretary, at the same time declaring, that, if he did not return within a certain period, a successor should be appointed. It was at that time uncertain whether he should ever return; but, when he did return, as no successor had been appointed, he certainly considered himself entitled to the emoluments of the office. The honourable gentleman had said, that if, on returning, he found another person had been appointed, he would not have received the emoluments, and inferred from that, that, as he had not performed the duties, he should not receive the salary. Unquestionably, if another had been appointed, he should not have received the salary; but then he would not have the establishment to maintain; and as, whether absent or present, the expense of that establishment was defrayed by him, he had taken the salary. He could assure the house, however, that he should, in no future instance, consent to hold his office in the event of his being appointed to a military command.

Our hero then bowed to the chair, and withdrew.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, rather for the purpose of moving the previous question, than to confirm the statement of his gallant friend, which could not need any thing to aid its credit with the house. It was undoubtedly well understood, both here and in Ireland, that if any inconvenience had been felt, another would have been appointed. But so urgent had been the desire of the Duke of Richmond, and of his majesty's ministers here, that the gallant general should retain the office, that a successor had not been appointed, because no inconvenience had been felt. If blame was imputable any where, it was not to the honourable officer, but to his majesty's government. He saw no necessity for the resolution, and therefore moved the previous question, which was carried without a division.

The command of the British troops that remained in Portugal after the termination of the unfortunate campaign in which Sir John Moore lost his life at Corunna, was entrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir John Craddock, who had taken up a defensive position in the neighbourhood of Lisbon; but, notwithstanding the failure of Sir John Moore's expedition, the British government determined to support the Spanish cause to the utmost of their power, and, at all events, to preserve Portugal. They accordingly appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to the chief command of the army of the British and Portuguese forces. Sir John Craddock, who had received considerable reinforcements from England, had already prepared to advance to Oporto, in order to compel Marshal Soult to evacuate that city. Accordingly, on the 9th of April, 1809, he advanced from the neighbourhood of Lisbon, with a force of about eighteen thousand men, and arrived at Lieria, with the main body of the infantry, on the 22d. On the same day, Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived from England, and was received with great joy; and, on the 24th, he set out to join the army, which had advanced towards Coimbra. On the 6th of May, he reviewed his whole force in the plain below Coimbra, and the next day commenced his march towards Oporto.

Marshal Soult was, at this time, with the main body of his army at Oporto; and his advanced guard of cavalry, under the command of General Franceschi, was

stationed on the north bank of the Vouga. The French force was said to be twenty-four thousand, but very much scattered, as they had garrisons on the river Lieria, and at Tuy and Valence on the Minho.

The army under Marshal Victor was in the vicinity of Badajoz. Major-general Mackenzie's brigade was ordered to advance to Abrantes, on the Tagus; and the Lusitanian legion, commanded by Colonel Mayne, had proceeded to Alcantara, as a corps of observation.

The first operations of the army under the command of our hero are thus detailed by Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, in the following despatch to Lord Castlereagh:

"*Oporto, May* 12.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour to apprise your lordship, on the 7th instant, that I intended that the army should march, on the 9th, from Coimbra, to dispossess the enemy of Oporto. The advanced guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th, to afford time for Marshal Beresford, with his corps, to arrive upon the Upper Douro. The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition; of which, two, the advanced guard, consisting of the Hanoverian legion and Brigadier-general Stewart's brigade, with a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of three-pounders, under Lieutenant-general Paget, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-general Payne, and the brigade of guards, Brigadier-general Campbell's brigade of infantry, with a brigade of six-pounders, under Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto; and one, composed of Major-general Hill's and Brigadier-general Cameron's brigades of infantry, and a brigade of six-pounders, under the command of Major-general Hill, by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro.

"On the 10th, in the morning, before day-light, the cavalry and advanced guard crossed the Vouga, with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albergaria Nova and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river, in the last of which we failed; but the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day; we took some prisoners and their cannon from them, and the advanced guard took up the position of Oliviera.

"On the same day, Major-general Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro on the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right; and the head of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga on the same evening. On the 11th, the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major-general Hill's division in a parallel road, which leads to Oporto from Ovar.

"On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vandas Novas, between Santo Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the out-posts of the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of about four thousand infantry and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Grijon, their front being covered by woods and broken ground. The enemy's left flank was turned by a movement well executed by Major-general Murray, with Brigadier-general Langworth's brigade of the Hanoverian legion; while the sixteenth Portuguese regiment, of Brigadier-general R. Stewart's brigade, attacked their right, and the riflemen of the ninety-fifth, and the flank companies of the twenty-ninth, forty-third, and fifty-second, of the same brigade, under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and villages in their centre. These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way; and the honourable Brigadier-general C. Stewart led two squadrons of the sixteenth and twentieth dragoons, under the command of Major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, and destroyed many, and took many prisoners. On the night of the 11th, the enemy crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge over that river.

"It was important, with a view to the operations of Marshal Beresford, that I should cross the Douro immediately, and I had sent Major-general Murray, in the morning, with a battalion of the Hanoverian legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if possible, to cross the river at Ovintas, about four miles above Oporto; and I had as many boats as could be collected, brought to the ferry, immediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova. The ground on the right bank of the river, at this ferry, is protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Sierra Convent, at Villa Nova; and there appeared to be a good position for our troops on the opposite side of the river, till they should be collected in sufficient numbers. The enemy took no notice of our collection of boats, or the embarkation of the troops, till after the first battalion (the buffs) were landed, and had taken up their position, under the command of Lieutenant-general Paget, on the opposite side of the river. They then commenced an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly sustained, till supported successively by the forty-eighth and sixty-sixth regiments, belonging to Major-general Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the first battalion of detachments belonging to Brigadier-general R. Stewart's brigade.

"Lieutenant-general Paget was unfortunately wounded soon after the attack commenced, when the command of these gallant troops devolved upon Major-general Hill. Although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression; and, at last, Major-general Murray having appeared on the enemy's left flank, on his march from Ovintas, where he had crossed, and Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, who by this time had availed himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the ferry between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto, having appeared upon the right, with the brigade of guards, and the twenty-ninth regiment, the whole retired, in the utmost confusion, towards Amaranthe, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition-tumbrils, and many prisoners. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded, in this action, has been very large, and they have left behind them, in Oporto, seven hundred sick and wounded.

"Brigadier-general the Honourable C. Stewart then directed a charge by a squadron of the fourteenth dragoons, under the command of Major Hervey, who made a successful attack on the enemy's rear-guard. In the different actions with the enemy, of which I have above given your lordship an account, we have lost some, and the immediate services of other, valuable officers and soldiers. In Lieutenant-general Paget, among the latter, I have lost the assistance of a friend, who had been most useful to me in the few days which had elapsed since he had joined the army. He had rendered a most important service at the moment he received his wound, in taking up the position which the troops afterwards maintained, and in bearing the first brunt of the enemy's attack. Major Hervey also distinguished himself at the moment he received his wound, in the charge of the cavalry on this day. I cannot say too much in favour of the officers and troops. They have marched, in four days, over eighty miles of the most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops.

[Sir Arthur then recommends to the particular attention of his lordship, the services of Lieutenant-general Paget, Major-generals Murray and Hill, Brigadier-general C. Stewart, Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, Lieutenant-colonel Delancey, and Captain Mellish, of the tenth; and of Colonel Duckworth, Lieutenant-colonel Drummond, Major C. Campbell, Brigade-major Fordyce, Captains Corry and Hill, of the eleventh; as well as Majors Way, Blake, Murray, and Hervey; Quarter-master Colonel Murray, Lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, and all the officers of his personal staff. The exemplary bravery of the Buffs, forty-eighth, sixty-sixth, twenty-ninth, forty-third, and fifty-second regiments, with the sixteenth and twentieth light dragoons, are also mentioned in high terms of commendation.]

"I send this despatch by Captain Stanhope, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection; his brother, the Honourable Major Stanhope, was unfortunately wounded by a sabre, whilst leading a charge of the sixteenth light dragoons, on the 10th instant.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

On the morning of the 13th, Sir Arthur Wellesley marched from Oporto, in pursuit of the retreating enemy; and, in the evening, he received information that they had destroyed a great proportion of their artillery in the neighbourhood of Pennafiel, and had taken the route towards Braga;—a measure to which they were evidently driven, in consequence of Marshal Beresford's co-operation on the Tamarga.

Marshal Beresford (who had crossed the Douro near Lamego, on the 10th, with Major-general Tilson's brigade of infantry, and a considerable body of Portuguese, in order to cut off the retreat of the French to Gallicia) found, on his arrival at Amaranthe, that the Portuguese general Silviera had been compelled to evacuate that position, which was occupied by a division of the enemy's troops under General Loison, who, upon hearing of the passage of the Douro, immediately evacuated this post, and joined the main body of the army under Soult. General Beresford, having occupied this post, afterwards directed his march on Chaves, with the view of intercepting the enemy, should he retreat by that road.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having continued the pursuit, arrived at Braga on the 15th, and the next day at Salamonde; and this with such rapidity, that the Guards, under Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke and Brigadier-general Campbell, then in advance of the British army, had an affair with the enemy's rear-guard, at a late hour in the evening. On this occasion, the British attacked them in their position; and, having turned their flanks by the heights, the enemy immediately retreated, leaving behind them one piece of artillery, and several prisoners.

The British army, continuing their pursuit, arrived on the 18th, at Monte Alegre, when Sir Arthur discovered that Soult had retreated through the mountains towards Orenza, by which it would be extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable, to overtake him. The enemy left behind him all his sick and wounded; and the road from Pennafiel to Monte Alegre was literally strewed with the carcasses of horses and mules, and the dead bodies of the enemy who had fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of the peasantry.

By this short but brilliant campaign, the whole of Portugal was freed from the enemy; as Marshal Victor, on receiving intelligence of Soult's defeat, immediately retired from the Portuguese frontiers towards Madrid.

Sir Arthur Wellesley now proceeded towards Abrantes, where he collected stores and provisions to enable him to march into Spain, in order to co-operate with General Cuesta, who had assembled about forty thousand men in the province of Estremadura. After a short repose, the army was put in motion; a plan of operations having been previously concerted between the British and Spanish generals.

Our hero had stipulated that the Spanish government should furnish five hundred mules for the transport of his provisions, and expected to have found a Spanish commissary at Zarza Muyor, to assist that department of the British army in procuring their supplies. In this expectation he was disappointed; but, convinced of the importance of introducing a British force into Spain, he continued his march to Placentia, where the whole of the army was concentrated on the 16th of July. General Cuesta had eagerly pressed the advance of the British, with an assurance of ample supplies; but, although the troops were now in one of the most fertile districts of Spain, the indolence of the magistrates was such, that Sir Arthur Wellesley in vain entreated them to furnish provisions, without which he found himself unable to proceed. Although mortified at the delays which had hitherto taken place, and the little attention paid by the Spaniards to the fulfilment of their engagements, Sir Arthur felt disposed to continue the system of operations concerted betwixt Cuesta and himself; and, after receiving an assurance from the authorities of Placentia, that the supplies required for the army should be collected without further delay, the British moved forward on the 17th of July, and formed a junction, three days afterwards, with the Spanish army of Estremadura.

This army, under General Cuesta, was in the vicinity of Almaros, and comprised about thirty-eight thousand men, (exclusive of the force under Vanegas,) of whom about seven thousand were cavalry. Of this force, fourteen thousand were detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder were encamped under the Puerte de Mirabete.

Early in July, Joseph Buonaparte joined Sebastiani with those troops which he brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marshal Victor's corps, making the force under Sebastiani about twenty-eight thousand men; and their design was to attack the Spanish corps under General Vanegas. But that officer retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena; and, though obliged to retreat, he was still able to attack and destroy a considerable part of the enemy's advanced guard.

The French troops then returned to the Tagus; and the whole army, at that time under Victor, and amounting to about thirty-five thousand men, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché.

On the 22d of July, the combined English and Spanish armies advanced to Talavera de la Reyna, whence the enemy was dislodged, in the course of the morning, by the advance of the British and Spaniards. The French retired upon their main body, posted on the left bank of the Alberché, closely pursued.

Next day, Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed attacking Marshal Victor; but General Cuesta having, for some reasons best known to himself, refused to co-operate, the intended attack was deferred till the following morning, when the army, on reaching the banks of the river, had the mortification to perceive that the enemy had availed himself of the delay, and was in full retreat to Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos, evidently with the design of forming a junction with Sebastiani There can be no doubt, had our hero's propositions for attacking the enemy on the 23d been adopted, that the destruction of Marshal Victor's corps would have been inevitable.

The subsequent movements of the army, together with the glorious victory of Talavera, are related by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the following official despatch:

"*Talavera de la Reyna, July* 29, 1809.

"My Lord,

"General Cuesta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberché, on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos. For the reasons stated to your lordship in my despatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, across the Alberché to Cassalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between General Cuesta and me, and with Sir R. Wilson's corps at Escalona. It appears that General Vanegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Damiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy, in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces in this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of two thousand men in that place. His united army thus consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men, the guards of Joseph Buonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid; and it was commanded by Joseph Buona-

parte, aided by Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani.

"On the 26th, General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberché; General Sherbrooke continuing at Cassalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla. It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera; and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General Mackenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood, on the right of Alberché, which covered our left flank.

"The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, *in echelon* and in second line, a division of infantry, under the orders of Major-general Hill. There was a valley between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action. The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberché was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, on the roads leading from the town and the right, to the left of our position. In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear. Brigadier-general A. Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry.

"At about two o'clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberché, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division. The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne, with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the second battalion eighty-seventh regiment, and second battalion thirty-first regiment, in the wood. Upon this occasion, the steadiness and discipline of the forty-fifth regiment, and the fifth battalion sixtieth regiment, were conspicuous; and I had particular reason for being satisfied with the manner in which Major-general Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard.

"As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in large numbers on the right of the Alberché, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack on the combined army. General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in the rear of the guards, Colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation further upon the left, in the rear of the king's German legion. The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the dusk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our position, and by an attempt, with his cavalry, to overthrow the Spanish infantry, posted, as I have before stated, on the right: this attempt failed entirely. Early in the night, he pushed a division along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession; but Major-general Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it. This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again at daylight in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by Major-general Hill.

"Major-general Hill has reported to me, in a particular manner, the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the first battalion forty-eighth regiment, in these different affairs, as well as that of Major-general Tilson, and Brigadier-general Richard Stewart. We have lost many brave officers and soldiers in the defence of this important point in our position; among others I cannot avoid to mention Brigadier-major Fordyce and Brigadier-major Gardiner; and Major-general Hill was himself wounded, though, I am happy to say, but slightly.

"The defeat of this attempt was followed about noon by a general attack with the enemy's whole force, upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The enemy then placed light-infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry, under Lieutenant-general De Bassecourt.

The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-general Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the first German light dragoons, and twenty-third dragoons, under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the twenty-third dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan. At the same time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British. This attack was most successfully repulsed by Brigadier-general Campbell, supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and Brigadier-general Campbell took the enemy's cannon. The brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the ninety-seventh, the second battalion seventh, and of the second battalion fifty-third regiments; and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

"An attack was also made, at the same time, upon Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole division; but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the first battalion forty-eighth regiment. I had moved this regiment from its original position on the heights, as soon as I observed the advance of the guards; and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division.

"Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which, apparently, all the enemy's troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Alberché, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and some prisoners. Your lordship will observe, by the inclosed return, the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our number: that of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed; and, indeed, the battalions that retreated were much reduced in numbers. By all accounts, their loss is ten thousand men. Generals Lapisse and Morlot are killed; Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded. I have particularly to lament the loss of Major-general Mackenzie, who had distinguished himself on the 27th, and of Brigadier-general Langworth, of the King's German Legion, and of Brigade-major Becket, of the Guards. Your lordship will observe, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops.

"The Spanish commander in chief, his officers, and troops, manifested every disposition to render us assistance, and those of them which were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy, while he was engaged with us. I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets. To Lieutenant-general Payne and the cavalry, particularly General Anson's brigade; to Major-generals Hill and Tilson, Brigadier-generals A. Campbell, R. Stewart, and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their commands respectively, particularly the twenty-ninth regiment, commanded by Colonel White; the first battalion forty-eighth, by Colonel Donnellan, afterwards, when that officer was wounded, by Major Middlemore; the second battalion seventh, by Lieutenant-colonel Sir W. Myers; the second battalion fifty-second, by Lieutenant-colonel Bingham; the ninety-seventh, by Colonel Lyon; the first battalion of detachments, by Lieutenant-colonel Bunbury; and the second battalion thirty-first, by Major Watson; and of the forty-fifth, by Lieutenant-colonel Guard; and fifth battalion sixtieth, commanded by Major Davy, on the 27th. The advance of the brigade of guards was most gallantly conducted by Brigadier-general Campbell; and, when necessary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the best order. The artillery, under Brigadier-general Howorth, was also throughout these days of the greatest service; and I have every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the chief engineer, Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the adjutant-general, Brigadier-general the Honourable C. Stewart, and the quarter-master-general, Colonel Murray, and the officers of those departments respectively, and from Colonel Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff. I also received much assistance from Colonel O'Lawler, of the Spanish service, and from Brigadier-general Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the

two Spanish battalions to the assistance of Brigadier-general Campbell. I send this by Captain Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who will give your lordship any further information, and whom I beg to recommend.

"A. WELLESLEY."

Immediately after the battle of Talavera, our hero was declared generalissimo of the Spanish armies;—a circumstance which, it was expected, would produce more unity of design in the Spanish proceedings, both civil and military.

Although the battle of Talavera was so honourable to the victors, its results did not immediately prove beneficial to the Spanish cause; for Sir Arthur Wellesley was shortly after obliged to fall back, and to take a defensive position at Deleytosa, on the Tagus; as will appear from the following despatch:

"*Deleytosa, Aug.* 8.

"MY LORD,

"I apprised your lordship, on the 1st instant, of the advance of a French corps towards the Puerto de Banos, and of the probable embarrassments to the operations of the army which its arrival at Placentia would occasion; and these embarrassments having since existed to a degree so considerable as to oblige us to fall back, and to take up a defensive position on the Tagus, I am induced to trouble you more at length with an account of what has passed upon this subject.

"When I entered Spain, I had a communication with General Cuesta, through Sir R. Wilson and Colonel Roche, respecting the occupation of the Puerto de Banos and the Puerto de Perales, the former of which, it was at last settled, should be held by a corps to be formed under the Marquis de la Reyna, to consist of two battalions from General Cuesta's army, and two from Bejar; and that the Puerto de Perales was to be taken care of by the Duke de Parque, by detachments from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. I doubted of the capacity of the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo to make the detachment of the latter; but had so little doubt of the effectual operation of the former, that, in writing to Marshal Beresford on the 17th of July, I desired him to look to the Puerto de Perales, but that I considered Banos as secure, as appears by the extract of my letter, which I inclose.

"On the 30th, intelligence was received at Talavera that twelve thousand rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenos for the 28th, and twenty-four thousand at Los Santos for the same day, for a French corps, which it was believed was on its march towards the Puerto de Banos. General Cuesta expressed some anxiety respecting this post, and sent me a message, to propose that Sir R. Wilson should be sent there with his corps. Sir Robert was on that day at Talavera, but his corps was in the mountains towards Escalona; and as he had already made himself very useful in that quarter, and had been near Madrid, with which city he had had a communication, which I was desirous of keeping up, I proposed that a Spanish corps should be sent to Banos without loss of time. I could not prevail with General Cuesta, although he certainly admitted the necessity of a reinforcement when he proposed that Sir Robert Wilson should be sent to Banos; and he was equally sensible, with myself, of the benefit to be derived to the cause from sending Sir Robert back to Escalona.

"At this time we had no further intelligence of the enemy's advance, than that the rations were ordered; and I had hopes that the enemy might be deterred from advancing by the intelligence of our successes on the 28th, and that the troops in the Puerto might make some defence; and that, under these circumstances, it was not desirable to divert Sir Robert Wilson from Escalona. On the 30th, however, I renewed my application to General Cuesta, to send there a Spanish division of sufficient strength, but without effect; and he did not detach General Bassecourt till the morning of the 2d, after we had heard that the enemy had entered Bejar, and it was obvious that the troops in the Puerto would make no defence.

"On the 2d, we received accounts that the enemy had entered Placentia in two columns. The Marquis de la Reyna, whose two battalions consisted of only six hundred men, with only twenty rounds of ammunition each man, retired from the Puerto and from Placentia without firing a shot, and went to the bridge of Almaraz, which he declared that he intended to remove; the battalions of Bejar dispersed without making any resistance. The general called upon me on that day, and proposed that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, while the other half should maintain the post at Talavera. My answer was, that, if by half the army he meant half of each army, I could only answer, that I was ready either to go or stay with the whole British army, but that I could not separate it. He then desired me to choose whether I would go or stay; and I preferred to go, from thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually, and without contest; and from being of opinion it was more important to us than to the Spanish army, to open a communication through Placentia, although very important to them. With this decision, General Cuesta appeared perfectly satisfied.

"The movements of the enemy in our front since the 1st, had induced me to be of opinion, that, despairing of forcing us at Talavera, they intended to force a pas-

sage by Escalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Placentia. This suspicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by letters received from Sir Robert Wilson, of which I enclose copies; and, before I quitted Talavera, on the 3d, I waited on General O'Donoghue, and conversed with him upon the whole of our situation; and pointed out to him the possibility, that, in the case of the enemy coming through Escalona, General Cuesta might find himself obliged to quit Talavera before I should be able to return to him; and I urged him to collect all the carts that could be got, in order to remove our hospital. At his desire, I put the purport of this conversation in writing, and sent him a letter to be laid before General Cuesta, of which I inclose a copy.

"The British army marched, on the 3d, to Oropesa, General Bassecourt's Spanish corps being at Centinello, where I desired that it might halt the next day, in order that I might be nearer it. About five o'clock in the evening, I heard that the French had arrived from Placentia, at Navalmoral, whereby they were between us and the bridge of Almaraz. About an hour afterwards, I received from General O'Donoghue the letter and its inclosures, of which I inclose copies, announcing to me the intention of General Cuesta to march from Talavera in the evening, and to leave there my hospital, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he already had, on the ground of his apprehensions, that I was not strong enough for the corps coming from Placentia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla in his front. I acknowledge that these reasons did not appear to me sufficient for giving up so important a post as Talavera, for exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the same time, and for abandoning my hospital; and I wrote the letter of which I inclose a copy. This unfortunately reached the general after he had marched, and he arrived at Oropesa shortly after daylight on the morning of the 4th.

"The question, what was to be done, was now to be considered. The enemy, stated to be thirty thousand strong, but at all events consisting of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united or not very distant from each other, and supposed by Marshal Jourdan and Joseph Buonaparte, to be sufficiently strong to attack the British army, stated to be twenty-five thousand strong, were on one side, in possession of the high road to the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, the bridge at which place we knew had been removed, although the boats still necessarily remained in the river. On the other side we had reason to expect the advance of Victor's corps to Talavera, as soon as General Cuesta's march should be known; and, after leaving twelve thousand men to watch Vanegas, and allowing him from ten to eleven thousand killed and wounded in the late action, this corps would have amounted to twenty-five thousand. We could extricate ourselves from this difficult situation only by great celerity of movement, to which the troops were unequal, as they had not had their allowance of provisions for several days, and by success in two battles. If unsuccessful in either, we should have been without a retreat; and if Soult and Ney, avoiding an action, had retired before us, and had waited the arrival of Victor, we should have been exposed to a general action with fifty thousand men, equally without a retreat.

"We had reason to expect that, as the Marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaraz, Soult would have destroyed them. Our only retreat was, therefore, by the bridge Arco Bispo; and, if we had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army should be engaged with Soult and Ney, would have deprived us of that only resource. —We could not take a position at Oropesa, as we thereby left open the road to the bridge of Arco Bispo from Talavera by Calera; and, after considering the whole subject maturely, I was of opinion that it was advisable to retire to the bridge of Arco Bispo, and to take up a defensive position upon the Tagus.

"I was induced to adopt this last opinion, because the French have now at least fifty thousand men disposable to oppose to the combined armies, and a corps of twelve thousand to watch Vanegas; and I was likewise of opinion, that the sooner the defensive line should be taken up, the more likely were the troops to be able to defend it. Accordingly, I marched on the 4th, and crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arco Bispo; and have continued my route to this place, in which I am well situated to defend the passage of Almaraz and the lower parts of the Tagus. General Cuesta crossed the river on the night of the 5th, and he is still at the bridge of Arco Bispo. About two thousand of the wounded have been brought away from Talavera, the remaining fifteen hundred are there; and I doubt whether, under any circumstances, it would have been possible, or consistent with humanity, to attempt to remove any more of them. From the treatment which some of the soldiers wounded on the 27th, and who fell into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which I have always treated the wounded who have fallen into my hands, I expect that these men will be well treated; and I have only to lament that a new concurrence of events, over which, from circumstances, I had and could have no control, should have placed the army in a situation to be obliged to leave any of them behind.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

However unprofitable the victory of Talavera proved to the Spanish patriots, the good conduct and bravery of the army and its illustrious commander did not fail of exciting the admiration of their country. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to them; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as a reward for his eminent services, was raised to the dignity of the peerage, being created Viscount Wellington, on the 26th of August, 1809; and an annuity of 2000*l.* a-year was voted by Parliament to him and his two next heirs.

Soon after the retreat of his army, our hero suffered severely from the fatigues of the campaign; but his health being re-established in October, he was, about that period, appointed by the Regency captain-general of all the forces serving in Portugal; and his army was now in excellent order, having all its provisions and stores supplied from Lisbon and Abrantes.

The unfortunate result of the battle of Oçana, in which the army of La Mancha, under the command of Lieutenant-general Areisaja, was totally defeated and dispersed, laid the south of Spain completely open to the incursions of the enemy; and it became no longer necessary or desirable, in a military point of view, to retain the British army on the borders of Estremadura.

Lord Wellington, therefore, withdrew his army from Spain in the month of December; and, in the course of three weeks, the whole of his force was placed on a new and extended position along the frontiers of Portugal: his head-quarters being at the city of Vizen. The British troops passed the following six months in a state of comparative tranquillity, while the French were making the most vigorous preparations for the conquest of Portugal.

Passing over the military events which occurred in Spain during the inactivity of Lord Wellington's army, we shall proceed to the relation of those which took place in Portugal in the year 1810.

The command of the French army was now entrusted to General Massena, and amounted to nearly one hundred and ten thousand men, who were distributed as follows: General Loison, with fifteen thousand men, invested Almeida; whilst the remainder of Ney's corps, about ten thousand, were at Fort de la Conception. About three miles north-west from Ciudad Rodrigo, at St. Felix, was Junot, with twenty-five thousand men; whilst a force, to the same amount, occupied Ciudad Rodrigo and its vicinity. These three corps were within two days' march of Lord Wellington's army, and part of them not more than seven or eight miles distant; whilst Massena, the commander-in-chief, was at Valdemula, a village near Ciudad Rodrigo, which, a short time before, had been occupied by Lord Wellington. Kellermann was in the north of Portugal, and menaced Oporto with twelve thousand men; and Regnier threatened Alentejo in the south, with about eighteen thousand men; whilst the remaining small divisions occupied such posts as were most convenient for procuring forage, &c.

With such overwhelming numbers, it is not surprising that Massena and his master should have considered the conquest of Portugal as certain; yet even this immense force was baffled by the superior skill and address of the British general, whose defensive conduct in this situation seems equally entitled to admiration with his most brilliant victories.

During their encampment between Merida and Badajoz, the British army were exposed to a dangerous disorder, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation: but, having regained their health on removing to the vicinity of Lisbon, they were enabled, in February, to occupy an extended line, from Santarem, on the Tagus, to Oporto, on the Douro; having been joined by the Portuguese, who were now in a good state of discipline, through the exertions of Marshal Beresford; whilst General Hill was in advance, with a considerable body of cavalry on the banks of the Guadiana, in order to check the approach of the enemy, who had appeared before Badajoz. During the operations of the French army against Ciudad Rodrigo, the British and allied troops were cantoned in five distinct bodies: one was at Celerico, consisting of about six thousand men, under General Spencer; General Hill had eight thousand between the Tagus and Guadiana; General Cole had about ten thousand at Guarda, which was the principal post; General Picton lay with four thousand at Pinhel; and General Craufurd was stationed in advance, between Guarda and the French army.

On the 11th of June, the French invested Ciudad Rodrigo with a force of thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. On the night of the 25th, the batteries were opened against the city; and, after a most obstinate defence, the governor, seeing no hopes of relief, and his provisions and ammunition being nearly exhausted, surrendered by capitulation, on the 10th of July. The next operation of the enemy was against the fortress of Almeida, the strongest in Portugal. The trenches were opened in the night between the 15th and 16th of August. In the night between the 24th and 25th, the second parallel was opened, in the rock, within less than one hundred and fifty fathoms of the place. On the 26th, at five o'clock in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with sixty-five pieces of cannon, opened a fire on the fortress, which was returned by the garrison with great vigour. Towards eight in the evening, a bomb fell within the walls of

the castle, on a caisson which they were filling with gunpowder, at the door of the principal magazine: the flame was communicated to one hundred and fifty thousand weight of powder; and an explosion took place, by which nine hundred persons were killed and four hundred wounded. The following day, Marshal Massena went himself to view the effects of the terrible explosion; he immediately ordered the firing to cease, and sent a flag of truce, offering a capitulation: but the terms being such as the governor, General Cox, could not agree to, notwithstanding the dreadful catastrophe which had happened, the firing recommenced; and it was not until three hours after, that he would consent to the terms proposed. He then signed the capitulation, and the place was surrendered on the night of the 27th.

By the fall of the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, every obstacle to the entrance of the grand French army into Portugal was removed. It was not the design of Lord Wellington to act offensively against the enemy with such disparity of force; he therefore formed a series of defensive operations, which reflected the highest honour on his military skill. While he was employed in making demonstrations on the frontiers of Spain, immense fortifications were rising in a line from the sea to the Tagus, at a short distance from Lisbon. To these, which were almost impregnable, it was his plan to retreat, where he would be near his resources, and receive reinforcements. Accordingly, after the surrender of Almeida, he began to retreat slowly, and to concentrate the different corps of his army, which had been separated for the purpose of watching and defending various points that were menaced by the French army of Portugal. On the 19th of September, he occupied an advanced position behind the Alva, at Ponte Murcella.

When the British troops commenced their retreat, they destroyed all the bridges and mills on the river Coa. A division of Portuguese militia, under General Miller, occupied the strong fortress of Chaves: another, under General Silviera, was posted on the north bank of the Douro; and another, under General Trent, in the vicinity of St. John of Pesquiera. So that if the French should advance, as was expected, by Viseu, they would be harassed by bodies of Portuguese militia.

"While the English army was on its retreat by Ponte Murcella," says a contemporary writer, "the whole of the French forces were drawn together in the neighbourhood of Pinhel, to the number of eighty thousand, in pursuit of it. Lord Wellington had advanced in his retreat two leagues beyond Coimbra; his left wing occupied the mountains of Ancorba; his right extended to Pen Acova on the Mondego, at the mouth of the Vouga, about fourteen miles in advance of the enemy, who had pushed his advanced guard as far as Pen Aheira of Azore. Behind the mountains of Ancorba, and in a parallel direction, was a road running from north and south, between Coimbra and Sardas, at the northern part of the road, which was occupied by the Portuguese militia under Colonel Trant. A corps of one thousand troops, British and Portuguese, was stationed at Mealhadda, communicating with the forces of Colonel Trant and the main body of the British army. Marshal Beresford, with his corps of disciplined Portuguese, who had arrived on the 22d of September at the Sierra de Bestieros, was stationed at the northern extremity of the mountains of Ancorba; and, by means of the divisions of Colonel Trant and General Spencer, had effected, by the road just mentioned, a junction with Lord Wellington: who, besides occupying an advantageous position in the mountains, was enabled to bring the Portuguese in the line of his operations, and was nearer to his principal resources, while the distance of Massena from his magazines became greater and greater.

"In the mean time, General Regnier's corps having arrived at Sabugal and Alfaytes, on the 12th and 13th of September, the French army moved from Almeida, in great force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, by the towns of Guarda and Celerico. They surmounted the heights, and descended into the valley of the Mondego. On the same day another strong column passed over the heights of Alverca, forming the left of the chain of Guarda and Mayal-Dechara. On the 16th, the British cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, retired from Celerico to the valley of the Mondego. After the fall of Almeida, the plan of Massena was gradually unfolding itself. He seemed determined to turn the left of the allied army; but Lord Wellington, to check him, retired through the valley of Mondego; when Massena, adopting a new route, threw himself into the road that leads from Viseu to Coimbra, in hopes of getting possession of the resources presented by that city and its vicinity, and thence to proceed to Lisbon. Lord Wellington immediately determined to cover Coimbra; not with the intention of maintaining that post, but in order to afford the inhabitants an opportunity of retiring with their effects.

"Massena arrived at Viseu on the 19th of September, 'through ways,' as he expresses it, 'bristling with rocks and traversing deserts where no soul was to be seen.' At Viseu, all his forces were concentrated on the 21st. Here he was obliged to halt for three days, in order to give time for the bringing up the baggage and the artillery; and it was during these three days that Lord Wellington was enabled to execute the judicious manœuvre of passing from the left to the right of the

Mondego. He posted the central division and the left wing of his army on the Sierra de Busaco, which was perpendicular to the course of the Mondego, and covered Coimbra, leaving at Ponte Murcella only the corps under General Hill. Massena left that place on the 24th; and, on the 26th, arrived in front of the position of Busaco, occupied, with the exception just mentioned, by the allied English and Portuguese armies. The British cavalry observed the plain in the rear of its left. The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula; and nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, called the Sierra de Murcella. All the roads to Coimbra, from the eastward, lead over one or other of these Sierras: they are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of each of the ridges on both sides being mountainous.

"Massena, who was ignorant, perhaps, of the strength of the allies, and probably did not expect to find them there, made a bold attempt to carry their position. On the morning of the 27th of September, at dawn of day, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon the right and centre of the allied army. The French column on the right moved up the hill, receiving the fire of the light troops with great intrepidity, and had gained the summit, when it was charged, whilst deploying into line, by Colonel Mackinnon's brigade, the forty-fifth and eighty-eighth regiments, and the ninth Portuguese, directed by Major-general Picton, supported on the right by part of General Leith's corps, and on the left by Major-general Lightburne's brigade, and the guards, which had moved to the right on the first indication of the enemy's intention. The enemy, foiled in this attack, made another more to the right, where he was again repulsed at the point of the bayonet. This second attack was supported by some heavy artillery; but an ammunition-tumbril having blown up, the French ceased their fire on this point. Finding their attack on the right unsuccessful, the enemy directed his principal efforts against the left of the centre; and, in a charge made by the forty-third and fifty-second regiments, General Simon was wounded and taken. Brigadier-general Coleman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, moved up to support Brigadier-general Craufurd in this charge, and a battalion of the nineteenth Portuguese regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Douglas, made a gallant and successful charge upon another body of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter. Besides these attacks, the light troops were engaged throughout the day of the 27th. On the following morning, the light infantry were again partially engaged on the left of the line. At mid-day, the enemy's cavalry, and several columns of infantry, were observed in motion on the road from Mortigao over the mountains, towards the Vouga. This movement leading Lord Wellington to conclude that Massena intended to place his whole army on the Oporto road, and the position of Busaco being actually turned on the 29th, he recrossed the Mondego, and continued to retreat to the position he had previously determined on, in front of Lisbon, with his right at Alhandra on the Tagus, passing by Torres Vedras, and his left on the sea, where he arrived on the 9th of October."

Lord Wellington was accompanied in his retreat by the whole of the inhabitants of Coimbra, and of all the other places through which the allied armies passed, every one carrying with them their most valuable effects, and destroying whatever might be of use to the invaders. The Lisbon road was blocked up with waggons, carts, mules, horses, and bullocks. Weeping mothers carrying their screaming infants; young women of genteel condition also, in tears, on foot, and separated in the crowd from their families; men with heavy hearts, but in silent sorrow; and every thing wearing an air of trouble and confusion:—such was the miserable picture that presented itself.

Yet, dreadful as the scene was, it must be recollected that their sufferings on the approach of the French army, if they had remained, would have been infinitely worse; and as their distress was partly incurred in the general cause of the Portuguese nation, so the government, as well as private families in Lisbon, did all in their power to alleviate it. An asylum was found for all; lodgings and food were procured, and every measure was adopted which could afford relief: whilst the British House of Commons voted one hundred thousand pounds for their relief, to which was added an equal sum from private contribution.

In this position of the British army, on the navigable part of the Tagus, the communication, in a military point of view, was now opened with the British fleet lying in that river; and, accordingly, the gun-boats, which Admiral Berkeley had placed under the command of his nephew, Lieutenant Berkeley, had supported the right of the army near Alhandra; and, having been several times engaged with the enemy's reconnoitring parties, had been of essential service.

"The position," says a respectable writer, "which the allied army had now taken, was a line of strongly fortified heights, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus to Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, and thence to the mouth of the Sissandra; and, behind these, two other lines of trenches and redoubts extending from Ericeyra and Mafra, on the sea, to the

Tagus. One of them, which was next to the fortified line of Torres Vedras, might be defended by twenty thousand men; the other, which was nearer Lisbon, by half that number. On these was planted an immense number of heavy artillery. Besides this triple line, redoubts were raised at Penniche, Obidos, and other places. Many of the hills were fortified. On the left of the position, the whole of the coast, from Vimiera to the mouth of the Tagus, was studded with redoubts mounted with heavy artillery. On the right, the banks of the Tagus were flanked by armed boats. Mines also, ready to spring, were formed in various places. In short, the whole country, from Lisbon almost to the Mondego, appeared like one fortification in the form of a crescent. Within the lines of Torres Vedras, Ericeyra, and Mafra, defended by from seventy to eighty thousand fighting men, the allies had collected all the produce of the country through which they had retreated. With Lisbon in their rear, they were abundantly supplied with every thing they wanted.

"Massena, having reconnoitred the position of the allies, confined his operations to the fortification of his own, the taking of Montejunto, and the collection of provisions for the subsistence of his army. His quarters, which were limited on one side by the Tagus, were straitened more and more on the north-west by the Portuguese militia. General Silviera occupied with his detachment the roads from Almeida to Francoso, Celerico, and Guarda. Colonel Trant, by throwing himself in the rear of Massena's army, had entered Coimbra on the 7th of October, and taken five thousand prisoners, chiefly the sick and wounded in the battle of Busaco. On the day following, General Wilson arrived there with his detachment: they had taken about three hundred and fifty waggon-drivers, that had been left behind at Coimbra for collecting provisions. General Wilson, with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, proceeded southwards, by Condeixa, and occupied the road between Coimbra and Leyria.

"The Portuguese garrisons of Penniche and Obidos, and the British cavalry, carried on an incessant and destructive warfare in the rear and on the right of the French. The foraging detachments sent out were so closely watched by the Portuguese militia and the British cavalry, on the side of Obidos and Ramalhal, that Massena could not be said to be in possession of any other territory in the whole country than that on which his army was posted. In short, it would be impossible adequately to describe the miseries and privations of the French army at this time, and the deplorable situation they were brought into by the superior skill and dexterity of Lord Wellington. The longer the French lay inactive in front of the British lines, the more their difficulties increased. The heavy rains, falling at that season of the year, rendered it impossible for them to bring up their heavy artillery. They were hemmed in on every side. To attack the allies in their position, would have been madness; to retreat northwards, was extremely hazardous.

"In these circumstances, Massena had only a choice of difficulties: to endeavour, by extending his quarters, to maintain himself on the right bank of the Tagus, until he should receive a reinforcement of men, together with a supply of stores and provisions; or to make a desperate attempt to cross the Tagus, and support himself in the Alantejo. After some deliberation, therefore, he took up a fresh position, and awaited the reinforcements which he expected from Drouet and Gordonne on the one hand, and from Mortier on the other. Drouet's corps, twelve thousand strong, with a large convoy, arrived early in December; and some weeks after, Gordonne, with the same number. Towards the end of the month, detachments from the army of Mortier and that of Soult, to the number of twelve or fourteen thousand, having quitted Andalusia, were also on their march through Estremadura, to join Massena's army.

"With this accession of force, a favourable turn seemed to be given to the French army. But, notwithstanding this, Lord Wellington still resolved to continue his defensive system; and his ardour and activity were suitable to the importance of the crisis. He was very sparing in his diet, and slept in his clothes. He was up every morning at four o'clock; and at five he rode out, and visited his advanced posts. The noble enthusiasm with which he was actuated was infused into his army by sympathy. The whole country, indeed, was under arms. Every thing at Lisbon assumed a military appearance. The city was garrisoned by marines from the English fleet; and the garrison of Lisbon was sent to reinforce the army, which was also augmented by the arrival of ten thousand Spaniards, under the Marquis of Romana. The greater part of the British troops had arrived from Cadiz; and the seamen and marines were also landed from the fleet, to assist in working the guns in the batteries. The banks of the Tagus, on the right of the British lines, were flanked by the armed launches, and seven sloops of war were sent up the river; whilst extensive works were raised on the south side of the Tagus, to cover the river and protect the shipping. On the same side of the river also, the peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay at Moita, near Aldea Gallega, on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes at Sittuval, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, mounted with heavy artillery, and manned partly by a body of three thousand seamen; so that the

enemy could not advance to Almeida, opposite to Lisbon. The corps of General Hill and Marshal Beresford were posted on the south bank of the river; while, in front of the grand line of Torres Vedras, Lord Wellington lay, with the main body of the British army at Cartaxo. The British fleet lay between; and, on which ever side an attack might be made, was ready to bring over reinforcements from the other."

Such was the situation of the two contending armies at the close of the year 1810; and the whole of Europe remained in anxious suspense as to the issue of their future operations. The forces, by the accession of the English reinforcements, appear to have been nearly equal, amounting on either side to about eighty or ninety thousand men; but the advantage of position was evidently on the side of the allies, owing to the foresight of their illustrious leader, who had long before contemplated that situation of affairs which we are now describing. Lord Wellington had the capital behind him, with its noble port, which could furnish not only his army but the whole population with supplies of all kinds. Massena, on the contrary, was lying in a devastated country, remote from all sources of regular supply, and obliged to depend upon the precarious aid of convoys for the transmission of such scanty provision as could be collected in the surrounding districts.

These difficulties of Massena at length induced him to abandon all thoughts of driving the British army into the sea, and of planting the French eagles on the walls of Lisbon, which he had boasted of doing; and he had now only to occupy himself in bringing off the French army in as good a condition as possible. Accordingly, on the night of the 5th of March, he quitted his strong camp at Santarem, and began his celebrated retreat from Portugal, having previously destroyed some of his heavy artillery and ammunition.

The first movements of the French indicated an intention of collecting a force at Thomar. Lord Wellington, therefore, caused a detachment of Marshal Beresford's corps to march in that direction, whilst he himself put the main army in motion to follow the enemy. Massena, however, proceeded towards the Mondego, retreating from the country as he entered it, in one solid mass, and covering his rear with one or two divisions.

The allied army pressed closely upon the enemy, bringing them to action whenever an opportunity offered, and occasionally taking a considerable number of prisoners. By this close pursuit, the French were prevented from ravaging Coimbra; and were obliged to take the road towards the Spanish frontier, with no other provisions than what they procured upon the spot. They were successively driven from various strong positions, but remained in force upon the Guarda, till the end of March; when, upon the advance of the allies, they retired to Sabugal on the Coa, parallel to the Spanish frontier. Here they were attacked on the 3d of April, by the allied troops in several divisions, when a sharp action ensued, which terminated in the retreat of the French, with a loss of about two hundred killed and three hundred prisoners.

Finding themselves thus closely harassed, the enemy continued their retreat during all the night and the next morning; and entered on the frontiers of Spain on the 4th, thus leaving Portugal free. They continued their retreat, and crossed the Agueda a few days after; whilst the allied army took up their position upon the Duas Casas,—a post which General Craufurd had occupied with his advanced guard during the latter part of the preceding siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the advanced posts were soon pushed forward to the banks of the Agueda.

The joy of the Portuguese on this occasion was excessive. *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches; the city of Lisbon was splendidly illuminated; and the regency of Portugal sent the most flattering addresses to Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, for the eminent services they had rendered to the country.

About the latter end of April, our hero having made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and conceiving that the enemy's army would not be in a situation for some time to attempt the relief of that fortress, even if they should be so inclined, took the advantage of this temporary suspension of active operations, to proceed for Estremadura, to the corps under Marshal Beresford.

During the absence of Lord Wellington, the enemy made two unsuccessful attacks on the English picquets upon the Azava, and collected a very large force at Ciudad Rodrigo, the head-quarters of Massena's army. And, on the 22d of May, the whole French army, consisting of the second, sixth, and eighth corps, with all the cavalry that could be collected in the provinces of Castille and Leon, recrossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, and advanced toward the allied army, posted between the Coa and the Agueda, for the purpose of blockading Almeida.

This movement led to the engagement which is narrated in the following despatch:

"*Villa Formosa, May* 8.

"My Lord,

"The enemy's whole army, consisting of the second, sixth, and eighth corps, and all the cavalry which could be collected in Castille and Leon, including about nine hundred of the imperial guards, crossed the Agueda, at

Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 2d instant. The battalions of the ninth corps had been joined to the regiments to which they belonged in the other three corps, excepting a division, consisting of battalions belonging to regiments in the corps doing duty in Andalusia, which division likewise formed a part of the army.

"As my object in maintaining a position between the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida, which place I had learnt, from intercepted letters and other information, was ill-supplied with provisions for its garrison, and as the enemy were infinitely superior to us in cavalry, I did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on that evening, in the neighbourhood of Espeja, Carpio, and Gallegos. They continued their march on the 3d, in the morning, towards the Duas Casas, in three columns; two of them, consisting of the second and eighth corps, to the neighbourhood of Alameda and Fort Conception; and the third, consisting of the whole of the cavalry, and the sixth, and that part of the ninth corps which had not already been drafted into the other three.

"The allied army had been cantoned along the river Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava; the light division at Gallegos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes de Honor, on the Duas Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the first, third, and seventh divisions, were collected at that place; and the sixth division, under Major-general Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; and Major-general Sir W. Erskine, with the fifth division, the passages of the Duas Casas, at Fort Conception and Aidea D'Obispo. Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, with the queen's regiment from the sixth division, kept the blockade of Almeida; and I had prevailed upon Don Julian Sanchez to occupy Nave D'Aver with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry.—The light division were moved in the evening to join General Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter; and they were brought back again to Fuentes de Honor on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that the eighth corps had joined the sixth on the enemy's left.

"Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Duas Casas, on the afternoon of the 3d, they attacked, with a large force, the village of Fuentes de Honor, which was defended in a most gallant manner by Lieutenant-colonel Williams, of the fifth battalion, sixtieth regiment, in command of the light infantry battalions belonging to Major-general Picton's division, supported by the light infantry battalion in Major-general Nightingall's brigade, commanded by Major Dick, of the forty-second regiment, and the light infantry battalion in Major-general Howard's brigade, commanded by Major M'Donnell, of the ninety-second regiment, and the light infantry battalion of the king's German legion, commanded by Major Ally, of the third battalion of the line, and by the second battalion of the eighty-third regiment, under Major Carr.

"These troops maintained their position; but having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy were making to obtain possession of the village, and being aware of the advantage which they would derive from the possession, in their subsequent operations, I re-inforced the village successively with the seventy-first regiment, under the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, and the seventy-ninth, under Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, and the twenty-fourth, under Major Chamberlain. The former, at the head of the seventy-first regiment, charged the enemy, and drove them from the part of the village of which they had obtained a momentary possession. Nearly at this time Lieutenant-colonel Williams was unfortunately wounded, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, of the seventy-ninth regiment. The contest continued till night, when our troops remained in possession of the whole. I then withdrew the light infantry battalions and the eighty-third regiment, leaving the seventy-first and seventy-ninth regiments only in the village, and the second battalion twenty-fourth regiment to support them. On the 4th, the enemy reconnoitred the positions which we had occupied on the Duas Casas river; and during that night they moved General Junot's corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the sixth corps, opposite to Fuentes de Honor. From the course of the reconnoissance of the 4th, I had imagined that the enemy would endeavour to obtain possession of Fuentes de Honor, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho; and in the evening I moved the seventh division, under Major-general Houstoun, to the right, in order, if possible, to protect that passage.

"On the morning of the 5th, the eighth corps appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of Duas Casas to Poya Velho; and as the sixth and ninth corps also made a movement to the left, the light division, which had been brought back from the neighbourhood of Alameda, was sent with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton to support Major-general Houstoun, whilst the first and third divisions made a movement to their right along the ridge between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the sixth and ninth corps on the right of the Duas Casas. The

eighth corps attacked Major-general Houstoun's advanced guard, consisting of the eighty-fifth regiment, under Major M'Intosh, and the second Portuguese Caçadores, under Lieutenant-colonel Nixon, and obliged them to retire; and they retired in good order, although with some loss. The eighth corps being thus established in Poya Velho, the enemy's cavalry turned the right of the seventh division, between Poya Velho and Nave D'Aver, from which last place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire; and the cavalry charged. The charge of the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British dragoons, and the enemy were driven back, and Colonel la Motte, of the thirteenth chasseurs, and some prisoners taken. The main body were checked, and obliged to retire by the fire of Major-general Houstoun's division; and I particularly observed the chasseurs Brittaniques, under Lieutenant-colonel Eustace, as behaving in the most steady manner; and Major-general Houstoun mentions in high terms the conduct of a detachment of the Duke of Brunswick's light infantry.

"Notwithstanding that this charge was repulsed, I was determined to concentrate our force towards the left, and to move the seventh and light divisions and the cavalry from Poya Velho towards Fuentes de Honor, and the other two divisions. I had occupied Poya Velha, and that neighbourhood, in hopes that I should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade; which objects, it was now obvious, were incompatible with each other; and I therefore abandoned the least important, and placed the light division in reserve, in rear of the left of the first division, and the seventh division on some commanding ground beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of the first division, and covered our communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida, by the roads between the Turon and that river. The movement of the troops on this occasion was well conducted, although under very critical circumstances, by Major-general Houstoun, Brigadier-general Craufurd, and Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton. The seventh division was covered in its passage of the Turon by the light division under Brigadier-general Craufurd, and this last, in its march to join the first division, by the British cavalry. Our position thus extended on the high ground from the Turon to the Duas Casas. The seventh division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the first division, in two lines, were on the right; Colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; the third division, in two lines, on the left; the light division and British cavalry in reserve; and the village of Fuentes de Honor in front of the left. Don Julian's infantry joined the seventh division in Freneda; and I sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to interrupt the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo.

"The enemy's efforts on the right part of our position, after it was occupied, as I have above described, were confined to a cannonade, and to some charges with their cavalry upon the advanced posts. The picquets of the first division, under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, of the third regiment of guards, repulsed one of these; but as they were falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form to oppose it, and Lieutenant-colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men wounded and some taken, before a detachment of the British cavalry could move up to their support. The second battalion forty-second regiment, under Lord Blantyre, also repulsed a charge of the cavalry directed against them. They likewise attempted to push a body of light infantry down the ravine of the Turon to the right of the first division; which were repulsed by the light infantry of the guards, under Lieutenant-colonel Guise, aided by five companies of the ninety-fifth, under Captain O'Hara. Major-general Nightingall was wounded in the course of the cannonade, but I hope not severely.

"The enemy's principal effort was, throughout this day, again directed against Fuentes de Honor; and notwithstanding that the whole of the sixth corps was at different periods of the day employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the twenty-fourth, seventy-first, and seventy-ninth regiments, under the command of Colonel Cameron; and these troops were supported by the light infantry battalions in the third division, commanded by Major Woodgate; the light infantry battalions in the first division, commanded by Majors Dick, Macdonald, and Ally; the sixth Portuguese Caçadores, commanded by Major Pinto; by the light companies in Colonel Champlemonde's Portuguese brigade, under Colonel Sutton; and those in Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese brigade under Lieutenant-colonel Pynn: and by the picquets of the third division, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Trench. Lieutenant-colonel Cameron was severely wounded in the after noon, and the command in the village devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan. The troops in Fuentes de Honor were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the seventy-fourth regiment, under Major Russel Manners, and the eighty-eighth regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, belonging to Colonel Mackinnon's brigade; and on one of these occasions the eighty-eighth, with the seventy-first and seventy-

ninth, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy, and drove them through the village; and Colonel Mackinnon has reported particularly the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, Brigadier-major Wilde, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Stewart of the eighty-eighth regiment. The contest again lasted in this quarter till night, when our troops still held their post; and from that time the enemy have made no fresh attempt on any part of our position.

"The enemy manifested an intention to attack Major-general Sir W. Erskine's post at Aldea del Bispo on the same morning, with a part of the second corps; but the Major-general sent the second battalion of the Lusitanian legion across the ford of the Duas Casas, which obliged them to retire. In the course of last night, the enemy began to retire from their position on the Duas Casas; and this morning, at day-light, the whole were in motion.

"I cannot yet decide whether this movement is preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, or is one of decided retreat; but I have every reason to hope that they will not succeed in the first, and that they will be obliged to have recourse to the last. Their superiority in cavalry is very great, owing to the weak state of our horses from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage; and the reduction of numbers in the Portuguese brigade of cavalry with this part of the army, in exchange for a British brigade sent into Estremadura with Marshal Sir W. Beresford, owing to the failure of the measures reported to have been adopted to supply the horses and men with food on the service. The result of a general action brought on by an attack upon the enemy by us might, under these circumstances, have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, they would have taken advantage of the collection of our troops to fight this action, to throw relief into Almeida. From the superiority of force to which we have been opposed upon this occasion, your lordship will judge of the conduct of the officers and troops. The actions were partial, but very severe, and our loss has been great; the enemy's loss has also been great; and they left four hundred killed in the village of Fuentes de Honor, and we have many prisoners.

"From intelligence from Marshal Sir W. Beresford, I learn that he has invested Badajoz, on the left of the Guadiana, and is moving there stores for the attack of the place. I have also the honour to inform you that the intelligence has been confirmed, that Joseph Buonaparte passed Valladolid, on his way to Paris, on the 27th of April. It is not denied by the French officers that he is gone to Paris.

"WELLINGTON."

On the 8th, the French collected the whole of their army, with the exception of part of the second corps, which remained opposite Almeida, in the woods near Gallegos; and the next day, they continued their retreat, covered by his numerous cavalry. On the 10th, the British broke up from their position, and while the light division, supported by the cavalry, advanced towards the Agueda, the rest of the army returned to cantonments, and the original investment of Almeida was resumed.

The garrison of Almeida, commanded by General Brennier, finding all hopes of relief at an end, evacuated the place on the night of the 10th of May, after having blown up a part of the works. They marched in silence, carefully winding their way through the several bodies of blockaders, so as not to be perceived till they had nearly reached the bridge over the Agueda. As soon, however, as the alarm was given, they were closely pursued, and incurred a considerable loss; but the remainder were protected by a French division, which had not yet quitted the banks of that river. The whole of the French army then continued its retreat towards the Tormes.

Previous to the commencement of Massena's retreat from Santarem, Marshals Soult and Mortier advanced from the south of Spain, in order to form a combined operation with the army of Portugal. In pursuance of this object, they attacked and defeated the Spanish army, under General Mendizabel, and immediately invested Badajoz. Marshal Beresford, with the second division of the allied army, was directed to march to the relief of this city, and was reinforced with the fourth division under General Cole, as soon as Lord Wellington was confirmed in his opinion that Massena was actually retiring. Badajoz, however, was surrendered by General Juaz on the 10th of March, although apprised that Marshal Beresford was marching to its relief. On the 25th of the same month, Sir William Beresford advanced against Campo-Mayor, and found the enemy's corps, consisting of four regiments of cavalry, three battalions of infantry, and some horse-artillery, drawn up on the outside of the town. Two squadrons of the thirteenth dragoons, and two squadrons of Portuguese, charged the French cavalry, who were broken and pursued to Badajoz; but the infantry effected their retreat in a solid body, although with considerable loss, and recovered sixteen pieces of cannon, which had been taken by the allied cavalry

On the 7th of May, Marshal Beresford's army, invested Badajoz, in conjunction with a Spanish corps, commanded by Don Carlos D'Espagne. On the following day, the batteries were opened against Fort St. Christoval, and a very brisk fire was returned by the

garrison. Marshal Beresford having received information on the 12th, that Marshal Soult was advancing from Seville, sent a courier to Lord Wellington with that intelligence. Without a moment's delay, his lordship set out on the following morning for Villa Formosa, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th; when he found that Marshal Beresford, in consequence of Soult's advance, had raised the siege of Badajoz, but without loss of ordnance, or stores of any description, and had formed a junction with the Spanish generals Castanos and Blake, at Albuera, on the 15th.

On the morning of the 16th, he drew up his troops in two lines. The French were not long in commencing their attack; and, after a most obstinate and sanguinary conflict, which lasted nearly the whole day, Soult was obliged to retire; and, on the night of the 17th, he commenced his retreat towards Seville, leaving Badajoz to its own defence, and leaving behind him many of his wounded.

Lord Wellington, who had repaired to Elvas, but was unable to arrive in time for the battle, directed that Badajoz should be closely invested upon the right of the Guadiana on the 25th of May, and afterwards renewed the operations of the siege. The French had withdrawn their main body upon Llerena, and had their advanced posts of cavalry at Usagre; near which place, on the 25th, the allied cavalry fell in with that of the French, and charged them, though very superior in number, with so much gallantry, that they were driven from the field with considerable loss.

In the early part of June, the operations were carried on with vigour, so that, by the 6th of that month, two breaches had been made, but neither of them practicable for an assault.

On the 6th, the fire from the outwork of St. Christoval being considered as likely to impede the progress of the siege, Lord Wellington directed that an attempt should be made to carry it by storm that night. Accordingly, Major-general Houston, who conducted the operation on the right of the Guadiana, ordered a detachment under Major M'Intosh, of the eighty-fifth regiment, to proceed on that service. The troops advanced under a very heavy fire of musketry and hand-grenades from the outwork, and of shot and shells from the town, with the utmost intrepidity, to the bottom of the breach, the advanced guard being led by Ensign Dyas, of the fifty-first regiment, who volunteered to perform that duty: but they found that the enemy had cleared the rubbish from the bottom of the escarpe; and, notwithstanding they were provided with ladders, it was impracticable to mount it, and they were obliged to retire with loss. After three days' unremitting cannonade, the breach in the wall of St. Christoval again appearing practicable, his lordship ordered that a second attempt should be made on the night of the 9th, and another detachment was appointed for the service, under the command of Major M'Geachy, of the seventeenth Portuguese regiment, when Ensign Dyas again volunteered to lead the advance: but, on advancing, at nine at night, they met with the same opposition as before, and, on their arrival at the foot of the breach, found that the rubbish had been a second time completely cleared away. Major M'Geachy, and several of the other officers, were killed; yet the troops still maintained their position, although to mount was impracticable, until Major-general Houstoun sent orders for them to retire.

Lord Wellington had anticipated that Badajoz would have fallen by the second week in June, at which time he supposed that the reinforcements for the enemy's southern army, detached from Castille, would join Marshal Soult. On the 10th, he received an intercepted despatch from Soult to Marmont, announcing the design of collecting the whole French force in Estremadura; and he had reason to believe that Drouet's corps from Toledo would have joined the southern army by the 10th. Accounts also reached him, which left no doubt of the destination of the French army of Portugal for the southward. It therefore became necessary to raise the siege of Badajoz, and to withdraw the allied troops across the Guadiana, which was effected on the 17th. without any loss.

On the 20th, the French appeared in the vicinity of Badajoz, with an army composed of all their force from Castille, except the garrison of Madrid, and that of Andalusia, with the exception of what was necessary to maintain their position before Cadiz, and the body commanded by Sebastiani in the eastern part of Spain. They occupied both banks of the Guadiana, from Badajoz to Merida, and made various movements towards the frontiers of Portugal, with the design of cutting off detachments of the allies, but with inconsiderable success.

On the 14th of July, the army of Portugal broke up from its position on the Guadiana, and moved towards Truxillo, whence they subsequently marched further northwards. Lord Wellington, who had been strongly posted on the Portuguese frontier in Alentejo, now moved his army to cantonments in Lower Beiria; whence he advanced to the Spanish frontier, resolved to keep the French upon the watch, and compel them, as much as possible, to keep their forces in a body; by which means he, in a great measure, preserved the country from heavy contributions, and also kept his own army in an active and efficient state. Having, therefore, advanced between the Coa and the Agueda,

and menaced Ciudad Rodrigo, this movement induced the enemy to collect his troops from the army of the north, where an attack had been commenced upon the Spaniards in Gallicia, and also from that which, on the frontiers of Navarre, had been employed against De Mina, together with a great part of the army of Portugal, composing altogether a force of not less than sixty thousand men.

On the 23d of September, the French appeared in the plain near Ciudad Rodrigo; and, on the 25th, they made a general attack on the posts of the allied army on the heights of El Boden, which, after some sharp skirmishing, terminated in an orderly retreat of the allies to a more favourable position. Another trifling action took place on the 27th, at Aldea de Ponte. The result of the whole was, that Lord Wellington found it necessary to quit the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the enemy, having thrown supplies into the place, again withdrew behind the Agueda; and Lord Wellington placed his army in winter-quarters.

About this time, several distinguished foreign honours were conferred upon our hero; and, on the 26th of October, a royal licence was gazetted, permitting him to accept the title of Condé de Vimiera, and also the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Portuguese military order of the Tower and Sword, conferred upon him by the Prince Regent of Portugal, in testimony of the high estimation in which his Royal Highness held his distinguished services on various important occasions.

Whilst the two hostile armies were watching each other's movements, some partial affairs took place between detached corps, one of which is deserving of notice. A division of the fifth corps of the French army, with a considerable body of cavalry, under General Girard, having crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and advanced upon Cacares, Lord Wellington ordered General Hill to move into Estremadura with the troops under his command. He accordingly marched by Aldea del Cano to Alcuesca; and, on the 27th of October, having received intelligence that the enemy were in motion, he proceeded through Aldea, being a shorter route than that taken by the French, and affording a hope of being able to intercept him, and bring him to action. On his march he heard, that Girard had halted his main body at Arroyo de Molinos, leaving a rear-guard at Albala; which demonstrated that he was ignorant of the movements of the allied detachment. General Hill, therefore, resolved to surprise him; and, accordingly, made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On his arrival at this place, which is not more than a league distant from Arroyo, the British general was more fully convinced that Girard was ignorant of his movements; he determined, therefore, upon attempting to surprise him, or at least to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The ground over which the troops were to manœuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees, General Hill's object was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy either to Truxillo or Merida. He accordingly moved the army from their bivouac, near Alcuesca, about two in the morning of the 28th, in one column, direct on Arroyo del Molino. On arriving within half a mile of the town, when under cover of a low ridge, the column closed, and divided into three columns; the infantry being on the right and left, and the cavalry occupying the centre. As the day dawned, a thick mist and a storm of rain came on, under cover of which the columns advanced according to the concerted plan; the left column proceeding for the town, under Lieutenant-colonel Stewart; the seventy-first, and part of the sixtieth and ninety-second, at a greater distance; and the fiftieth, in a close column, somewhat in the rear, with the artillery as a reserve. The right column, under Major-general Howard, having the thirty-ninth regiment in reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and, having gained about the distance of a cannon-shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the troops, whilst the cavalry, under Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The British columns advanced without being perceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment they were filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of the column, some of the cavalry, and part of the baggage, being still within it. Girard was, therefore, thrown into complete confusion by the attack; and, after a brave but ineffectual resistance, was finally obliged to disperse and take to the mountains, sustaining a loss, in slain and prisoners, of at least two thousand men; one general and a colonel of cavalry being amongst the captives. All the enemy's artillery, baggage, commissariat, and some magazines of corn, also fell into the hands of the victors.

Having given the necessary repose to his army, Lord Wellington put it in motion on the 8th of January, 1812, and commenced his investment of Ciudad Rodrigo; which had been considerably strengthened by the French, but which eventually fell before British valour and perseverance, as will appear from the following despatch:

"*Gallegos, Jan.* 20, 1812.

"My Lord,

"I informed your lordship, in my despatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship that we took the place by storm yesterday evening, after dark.

"We continued from the 15th to complete the second parallel, and the communications with that work; and we had made some progress by sap towards the crest of the glacis. On the night of the 15th, we likewise advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill, towards the convent of St. Francisco, to a situation from which the walls of the fausse braye and of the town were seen, on which a battery of seven guns was constructed, and they commenced their fire on the morning of the 18th.

"In the mean time, the batteries in the first parallel continued their fire; and yesterday evening their fire had not only considerably injured the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the fausse braye wall, and in the body of the place, which were considered practicable; while the battery on the slope of the hill, which had been commenced on the night of the 15th, and had opened on the 18th, had been equally efficient still further to the left, and opposite to the suburb of St. Francisco.

"I therefore determined to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire. The attack was accordingly made, yesterday evening, in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the third and light divisions, and of Brigadier-general Pack's brigade. The two right columns, conducted by Lieutenant-colonel O'Toole, of the third caçadores, and Major Ridge, of the fifth regiment, were destined to protect the advance of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade, forming the third, to the top of the breach in the fausse braye wall; and all these being composed of troops of the third division, were under the direction of Lieutenant-general Picton.

"The fourth column, consisting of the forty-third and fifty-second regiments, and part of the ninety-fifth regiment, being part of the light division under the direction of Major-general Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left, in front of the suburb of St. Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the third division; and Brigadier-general Pack was destined, with his brigade, forming the fifth column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort. Besides these five columns, the ninety-fourth regiment, belonging to the third division, descended into the ditch in two columns on the right of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch, and its attack of the breach in the fausse braye, against the obstacles which it was supposed the enemy would construct to oppose their progress.

"All these attacks succeeded; and Brigadier-general Pack even surpassed my expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one; and his advanced guard, under the command of Major Lynch, having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the fausse braye, where they made prisoners of all opposed to them.

"Major Ridge, of the second battalion of the fifth regiment, having escaladed the fausse braye wall, stormed the principal breach in the body of the place, together with the ninety-fourth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach in the fausse braye, both in front of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade. Thus these regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of Major-general Mackinnon's brigade by their first movements and operations, but they preceded them in the attack.

"Major-general Craufurd and Major-general Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were likewise very forward on that side; and in less than half an hour from the time the attack commenced, our troops were in possession of, and formed on the ramparts of, the place, each body contiguous to the other. The enemy then submitted, having sustained a considerable loss in the contest.

"Our loss was also, I am concerned to add, severe, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation in this army. Major-general Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. Major-general Craufurd likewise received a severe wound while he was leading on the light division to the storm, and I am apprehensive that I shall be deprived for some time of his assistance. Major-general Vandeleur was likewise wounded in the same manner, but not so severely, as he was able to continue in the field. I have to add to this list, Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, of the fifty-second regiment, and Major George Napier, who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach.

"I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship the uniform good conduct, spirit of enterprise, and patience and perseverance in the performance of great labour, by which the general officers, and troops of the first, third, fourth, and light divisions, and Brigadier-

general Pack's brigade, by whom the siege was carried on, have been distinguished during the late operations. Lieutenant-general Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the detail of the siege, besides performing the duties of the general officer commanding the first division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of this enterprise.

"The conduct of all parts of the third division, in the operations which they performed with so much gallantry and exactness on the evening of the 19th, in the dark, afford the strongest proof of the abilities of Lieutenant-general Picton, and Major-general Mackinnon, by whom they were directed and led; but I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel O'Toole of the second caçadores, of Major Ridge of the second battalion fifth foot, of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell of the ninety-fourth regiment, of Major Manners of the seventy-fourth, and of Major Grey of the second battalion fifth foot, who has been twice wounded during the siege.

"It is but justice also to the third division to report, that the men who performed the sap belonged to the forty-fifth, seventy-fourth, and eighty-eighth regiments, under the command of Captain Macleod of the royal engineers, and Captain Thompson of the seventy-fourth, Lieutenant Beresford of the eighty-eighth, and Lieutenant Metcalfe of the forty-fifth; and they distinguished themselves not less in the storm of the place, than they had in the performance of their laborious duty during the siege.

"I have already reported, in my letter of the 9th instant, my sense of the conduct of Major-general Craufurd; and of Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, and of the troops of the light division, in the storm of the redoubt of St. Francisco, on the evening of the 8th instant. The conduct of these troops was equally distinguished throughout the siege; and, in the storm, nothing could exceed the gallantry with which these brave officers and troops advanced and accomplished the difficult operation allotted to them, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen.

"I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Major-general Craufurd, Major-general Vandeleur, Lieutenant-colonel Barnard of the ninety-fifth, Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, Major Gibbs and Major Napier of the fifty-second, and Lieutenant-colonel Macleod of the forty-third. The conduct of Captain Duffey of the forty-third, and that of Lieutenant Gurwood of the fifty-second regiment, who was wounded, have likewise been particularly reported to me; Lieutenant-colonel Elder, and the third caçadores, were likewise distinguished upon this occasion.

"The first Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, and the sixteenth, under Colonel Campbell, being Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the storm, under the command of the brigadier-general, who particularly mentions Major Lynch.

"In my despatch of the 15th, I reported to your lordship the attack of the convent of Santa Cruz, by the troops of the first division, under the direction of Lieutenant-general Graham, and that of the convent of St. Francisco, on the 14th instant, under the direction of Major-general the Honourable C. Colville. The first-mentioned enterprise was performed by Captain Laroche de Stackenfels, of the first line battalion king's German Legion; the last, by Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, with the fortieth regiment. This regiment remained from that time in the suburb of St. Francisco, and materially assisted our attack on that side of the place.

"Although it did not fall to the lot of the troops of the first and fourth divisions to bring these operations to their successful close, they distinguished themselves throughout their progress, by the patience and perseverance with which they performed the labours of the siege. The brigade of guards, under Major-general H. Campbell, was particularly distinguished in this respect.

"I likewise request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer, and of Brigade-major Jones, and the officers and men of the royal engineers. The ability with which these operations were carried on exceeds all praise; and I beg leave to recommend those officers to your lordship most particularly.

"Major Dickons, of the royal artillery, attached to the Portuguese artillery, has for some time had the direction of the heavy train attached to this army, and has conducted the intricate details of the late operation, as he did those of the sieges of Badajoz in the last summer, much to my satisfaction. The rapid execution produced by the well-directed fire kept up from our batteries, affords the best proof of the merits of the officers and men of the royal artillery, and of the Portuguese artillery, employed on this occasion.

"I have likewise particularly to report to your lordship the conduct of Major Sturgeon, of the royal staff corps. He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted, and he aftewards materially assisted Lieutenant-general Graham and myself in our reconnoissance of the place, on which the plan of the attack was founded; and he finally conducted the second battalion fifth regiment, as well as the second caçadores, to their points of attack.

"The adjutant-general, and the deputy-quarter-master-general, and the officers of their several departments, gave me every assistance throughout this service, as well as those of my personal staff: and I have great pleasure in adding, that, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the increased difficulties of procuring supplies for the troops, the whole army have been well supplied, and every branch of the service provided for during the late operations, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Commissary-general Bisset, and the officers belonging to his department.

"The Marshal del Campo, Don Carlos d'Espana and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy's movements beyond the Tormes, during the operations of the siege; and I am much obliged to them, and to the people of Castille in general, for the assistance I received from them. The latter have invariably shown their detestation of the French tyranny, and their desire to contribute by every means in their power to remove it.

"I will hereafter transmit to your lordship a detailed account of what we have found in the place; but I believe there are one hundred and fifty-three pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores. We have the governor, General Barnier, about seventy-eight officers, and one thousand seven hundred men, prisoners.

"I transmit this despatch by my aid-de-camp, the honourable Major Gordon, who will give your lordship any further details you require; and beg leave to recommend him to your protection.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

Marshal Marmont, who now commanded the French army, could not conceive it possible that Ciudad Rodrigo could be taken in so short a time: he had assembled the whole of his army at Salamanca, on the 22d, for the purpose of relieving it, and giving battle to the English; but the unexpected surrender of the place entirely disconcerted all his measures. As soon as this event was known to the Spanish nation, the Cortes voted to Lord Wellington the rank of Grandee of the first class, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. Nor was his own country backward in testifying its gratitude for his eminent services; for the Prince Regent immediately created him Earl of Wellington, in addition to his other titles and honours.

His lordship remained some time in Ciudad Rodrigo, in order to repair the fortifications, and put it in a defensible state; and then, placing it under the command of a Spanish governor, he withdrew to Freynada.

On the 6th of March, he quitted Freynada, and arrived at Elvas on the 11th. At this time there were none of the enemy's troops in the field in Estremadura, except a part of the fifth corps at Villa Franca, and a division under General Darican at La Serena. On the 16th, his lordship broke up the cantonments of the army, and invested Badajoz on both sides of the Guadiana. On the following day, the troops broke ground, and established a parallel within two hundred yards of an outwork called the Picorina, which embraced the whole of the south-east angle of the fort, and looked into the place.

At the time of the investment, General Sir Thomas Graham crossed the Guadiana with a body of troops, and directed his march towards Llerena; whilst Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, who had returned from Miranda to his cantonments near Albuquerque, marched again to that town.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the operations of the siege were continued from the 20th to the 25th of March. On the latter day, Lord Wellington opened his fire from twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, in six batteries; and, the same evening, the outwork La Picorina was stormed and carried by Major-general Kempt, in the most gallant manner.

On the 31st of March, the firing commenced from the second parallel, with twenty-six pieces of cannon, in order to effect a breach in the south-east angle of the fort La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion called Santa Maria. The firing was continued during the 4th and 5th of April, against these points; and, on the morning of the 4th, another battery of six guns was opened.

Practicable breaches were effected on the evening of the 5th; but Lord Wellington, having observed that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and that formidable preparations were making for the defence as well of the breach in that bastion as of that of Santa Maria, resolved to turn all the guns in the batteries of the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad; in hopes that, by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other two, the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops appointed to assail the breach in the curtain. This breach was effected on the evening of the 6th; and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria, and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad, being silenced, Lord Wellington determined on an immediate assault of the fortress.

The attack was commenced at ten o'clock at night; Lieutenant-general Picton preceding, by a few minutes, that of the remainder of the troops. Major-general Kempt led the attack: he was unfortunately wounded in crossing the Rivellas brook below the inundation;

but, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the most obstinate resistance, the castle was carried by escalade, and General Picton's division established themselves in it by half-past eleven. Whilst this was going on, Major Wilson, of the forty-eighth regiment, carried the ravelin of St. Roque by the gorge, with a detachment of two hundred men of the Guards in the trenches; and, with the assistance of Major Squire, of the engineers, established himself within that work. The fourth and light divisions moved to the attack, from the camp, along the left of the river Rivellas, and of the inundation. They were not discovered by the enemy till they reached the covered-way, and the advanced guards of the two divisions descended into the ditch, protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose. They advanced to the assault of the breaches, led by their gallant officer, with the utmost intrepidity; but such was the nature of the obstacles prepared at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that the British could not establish themselves within the place. These attempts were repeated till after midnight, with the loss of many brave officers and soldiers; when Lord Wellington, finding that General Picton was established in the castle, directed the fourth and light divisions to retire to the ground on which they had assembled for the attack. In the mean time, Major-general Leith had pushed forward Major-general Walker's brigade on the left, and made a false attack upon the Pardeleras with the eighth Portuguese caçadores under Major Hill. General Walker forced the barrier on the road to Olivenza, and entered the covered-way on the left of the bastion of St. Vincent, close to the Guadiana: he there descended into the ditch, and escaladed the face of the bastion. In consequence of this success, all resistance ceased; and, at day-light in the morning, General Philippon, who had retired to Fort St. Christoval, surrendered, together with General Vellande, the staff, and the whole garrison.

Though Lord Wellington had found it impossible to obtain a correct account of the strength of the garrison, he was informed by General Philippon, that it consisted of five thousand men at the commencement of the siege, of whom twelve hundred were killed or wounded during the operations, independent of those who fell in the assault of the place. It is evident, however, that the number must have been greater, for there were upwards of four thousand prisoners taken; and the garrison at first had consisted of five French battalions, besides two of the regiment of Hesse D'Armstadt, as well as the artillery, engineers, &c. The total British loss, during the siege, amounted to sixty officers, forty-five serjeants, seven hundred and fifteen rank and file, killed; two hundred and fifty-one officers, one hundred and seventy-eight serjeants, fourteen drummers, two thousand five hundred and sixty-four rank and file, wounded; one serjeant, thirty-two rank and file, missing. On the side of the Portuguese, there were twelve officers, six serjeants, two drummers, and one hundred and ninety-five rank and file, killed; with fifty-five officers, thirty-eight serjeants, three drummers, six hundred and eighty-four rank and file, wounded; thirty rank and file, missing: making, in the whole, one thousand and thirty-five killed, and three thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven wounded, between the 18th of March and the 7th of April.

In order to make a diversion in favour of Badajoz, Marshal Marmont advanced to Ciudad Rodrigo, and kept it blockaded. And another party of the enemy made a reconnoissance upon Almeida; but they were so warmly received, that they had no inclination to make an attempt upon the place. On the 7th of April, Marmont broke up from the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, and proceeded to Sabugal. His advanced guard followed General Alten through the Lower Beiria, as far as Castello Branco, which it entered on the 12th; but whence it retired on the 14th, and the place was re-possessed by Generals Alten and Le Cor.

Marshal Soult, who had advanced from Seville into Estremadura, as far as Villa Franca, on hearing of the fall of Badajoz, retreated, on the 9th, towards the borders of Andalusia. General Graham directed Sir Stapleton Cotton to follow his rear with the cavalry; and, coming up with the French cavalry at Villa Garcia, with the brigade of General Le Marchant and General Anson, he defeated them on the 11th, with considerable loss. On that day the French retired from Llerena, and afterwards entirely quitted Estremadura. Lord Wellington, as soon as he was apprised of Soult's retreat, put his army in motion towards Castille; and, on the 16th of April, the British advanced guard was at Castello Branco.

As the British army advanced towards Alfayates, the enemy continued to retreat before them. The last of them crossed the Agueda on the 23d of April; and, on the following day, they were in full retreat towards the Tormes.

The heavy rains, which had fallen between the 13th and 19th, had produced such torrents in the rivers, that the bridge which the French had constructed on the Agueda immediately above Ciudad Rodrigo, was washed away; but they were enabled to repair it before the pursuing British came up, and the leading divisions of their army crossed by the Puente d'el Villar, and the fords of the Upper Agueda; the rear only taking advantage of the bridge near Ciudad Rodrigo.

The enemy continued their retreat till the latter end of April; and, as soon as Lord Wellington was certain of their having retired beyond the frontier, he directed Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill to carry into execution a plan of operations against their posts at the passage of the Tagus at Almarez, in Estremadura, near the border of New Castille. This post afforded the only good military communication below Toledo across the Tagus, and from that river to the Guadiana. The bridge at Almarez was protected by strong works thrown up by the French on each bank of the river; and was covered, on the southern side, by the castle and redoubts of Mirabete, about a league distant, commanding the pass of that name, through which runs the only carriage-way to the bridge, which is that to Madrid.

In consequence of the time occupied by the necessary preparations, Sir Rowland Hill could not begin his march before the 12th of May, which he did with the second division of infantry, and attained his objects by taking by storm Fort Napoleon and Ragusa, and the tête-du-pont and other works by which the enemy's work was guarded; by destroying those forts and works, as well as the bridge and establishments; and by the capture of their magazines, with two hundred and fifty prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

The success of this operation deprived the enemy of the best and shortest communications between the army of the south and the army of Portugal; and that may be considered as a leading incident in those manœuvres which enabled our hero to attack Marmont with such success at Salamanca.

The army under Lord Wellington, which had been for some time advancing, crossed the Agueda on the 13th of June, and arrived in front of Salamanca on the 16th. The enemy, on the approach of the allied army, retreated across the Tormes, leaving about eight hundred men in some forts constructed upon the ruins of colleges and convents in Salamanca. The allies entered the city; but Lord Wellington found it necessary to break ground against the forts. The joy of the inhabitants of Salamanca, on the entrance of the allies, may be better imagined than described; and Lord Wellington was hailed with raptures, as their deliverer from French oppression.

The enemy having assembled his whole army, with the exception of General Bonnet's division, and a few small garrisons in different places, moved forward against the allies on the 20th of June, in order to communicate with the forts in Salamanca; and, on the night of the 21st, his troops established a post on the right flank of the allied army. Lord Wellington having ordered General Graham to attack this post on the 22d, the enemy were driven from the ground with great loss.

The French now made a fresh movement, the object of which was to communicate with the forts by the left bank of the Tormes, which they crossed in force on the 24th; but the approach of General Graham on that side the river caused them to retire to their former position. The batteries against the forts of Salamanca began to fire on the 17th; but the operations did not proceed with that rapidity that Lord Wellington had expected. An attempt to storm the principal work on the night of the 23d, proved unsuccessful, and was attended with considerable loss, Major-general Bowes being among the slain. Notwithstanding this failure, every exertion was made to reduce the forts, and thereby enable the army to undertake ulterior operations. Accordingly, on the 26th, in the afternoon, a fresh supply of ammunition having arrived, the fire was re-commenced upon the gorge of the redoubt of San Cayetano, in which a practicable breach was effected about ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th; and the assailants had succeeded nearly about the same time in setting fire to the buildings in the large fort of St. Vincent, by the fire from which the approach of San Cayetano was defended.

The Earl of Wellington perceived the importance of this juncture, and instantly gave directions that the forts of St. Cayetano and La Merced should be stormed; but some little delay occurred, in consequence of the commanding officers of these forts in the first instance, and afterwards the commanding officer of St. Vincent, having expressed a desire to capitulate after the lapse of a certain number of hours. As it was obvious, that these propositions were made in order to gain time till the fire of St. Vincent should be extinguished, his lordship refused to listen to any terms, unless the forts should be instantly surrendered; and having found the commanding officer of St. Cayetano, who was the first to offer to surrender, was entirely dependent upon the governor of St. Vincent, and could not venture to carry into execution the capitulation which he had offered to make, the earl immediately gave directions that the storming of that fort, and also of La Merced, should immediately take place.

This gallant assault was performed in the most undaunted manner by detachments of the sixth division, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Davies of the thirty-sixth regiment, under the direction of Major-general Clinton. The troops entered the fort of St. Cayetano by the gorge, and escaladed that of La Merced.

The governor of the fort of St. Vincent then sent out a flag of truce, to notify the surrender of that fortress, on the terms that had been previously offered. These were, that the garrison should march out with military honours, that they should be prisoners of war, &c.

These forts were found to be so strongly constructed, that they could not possibly be taken without a regular attack: the loss of the allies in killed and wounded was above four hundred and fifty men.

As soon as the enemy heard of the fall of the forts, they immediately broke up, and retired in three columns towards the Douro; one of them directing its march upon Toro, and the others upon Tordesillas.

On the 28th, Lord Wellington also broke up the cantonments of the allied army; and, on the 30th of June, they were encamped on the Guarena.

On the 1st of July, the allies broke up their encampment; and, the enemy having retired from Alaejos, they encamped that evening on the Trabancos, with the advanced guard upon Nava del Rey. The Earl of Wellington having there got information that Marmont had destroyed the bridge of Tordesillas, he immediately gave orders for the British advanced guard to cross the Zapardiel, and to move upon Rueda, which took place on the morning of the 2d, supported by the left, whilst the right and centre of the army moved towards Medina del Campo.

It appeared, however, soon after, that the enemy had not destroyed the bridge, as reported; but that their main body had retired upon Tordesillas, whilst their rear-guard was left at Rueda.

Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton immediately attacked their rear-guard with Major-general Anson's and Alten's brigades of cavalry, and drove them in upon the main body at Tordesillas. As the right and centre of the British army were, however, at some distance, Lord Wellington found it impracticable to bring up a sufficient body of troops in time to attack the enemy during their passage of the Douro; and accordingly they effected that operation with very trifling loss, taking up their position on that river, with their right on the heights opposite Pollos, their left at Simancos in the Pisuerga, and their centre at Tordesillas.

The next day, the 3d of July, his lordship moved his left to Pollos, and took possession of the ford over the Douro at that place, in front of the positions of Marmont's right; but as the ford was scarcely passable for infantry, and the enemy's corps were strongly posted, with a considerable quantity of artillery, on the heights commanding the plain on which the British troops must have formed after crossing the ford, and as at the same time he could not, with propriety, establish the army on the right of the Douro until he had adequate means of passing that river, he did not think it prudent to push the advanced corps any farther. On the 7th, the French army was reinforced by the junction of General Bonnet, who had advanced from Asturias.

The subsequent movements of the armies, and the glorious victory of Salamanca, are detailed by our hero in the following despatches, dated the 21st, 24th, and 28th of July, 1812.

"*Cabrerizos, near Salamanca, July* 21.

"In the course of the 15th and 16th, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman. A considerable body passed the Douro at Toro on the evening of the 16th, and I moved the allied army to their left on that night, with an intention to concentrate on the Guarena. It was totally out of my power to prevent the enemy from passing the Douro at any point he might think expedient, as he had in his possession all the bridges over that river, and many of the fords; but he re-crossed that river at Toro in the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the Douro on the morning of the 17th, and assembled his army on that day at La Neva del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th."

[Lord Wellington here states, that the fourth and light divisions of the infantry, and Major-general Anson's brigade of cavalry, having been marched to Castrejon, on the night of the 16th, with a view to the assembling of the army on the Guarena, were on the 18th attacked by the enemy; but Sir Stapleton Cotton maintained the post without suffering any loss, until joined by Major-generals Le Marchant, Alten, and Bock's brigades of cavalry, which had been sent to favour his retreat and junction. The troops then retired, in order, to Tordesillas de la Orden, where the fifth division of infantry had been stationed, having the enemy's whole army on their flank, or in their rear, and thence to the Guarena, which river they passed, and effected their junction with the army. The despatch then proceeds:]

"The enemy, in pursuance of his attempt to cut off the communication of the allies with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, crossed the Guarena, at Cartello, below the junction of the four streams, and manifested an intention to press upon our left, and to enter the valley of Canizal. Major-general Alten's brigade of cavalry was already engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and had taken, among other prisoners, the French general Carrier, when Lieutenant-general Cole was ordered to attack with Major-general W. Anson's and Brigadier-general Harvey's brigades of infantry, (the latter under the command of Colonel Stubbs,) the enemy's infantry, which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the twenty-seventh and fortieth regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubbs's Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way,

many were killed and wounded; and Major-general Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, two hundred and forty prisoners were taken. The enemy did not make any further attempt on our left; but, having reinforced their troops on that side, and withdrawn those which had moved to their left, I brought back ours from Vallesa.

"In the afternoon of the 19th, the enemy withdrew all their troops from their right, and marched to their left by Tarragona, apparently with an intention of turning our right. I crossed the Upper Guarena at Velesa and El Olmo, with the whole of the allied army, in the course of that evening and night; and every preparation was made for the action, which was expected on the plain of Vallesa on the morning of the 20th. But, shortly after day-light, the enemy made another movement to his left, in several columns, along the heights of the Guarena, which river he crossed below Canta la Piedra, and encamped last night at Babilafuente and Villamela; and the allied army made a correspondent movement to its right by Cantalpino, and encamped last night at Cabesa Velloso, the sixth division and Major-general Alten's brigade of cavalry being upon the Tormes, at Aldea Lingua. During these movements, there have been occasional cannonades, but without loss on our side. I have this morning moved the left of the army to the Tormes, where the whole are now concentrated; and I observe the enemy have also moved towards the same river near Huerta. The enemy's object hitherto has been to cut off my communication with Salamanca, and also with Ciudad Rodrigo."

"*Flores de Avilla, July 24.*

"My aid-de-camp, Captain Lord Clinton, will present to your lordship this account of a victory which the allied troops under my command gained in a general action, fought near Salamanca, on the evening of the 22d instant, which I have been under the necessity of delaying to send till now, having been engaged ever since the action in the pursuit of the enemy's flying troops. In my letter of the 21st, I informed your lordship that both armies were near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed that river, with the greatest part of his troops, in the afternoon by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and moved by their left towards the road leading to Ciudad Rodrigo. The allied army, with the exception of the third division and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the neighbourhood; and I placed the troops in a position of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes, below the ford of Santa Martha. The third division and Brigadier-general D'Urban's cavalry were left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above Babilafuente, on the same side of the river; and I considered it not improbable, that finding our army prepared for them in the morning, on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan, and manœuvre by the other bank. In the course of the night of the 21st, I received information, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that General Chauvel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse-artillery of the army of the north, to join Marshal Marmont; and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22d or 23d at the latest.

"During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarosa de Ariba, and of the height near it, called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, our cavalry being in possession of Calvarosa de Abaxo; and, soon after day-light, detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. The enemy, however, succeeded, their detachment being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hill than we were; by which success they materially strengthened their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours. In the morning, the light troops of the seventh division, and the fourth caçadores, belonging to General Pack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called Nuestra Senora de la Pena; on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles, rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army, *en potence*, to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and here I placed the fourth division under the command of the honourable Lieutenant-general Cole. And although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of his intentions, I considered that, upon the whole, his objects were upon the left of the Tormes: I therefore ordered the Honourable Major-general Pakenham, who commanded the third division in the absence of Lieutenant-general Picton, on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brigadier-general D'Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada, Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry and Don Carlos D'Espana's infantry having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the third and fourth divisions.

"After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appears to have determined upon his plan about two in the afternoon; and under cover of a very

heavy cannonade, which, however, did us but little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line; or, at all events, to render difficult any movement of ours to our right. The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious.

"I reinforced our right with the fifth division, under Lieutenant-general Leith, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the fourth division; and with the sixth and seventh divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their stations, I ordered the Honourable Major-general Pakenham to move forward with the third division, and General D'Urban's cavalry and two squadrons of the fourteenth light dragoons under Lieutenant-colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights, while Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the fifth division under Lieutenant-general Leith, the fourth division under the Honourable Lieutenant-general Cole, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotten, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the sixth under Major-general Clinton, the seventh under Major-general Hope, and Don Carlos D'Espana's Spanish division, and Brigadier-general Pack should support the left of the fourth division by attacking that of Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The first and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

"The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described, and completely succeeded. Major-general the Honourable E. Pakenham formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing opposed to him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry under Brigadier-general D'Urban, and Lieutenant-colonel Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the third division. Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the fifth and fourth divisions, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-general Sir S. Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them, from one height to another, bringing forward their right so as to acquire strength upon the enemy's flank in proportion to the advance. Brigadier-general Pack made a very gallant attack upon the Aripiles, in which, however, he did not succeed, except in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it from the troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Cole in his advance. The cavalry under Lieutenant-general Sir S. Cotton made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In this charge, Major-general Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade, and I have to regret the loss of a most able officer. After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the fourth division, which after a severe contest was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the fourth division, after the failure of Brigadier-general Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and the Honourable Lieutenant-general Cole having been wounded. Marshal Sir W. Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed Brigadier-general Spry's brigade of the fifth division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and I am sorry to add, that while engaged in this service, he received a wound, which I am apprehensive will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time. Nearly about the same time, Lieutenant-general Leith received a wound, which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the sixth division under Major-general Clinton to relieve the fourth, and the battle was very soon restored to its former success.

"The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; and I ordered the first and light divisions, and Colonel Stubbs's Portuguese brigade of the fourth division, (which had been re-formed,) and Major-general W. Anson's brigade, likewise of the fourth division, to turn the right, while the sixth division, supported by the third and fifth, attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the sixth division, and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. I pursued them with the first and light divisions, and Major-general W. Anson's brigade of the fourth division, and some squadrons of cavalry under Lieutenant-general Sir S. Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together, directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover, who must otherwise have been in our hands. I am sorry to report that, owing to this same cause, Lieutenant-general Sir S. Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our own sentinels, after we had halted.

"We renewed the pursuit at break of day, with the

same troops, and Major-general Bock and Major-general Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night; and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear guard of cavalry and infantry near La Serna: they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, when the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the king's German legion, under Major-general Bock, which was completely successful, and the whole body of the enemy's infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's first division, were made prisoners. The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Penaranda last night, and our troops are still following the flying enemy. Their head-quarters were in this town, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced on the road to Valladolid by Arevalo. They were joined yesterday, on their retreat, by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.

"It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but from all reports it is very considerable. We have taken from them eleven pieces of cannon, several ammunition-waggons, two eagles, and six colours; and one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, one hundred and thirty officers of inferior rank, and between six and seven thousand men, are prisoners, and our detachments are sending in more every minute. The number of dead on the field is very large. I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded, and has lost one of his arms; and that four general officers have been killed, and several wounded. Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side; but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army, or to cripple its operations. I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship, that, throughout this trying day, of which I have related the events, I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the general officers and troops. The relation which I have written of its events will give a general idea of the share each individual had in them; and I cannot say too much in praise of the conduct of every individual in his station."

[His lordship here expresses his satisfaction at the conduct of the general officers and troops, and observes that, where the conduct of all has been conspicuously good, it must be matter of regret that the necessary limits of a despatch prevent his drawing Lord Bathurst's attention to the conduct of a large number of individuals.]

"*Olmedo, July* 28, 1812.

"The army have continued their march in pursuit of the enemy since I addressed you on the 24th instant, and we have continued to take many prisoners. A part of the enemy's army crossed the Douro, yesterday, near Puente de Douro, and the remainder, their left wing, were in march towards the bridge of Tudela this morning, at nine o'clock, when I last heard from our advanced posts. The main body of our allied army is this day on the Adaja and Zapardiel rivers, in this neighbourhood; the light cavalry being in front, in pursuit of the enemy.

"It appears that Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid on the 21st, with the army of the centre, supposed to consist of from ten to twelve thousand infantry, and from two to three thousand cavalry, and he directed his march by the Escurial upon Alba de Tormes. He arrived at Blasco Sancho, between Avilo and Arevalo, on the 25th, where he heard of the defeat of Marshal Marmont, and he retired in the evening; and between that time and the evening of the 26th, he marched through Villa Castin to Espinor. A non-commissioned officer's patrole of the fourteenth light dragoons and first hussars, from Arevalo, took in Blasco Sancho, on the evening of the 25th, shortly after Joseph Buonaparte had left the place, two officers and twenty-seven men of his own cavalry, who had been left there to follow his rear guard. I have reason to believe that Joseph Buonaparte had no regular account of the action of the 22d, till he passed the Puerta Guadarama yesterday; but he then returned, and was directing his march upon Segovia. I have not yet heard how far he had advanced. All accounts concur in the great loss sustained by the army of Portugal. By accounts from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Hill to the 24th instant, it appears that the enemy had, in some degree, reinforced their troops in Estremadura. The Lieutenant-general had removed to Zafra. It is reported that General Ballasteros had marched on another expedition towards Malaga, and that he was opposed by a division of the army of the south under General Laval. I have not received detailed accounts of Sir Home Popham's operations on the coast, since the capture of Sequeito; but I understand that he has taken Castro Urdiales."

[Here follow the names of the officers killed and wounded of the army under Lord Wellington, near Castragon, on the 18th of July, 1812.]

The arrival of Lord Clinton in London with the intelligence of the victory at Salamanca, was hailed by the public with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The chaise and four, which conveyed his lordship, was decorated with laurel, and the French eagles and flags

were displayed out of the windows. The illuminations were very general in all the principal streets of the metropolis during three nights. Though the Admiralty, Horse-guards, Somerset, Mansion, and East-India houses, all the theatres, and other public buildings, were most splendid, yet those of private individuals vied with them very successfully. The Marquis Wellesley, in returning on the first night from viewing the illuminations in the city, was recognised in the Strand by the populace, who took out the horses, and dragged the carriage to Apsley-house.

Our hero, as a reward for his brilliant services, was now created, by his grateful prince, a marquis of the United Kingdom. In addition to his other honours, his Royal Highness also granted an armorial augmentation in the dexter quarter; of an escutcheon charged with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, being the union badge of the United Kingdom, as a perpetual memorial of his glorious achievements.

Besides these honours, which were so deservedly conferred on him by his own prince, the Spanish and Portuguese were also eager to offer their testimonies of approbation to him. The former, as a particular mark of their confidence, bestowed the whole command of their forces upon him, with the title of Generalissimo. This mark of their confidence was of great service to the common cause of the allies, by producing an unity of action and design in all their future operations.

On the 31st of July, the British head-quarters were at Portello; and on that morning Lord Wellington and his staff entered Valladolid, where he was received with an enthusiasm beyond all description.

The Marquis of Wellington now moved his army to Cuellar, where he arrived on the 1st of August. On the same day, Joseph Buonaparte retired from Segovia early in the morning, and marched through the Guadarama pass, leaving an advanced guard at Segovia, chiefly consisting of cavalry, under General Espert. Previous, however, to his quitting the place, he destroyed all the cannon and ammunition, which were in the castle; he also carried off all the church-plate, and other moveable property.

The Marquis of Wellington, finding that Marmont's defeated troops continued their retreat upon Burgos, in a state not likely to take the field for some time, resolved either to bring Joseph Buonaparte to an action, or else compel him to evacuate Madrid. Accordingly, his lordship proceeded to St. Ildefonso on the 8th, where he halted one day, in order to allow the right wing of the army time to come up.

The passage of the troops through the mountains met with no opposition; and Brigadier-general D'Urban, with the Portuguese cavalry, the first light battalion of the king's German Legion, and Captain Macdonald's troop of horse-artillery, had been brought through the Guadarama pass as early as the 9th. The Brigadier-general then moved forward, on the morning of the 11th, from the vicinity of Galapagos; and, supported by the heavy cavalry of the king's German Legion from Torrelodonas, drove in the French cavalry, about two thousand in number, and posted himself at Majalahonda, with the Portuguese cavalry and Captain Macdonald's troop, and the cavalry and light infantry of the king's German Legion, at Las Royas, about three-quarters of a mile distant.

The French cavalry, which had been driven off in the morning, and had moved towards Naval Carnero, returned about five in the afternoon of that day; and Brigadier-general D'Urban, having formed the Portuguese cavalry in front of Majalahonda, supported by the horse-artillery, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's leading squadrons, which appeared too far advanced to be supported by the main body. The Portuguese cavalry advanced to the attack, but unfortunately turned about before they reached the enemy, and fled through the village of Majalahonda, leaving behind them those guns which Captain Macdonald had moved forward to co-operate with the cavalry. By the activity of the officers and soldiers of Captain Macdonald's troop, however, the guns were moved off; but, owing to the unfavourable state of the ground over which they were moved, the carriage of one was broken, and two others were overturned; and these three guns fell into the enemy's hands.

The Portuguese dragoons, after flying through Majalahonda, were rallied and re-formed upon the heavy dragoons of the king's German Legion, which were posted between that village and Las Royas. The German cavalry then charged the enemy, although under many disadvantages, and checked their further progress; but in this service they suffered a considerable loss, and Colonel Jonquieres, who commanded the brigade, was taken prisoner.

The left of the army was, at this time, about two miles and a half distant, at the Puente de Ratemer, on the Guadarama river; and Colonel Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry of the seventh division, having moved forward to the support of the troops in advance, the French retired upon Majalahonda as soon as they observed those troops; and night having come on, they retired upon Alcorcon, leaving the captured guns at Majalahonda, where they were again taken possession of.

After this partial affair, the whole army moved forward on the morning of the 12th. and its left took

possession of the city of Madrid, Joseph Buonaparte having retired with the army of the centre by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, leaving a garrison in the Retiro.

The Marquis of Wellington, finding himself completely in possession of Madrid, gave directions for the investment of the Retiro; and, on the night of the 13th, detachments of the seventh division of infantry, under the command of Major-general Hope, and of the third division of infantry, under the command of the Honourable Major-general Pakenham, drove in the enemy's posts from the Prado and the Botanical Garden, and the works which had been constructed outside of the park-wall; and, having broken through the wall in different places, they established themselves in the palace of the Retiro, and close to the exterior of the enemy's works inclosing the building called La China. The troops were preparing in the morning to attack these works, preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the governor sent out an officer, desiring to capitulate, and the marquis granted him the honours of war, with the security of the soldiers' baggage, &c. On the 14th, the garrison marched out on their road to Ciudad Rodrigo; and the works, on being taken possession of, were found to contain a garrison of two colonels, a number of other officers, with rank and file, amounting, in the whole, to two thousand five hundred and eight men. Of the different kinds of stores, there were found one hundred and eighty-one pieces of ordnance, twenty-one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one round shot, one thousand one hundred and forty-eight shells, twenty-three thousand muskets, nearly three millions of ball-cartridges, and a profusion of other stores, belonging to the army of the centre; to which must be added a great quantity considered as belonging to the army of Portugal, amounting to eight field-guns, a quantity of shot, seven hundred barrels of powder, eight hundred thousand ball-cartridges, an immense quantity of intrenching-tools, &c.

"The events connected with the occupation of Madrid by the allied army," says a contemporary writer, "are too important to be passed over in silence; as they form a proud era in the life of our hero; and prove to the world, in what a high degree of admiration his talents and services were held by the grateful Spaniards, and the detestation and hatred that universally prevailed against the usurper of the Spanish crown, and the instruments of his usurpation.

"As soon as accounts arrived at Madrid of the battle of Salamanca, preparations were made by Joseph Buonaparte and all his adherents to evacuate the city; and, although they pretended that the victory was on the side of the French army, it was obvious to the citizens, from the alarm, perturbation, and confusion, which attended all their movements, that the contrary was the case. The advance of the English army towards the capital soon cleared up all doubts upon the subject: and then it was that the consternation and dismay was at its height. Orders and counter-orders were incessantly issued from the palace for the departure of the French, and all those who chose to accompany them; and, at length, it was finally determined to leave the city at six in the morning of the 10th of August. This sudden intimation increased the disorder of the fugitives. In the greatest confusion the immense convoy of the intrusive government was collected. Mourning and lamentation spread through all the houses of their partisans. Some sold their moveables for half their value, or what they could get; others gave them to be kept by their friends; and others asked that favour from the patriots themselves, whom but a few days before they had looked on with disdain.

"In the afternoon of the 12th, the allied army began to enter the city; and from that moment the public joy knew no bounds. The people of Madrid now seemed one united family. Persons known and unknown, without difference from age, sex, or condition, conversed and embraced, giving mutual pledges of the liberty they had so anxiously panted for. The arrival of the first English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers, raised this joy to the highest pitch. Never did any people manifest with so much cordiality and energy their gratitude to their deliverers.

"The entrance of the Marquis of Wellington into Madrid was grand in the extreme. The enthusiasm of all ranks, particularly the females, bordered on madness: they were frantic with joy. The entrance into Salamanca, Segovia, and Ildefonso, was equal to the triumphal entries of the heroes of antiquity; but when, on the second day, Lord Wellington made his entry into the capital, the spectacle was truly grand. His lordship was attended by the flower of the British nobility, and by all the generals of the allied army; whilst the Spanish nobility, the dignitaries of the church, the magistrates, and all the principal inhabitants, came out to meet him, accompanied by almost the whole population of the city, to be present at the ceremony of the presentation of the keys. The air was rent with cries of '*Viva le Duc de Rodrigo grande!*' whilst the elegant females, and those of the first rank, threw under the horses' feet not only laurels and flowers, but even their shawls and veils, which were of the finest texture. When the marquis attempted to alight at the palace, women of the first quality, old and young, hugged and kissed him, and even every person whom they took for

him, so that it was a long time before he and the generals got housed. There was, indeed, little trouble in getting billets; for the inhabitants got hold of the British officers where they could find them, and insisted on making them inmates of their houses.

"On the 13th of August was proclaimed, by order of the Marquis of Wellington, as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the constitution of the kingdom, as formed by the cortes; Don Carlos Espana, governor of the capital and its province, and Marshal Miguel Alava, presiding on this solemn occasion. The ceremony was performed amidst the roar of the enemy's cannon, who were then making their last efforts to defend the inclosure of the Retiro; and thus, at the same time, it may be said, were heard the last groans of oppression and the first voice of independence. Thus did the suffering patriots see themselves freed from the horrid load of disgrace, at the same instant in which appeared to their eyes the luminous torch of their future felicity and social security.

"The council of Madrid, in the midst of this scene of war and politics, were not unmindful of the softer duties of social life; and, wishing to offer the Marquis of Wellington a proof of their gratitude, determined to entertain him with a magnificent ball. The numerous and enlightened concourse who assisted at it, the decorations of the ball itself, the abundance of the wines, fruits, &c., the order and urbanity of all, and the presence of the great general, presented a scene worthy of admiration, even to those most accustomed to these scenes.

"The Spanish authorities, however, were not content with mere demonstrations of joy; but, under the guidance of the marquis, took a most important step for the speedy return of the misled *juramentados* to their social and military duties; and General Alava republished his proclamation to the Spanish soldiers under Joseph's colours, which had already been issued from the head-quarters of the Anglo-Hispano-Portuguese army on the 29th of the preceding month, in which he says—

"'The General and Extraordinary Cortes of the nation, wishing to celebrate the political constitution of the monarchy, have decreed a general pardon to all Spanish military men, of whatever rank they may be, and who are in the service of the tyrant, upon their abandoning it, and presenting themselves to the Spanish chiefs, with as little delay as possible. Being charged by the supreme government to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, I judge it my duty to make you acquainted with the favourable disposition of our legitimate government, in order that you may take advantage of it, and return into the bosom of your beloved country, and the estimation of your countrymen. The moment is most opportune; the enemy cannot much longer support themselves in the interior of the country; and, in retiring from our frontiers, your fate is decided:—you are going to perish in the war of the north.

"'Your country, brothers, friends, are greatly offended by your infamous desertion; and you will give rise to a new war, unless you accept the offers of this proclamation. Hasten then to present yourselves to the Spanish authorities, or the advanced posts of the allied army; and in this manner you will cause your faults to be forgotten, by shewing that your heart was Spanish, although your exterior deportment gave reason for doubting it.'

"The Spanish general concluded his address by stating, that all those who came in should also be paid for their arms, and such other military articles as they should bring with them; and so great was the effect of the proclamation, that, even in the course of a few days, a great number of those unfortunate and misguided men made their appearance, and, having taken the oaths of fidelity, joined their brethren in arms. In fact, it had such an influence, as even to produce daily desertions from Joseph's army, to the amount of thousands. His whole line of retreat, in short, was covered with deserters; and, on the 21st, it was known that the intrusive king had changed his route, and was then proceeding by the Arragon road."

The towns of La Mancha were at this time inundated with deserters from Joseph's army; and nearly two thousand, it was said, had entered the capital, whilst many of the French partisans, who had not actually taken up arms, returned to their houses, disgusted with the treatment which they had met with from the retreating army.

The Marquis of Wellington remained at Madrid until the 22d of August; and on that morning the new council went in a body from the Consistorial Hall, with the ceremonies of state, under the presidency of Field-Marshal Don Carlos d'Espana, commandant-general *ad interim* of New Castile, and of the capital, and proceeded to the royal palace, to compliment our hero as General Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and, being admitted into his presence, the general addressed his excellency, in the name of the whole council, in the following terms:—

"Most excellent lord,—The council of the capital of Spain, which has deserved the public confidence, and which was elected according to the laws of the Spanish monarchy, sanctioned by the General and Extraordinary Cortes of the nation, comes to offer to your excellency the sincere expression of its respect and gratitude. The inhabitants of Madrid, justly celebrated in history by their heroic patriotism, and who, in the glorious strug-

gle in which the nation is engaged, were the first people who, without other force than their loyalty, shed their blood to defend the independence of their country and the rights of their legitimate sovereign, manifest to your excellency, by the voice of their magistrates, the satisfaction they feel at seeing, in the palace of their kings, the illustrious conqueror of Vimiera and Talavera; the deliverer of Portugal; the conqueror of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; the hero who, in the plains of Salamanca, humbled the pride of our perfidious and cruel enemies, frustrated their designs, and broke the chains which disgraced the capital of the Spanish empire—a memorable victory, which history shall transmit to the most remote posterity.

"My lord duke,—The representatives of a most loyal and grateful people hope, that your excellency, thus worthily placed at the head of Spanish greatness, will be pleased to take this capital under your particular protection; and that the effects of this benefit will be the continuation of that precious liberty which we acknowledge to owe to your excellency, and the restoration to his throne of the monarch, who is the object of our persevering love and honour, and destined to reign, according to a wise constitution, over an illustrious people, who will for ever be worthy of their liberty from the sacrifices they have made."

To this the marquis returned the following answer:—

"I am very sensible of the honour which the most noble and loyal council of Madrid has done me in this visit, and am highly gratified with the polite language in which your excellency, speaking in its name, has been pleased to mention the principal occurrences of the war in which I have borne a part. I have particular satisfaction in receiving a body of magistrates elected by the faithful people of Madrid, according to the forms provided by the constitution, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes, which, possessing the confidence and influence of the people, carry into execution the laws with impartiality and vigour. The events of war are in the hands of Providence; but I trust that these gentlemen and inhabitants of Madrid, will not doubt that I shall continue to make every effort in my power, to carry into execution the orders of his royal highness, who exercises the authority in the name of his Britannic majesty, in behalf of the interesting cause of Spain; and I hope that these efforts will not only contribute to preserve the peace and security of the city of Madrid, but also, ultimately, to establish the independence, prosperity, and happiness of Spain."

The most important result attending the victory of Salamanca, and the advance of our hero to Madrid, was the raising the siege of Cadiz by the French. This city had, for a considerable time, been in a state which rendered its inhabitants prisoners on the land-side, and subjected them to much distress from scarcity and sickness. This was aggravated by the sense of danger from a bombardment, which, though distant, had latterly, by means of improvements in destructive contrivance, become more serious. All the attempts of the Spaniards themselves to break up the blockade had failed; and even where the enemy had been obliged to withdraw the greater part of their troops, the strength of the works discouraged any effort to force them. The victorious career of Lord Wellington, and the recalling of some of the French veterans from Spain, made it necessary for the enemy to concentrate their forces; and, as a step towards this purpose, they resolved upon abandoning the siege. Accordingly, on the 24th and 25th of August, they abandoned their works opposite to Cadiz and the Isla; leaving behind them a numerous artillery, and a large quantity of stores and powder; most of the ordnance, however, was rendered unserviceable.

Two days after the evacuation of the lines of Cadiz, a combined force, under General Le Cruz and Colonel Skerret, entered the city of Seville, in which were eight French battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry; and, after an obstinate conflict, in the streets, on the bridge, and in the suburbs, the French were driven out, leaving behind them their horses, baggage, and effects, and about two hundred prisoners. About the same time, the French evacuated the city and castle of Arcos, in Andalusia, and all the line from Guadalate to Ronda, blowing up their fortifications, and destroying their cannon and ammunition.

But to return to the operations of Lord Wellington's army.—As Massena was now expected to take the command of the French army of Portugal, and once more to try his fortune against his illustrious rival, it became necessary for Lord Wellington to watch his motions. Accordingly, he quitted Madrid on the 1st of September, having previously ordered his troops to be collected at Arevalo. At this time, Joseph Buonaparte had joined Marshal Suchet, in Valencia. The latter was posted upon the Xucar, watching the troops under General Maitland; which, after an advance from Alicant, had retreated, and were cantoned in the villages around that city. Marshal Soult was in Granada he had been followed by Ballasteros, who had been successful in harassing his rear. Cordova and Jean were cleared of the invaders. General Sir Rowland Hill was at Truxillo, whence he was to advance to Oropesa.

Lord Wellington's army marched from Arevalo on the 4th of September, and passed the Douro on the 6th, at the fords of Herrera and El Abrojo. General Foy, in the mean time, having heard of the surrender of Astorga, returned to the Esla, and marched upon Garva-

jales, with a view to surprise and cut off the Portuguese militia, employed under Lieutenant-general the Conde d'Amarante in blockading Zamora. This general, however, effected his retreat, without loss, to the frontiers of Portugal; and General Foy could do no more than carry off the French garrison, which he did on the 29th of August, thinking their position unsafe, and then marched for Tordesillas.

The whole remains of the army of Portugal being now collected between Valladolid and Tordesillas, our hero found their advanced guard, on the 6th of September, strongly posted on the heights of La Cisterniga; and, at the same time, received intelligence that there was a considerable body of troops in and about the former place.

As it was late in the day before the allied troops had crossed the Douro, the marquis resolved not to move forward before the next morning; but the enemy retired from La Cisterniga during the night, and abandoned Valladolid in the morning, as soon as they saw the British advance, blowing up the bridge on crossing the Pisuerga, in order to elude pursuit. They were closely followed, however, by the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Ponsonby, with a detachment of the 12th light dragoons, through the town; but some time having elapsed before the infantry could come up, the retiring troops could not be prevented from destroying the bridges; by which means their loss was less than might have been expected. In fact, so great was the terror of the French, that they fired only five guns before they hastily fled towards Burgos; and, on being overtaken by some of the British cavalry, they abandoned their provisions, ammunition, baggage-waggons, &c.

Although Valladolid had been only a few days under the French yoke, the entrance of the British troops was hailed by the inhabitants with inconceivable joy; and our hero, with the most judicious attention to the wants of the poor Spaniards, had all the waggons brought into the city, laden with plunder, and permitted the distressed inhabitants to recover their lost property. Such noble conduct cannot be too highly appreciated, and must not be passed over in silence.

The enemy retired along the right bank of the Pisuerga, and, in the evening, had reached Duenas. Though the Gallician army had retired from Astorga, on the approach of General Foy; yet no sooner had he commenced his retreat on the Douro, than they again advanced to the Esla. At this period, the marquis received intelligence from Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, that he had advanced as far as Llerena, in pursuit of the troops under General Drouet.

Lord Wellington continued to follow the enemy with the whole of his troops until the 16th of September, when he was joined at Pampliega by three divisions of infantry, and a small body of cavalry, of the army of Gallicia; his excellency the Captain-general Castanos having arrived at head-quarters on the 14th.

On the 16th, the retreating enemy had taken a strong position on the height behind Celada del Carmino, when his lordship made arrangements for attacking them on the morning of the following day; but they thought proper to retire during the night, and were driven to the heights close to Burgos, through which town they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving behind them some clothing and other stores, and a large quantity of wheat and barley. After this they retired to Briviesca, where they were joined by about seven thousand conscripts from France.

It was necessary to pass the river of Arlanzon, in the vicinity of Burgos; but the castle of that town commands the passages of the river, and the roads communicating with them, so completely, that the British army could not cross it before the 19th, when that operation was effected in two columns, the fifth division and Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade above the town, whilst the first division, with Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, and Major-general Anson's cavalry, passed below it.

The city of Burgos, which might now be considered as the last refuge of the French in that part of Spain, is situated in that division of the country allotted to the army of the north; and General Caffarelli, who had been there on the 17th, had placed in the castle a garrison of the troops of that army, consisting, as was reported, of two thousand five hundred men. The enemy had not only bestowed immense labour in fortifying this castle of Burgos, but had also occupied, with a horn-work, the hill of St. Michael's, which has a considerable command over some of the works of the castle, at the distance of three hundred yards. They had also occupied other parts of that hill with various works, for the protection of their picquets and outposts.

The first division of the allied army had no sooner crossed the river Arlanzon, on the 19th of September, than the enemy's outposts were driven in by the light infantry battalion of Colonel Sterling's brigade, under the command of the Honourable Major Cocks, supported by Brigadier-general Pack's brigade; and the enemy's outworks on the hill of St. Michael's, with the exception of the horn-work, were occupied by the allied troops, which were posted close to the horn-work.

As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the forty-second regiment, attacked and carried by assault the horn-work which the enemy had occupied in great strength. In this affair, the allies captured

three pieces of cannon, and one captain, with sixty-two others, prisoners; but, at the same time, owing to the strength of the work, their loss was very severe.

On the two following days, the allied troops were actively employed in establishing themselves on the hill of St. Michael's, and in constructing such works as were best adapted to forward their future operations. At that period, the whole army had crossed the Arlanzon, with the exception of the sixth division of the Spanish infantry; and the siege of the castle of Burgos was regularly commenced.

Though the city of Burgos itself was in possession of the allied forces, yet the head-quarters were at Villa Toro, in its vicinity; and the operations were still carried on against the castle. On the night of the 22d, the Marquis of Wellington directed an attempt to be made to take by storm the exterior line of the enemy's works, one of the batteries destined to protect the allied position having been in such a state of preparation as to give hopes that it would be ready to open on the morning of the 23d.

The attack was to have been made by detachments of Portuguese troops belonging to the sixth division, which occupied the town of Burgos, and invested the castle on the south-west side, on the enemy's left, whilst a detachment of the first division, under Major Lawrie of the seventy-ninth regiment, should scale the wall in front.

The Portuguese troops were so strongly opposed, that they were unable to make any progress on the enemy's flank, and the success of the escalade was consequently impracticable.

On the 27th, the batteries of the allied army were completed, and ready to open on the enemy's interior lines, as soon as the besieging troops could be established within the exterior works: and the enemy's army of observation, at the same period, was about Pancorbo and Miranda on the Ebro, with their advanced posts at Briviesca; but they had hitherto made no attempt to impede the operations of the assailants.

On the failure of the proposed assault on the exterior lines of Burgos, it was found necessary to proceed by sap. Several mines were accordingly prepared; one of which being exploded, at midnight, on the 29th, a breach was made in the outer wall, which some of the party destined to attack it, were enabled to storm; but, owing to the darkness of the night, the detachment who were to support the advanced posts, missed their way, and the advance were driven from the breach before they could be effectually supported.

Another mine had been placed under the wall, which was ready on the morning of the 4th of October, and a fire was opened the same morning from a battery constructed under cover of the horn-work.

The cannonade from this battery improved the breach first made; and the explosion of the second mine, at five o'clock the same evening, effected a second breach; on which both were immediately stormed by the second battalion of the 24th regiment, under the command of Captain Hedderwick, which had been ordered into the trenches for that purpose; and the allied troops were established within the exterior line of the works of the castle of Burgos.

The French army was still upon the Ebro, and made no effort to disturb the besiegers, though they had extended their left as far as Logrono, but with what intention does not appear.

After the attack of the 4th, two sorties were made by the garrison on the 6th, and the 10th; in which they considerably injured the works of the allies, and occasioned some loss of men.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy, the assailants had established themselves, on the 11th of October, within about one hundred yards of the enemy's interior line, which it was even then in their power to assault; and they had also effected a considerable breach in another part of the same line, near to which a body of the British troops were established.

The besiegers were also carrying on their subterranean approaches with great perseverance, and were far advanced in the preparation of another mine.

On the 18th of October, having received a supply of ammunition from Santander, and having completed a mine under the church of St. Romana, which stood in an outwork of the second line, our hero determined that the breach, which had been effected in the second line, should be stormed on that evening, at the moment the mine should explode; and that, at the same time, the line should be attacked by escalade.

The mine succeeded; and Lieutenant-colonel Brown lodged a party of the ninth caçadores, and a detachment of the Spanish troops of the regiment of Asturias, in the outwork. A detachment of the king's German Legion, under Major Wurmb, carried the breach, and a detachment of the guards succeeded in escalading the line; but the enemy opened such a destructive fire upon these last two detachments, from the third line, and the body of the castle itself, and they were attacked by numbers so superior, before they could receive the support allotted them, that they were compelled to retire, with considerable loss.

In order to further the operations, another mine was commenced under the second line from the church of St. Romana, of which the assailants still remained in possession.

The hopes of success now grew fainter, especially as the French army began to make demonstrations of a

design to raise the siege. The army of Portugal had been reinforced by fresh troops from France, and by all the disposable force of the army of the north, and was now in considerable strength. On the 13th, they made a reconnoissance of the allied outposts at Monasterio; and, on the 18th, they made an attack in force, and gained possession of the heights commanding that town, whence the outposts had been compelled to retire. They afterwards attempted to drive in other outposts, but for the time they were repulsed.

There were four armies at this period south of the Douro; Joseph Buonaparte's, Suchet's, Soult's, and a force formerly employed in the blockade of Cadiz. All these had now united, and were advancing in a column towards the Tagus. This force, amounting to nearly eighty thousand men, was, nominally, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte; but, in reality, its movements were directed by Marshal Soult. General Hill now sent intelligence to Lord Wellington of the enemy's advance towards the Tagus, which was already fordable by individuals in many places, and was likely soon to become so for an army. Lord Wellington, therefore, ordered him to retire from his position on the Tagus, if he should find that he could not maintain it with advantage; and it was necessary, on account of the foregoing circumstances, that his lordship should be near to him, in order that his own army should not be insulated from Sir Rowland, in consequence of any of the movements which he might find himself under the necessity of making.

In consequence of this arrangement, his lordship raised the siege of Burgos on the night of the 20th; and, by the activity of the various staff-officers, every thing was carried off in the course of one night, excepting a few pieces of ordnance: and such was the secrecy used, that the enemy appears not to have known of it for some time; for they did not follow the allies until the evening of the 22d, when ten thousand of their troops were encamped between Burgos and the British army.

On the evening of the 22d, the allies were encamped at Celada del Camino and Hornillos, with the light cavalry at Estapan and Baniel. On the 23d, they continued their march, the right to Torquemada, the left to Cordevilla; at which two places the whole crossed the river Pisuerga. During these movements, the enemy pressed close on the rear of the allied army, attacking with their cavalry and light troops, whenever they had an opportunity. On the 24th, the army continued its retreat, and took up its ground on the Carrion, with its right at Duenas, and its left at Villa Murial. On this day the army was joined by the first guards from Corunna. On the 25th, the enemy attacked the left wing of the allies at Villa Murial, but were repulsed with some loss. On the 26th, the Marquis of Wellington ordered the army to break up from the Carrion; and he immediately marched up Cabecon del Campo, where he again crossed the Pisuerga. Here the army halted for two days; and, on the 27th, the marquis had an opportunity of seeing the whole of the French army, as they placed themselves opposite to him on the Pisuerga. They appeared to be in great strength; and, from the best information, it was stated that the army of Portugal had received a reinforcement of ten thousand men, including cavalry, from France. Two divisions of infantry belonging to the army of the north had also joined; and, as the cavalry of the latter army was with them, it gave to the pursuing enemy a force of five thousand men in that department alone. The advanced guard of the French army was now about two miles in front of their main body, and about one mile from Cabecon; and, on the 28th, they not only extended their right, but endeavoured to force the bridges of Simances and Valladolid; the former of which was defended by Colonel Halket with his brigade of the seventh division, and the latter by the Earl of Dalhousie, with the remainder of the seventh division. At length, Colonel Halket, being closely pressed, blew up the bridge; detaching at the same time the Brunswick Oels regiment to Tordesillas, towards which quarter the enemy had pushed on a body of troops on this evening; and, as soon as the marquis was acquainted with this circumstance, he judged it proper to break up from the Pisuerga, and to cross the Douro; which object was effected without difficulty on the 29th, by the bridges of Puente Douro and Tudela.

On the approach of the enemy's detachment to Tordesillas, the bridge there had been destroyed; but the marquis sent orders to the regiment of Brunswick Oels, to take post on its ruins, in such a manner, as to prevent the enemy from repairing it. In the course of the night, however, of the 29th, he received intelligence that the corps had been obliged to abandon its posts; and, as he had seen the whole of the French army in march towards Tordesillas on that evening, he felt that no time was to be lost; he therefore marched the whole of the British force to that quarter, at an early hour, on the morning of the 30th, moving upon his left, and posting the troops on the heights between Tordesillas and Rueda.

On his arrival, the marquis found that the enemy had nearly repaired the bridge, but had hitherto made no attempt to pass it, being in some measure taken by surprise by the promptitude and rapidity of the British movements. Our hero's appearance, indeed, seems totally to have disconcerted the plans of the French general; for, on the 31st, it appeared that he had no con-

siderable force in the vicinity of the British army, some of his troops having been marched off towards Valladolid, and others in the direction to Toro.

These operations of the main army were followed by corresponding movements of the forces under General Hill, who had received directions to march northwards; and early in November he arrived on the Adaja, where he was in full communication with the Marquis of Wellington. The allied troops were withdrawn from Madrid, having first destroyed the fort of La China, and all the stores and guns it contained which had not been removed.

The French having repaired the bridge at Toro sooner than Lord Wellington expected, he sent orders, on the 4th of November, to Sir Rowland Hill to march by Fontiveros upon Alba de Tormes; and he himself broke up on the 6th, from the position in front of Tordesillas, marching towards the heights of San Christoval, in front of Salamanca. On the 8th, he took up a position on those heights; and, on the same day, General Hill occupied the town and castle of Alba, posting troops on the Tormes to support them. On the 9th, the enemy drove in the picquets of Major-general Long's brigade of cavalry, in front of Alba; and the major-general was compelled to withdraw his troops through Alba on the following morning. In the course of the day, the whole of the French army approached the British positions on the Tormes, attacking the troops in Alba with twenty pieces of cannon, and a considerable body of infantry. They made no impression on them, however; but withdrew the cannon, and the greater part of their troops, on the same night; nor did they think proper to renew the attack.

On the 14th, the enemy crossed the Tormes in full force, at three fords, near Lucinas, about two leagues above Alba; in consequence of which, the marquis immediately broke up from San Christoval, and ordered the troops to move towards Arapiles; and, as soon as he ascertained the direction of the march of the French army from the fords, he moved, with the second division of infantry, and all the cavalry that could be collected, in order to attack them. To protect this movement, he left Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill with the fourth and Lieutenant-general Hamilton's division in front of Alba, whilst the third division was in reserve on the Arapiles, to secure the possession of that position. He found, however, that the enemy were already too numerous, and too strongly posted at Mozarbes, to be attacked; and he, therefore, confined himself to a cannonade of their cavalry, under which he reconnoitred their position.

In the evening, the marquis withdrew all the troops from the vicinity of Alba towards the Arapiles; merely leaving a small Spanish garrison in the castle, but destroying the bridge.

In the course of the night and the next morning (the 15th), he also moved the greatest part of the troops through Salamanca, and placed Lieutenant-general Sir Edward Paget, with the first division of infantry, on the right, at Aldea Tejada, in order to secure that passage for the troops over the Zanguen, in case the enemy's movements on the right flank of the allies should render it necessary for him to give up his communication with Salamanca or Ciudad Rodrigo.

In the course of the morning, our hero discovered that the enemy were fortifying their position of Mozarbes, which they had taken up the preceding night; and, at the same time, that they were moving bodies of cavalry and infantry towards their own left, extending towards the communications of the allies with Ciudad Rodrigo. It was then obvious that it was the enemy's intention to act upon these communications; and, as they were too strong, as well as too strongly posted, for him to think of attacking them, he determined to move upon that fortress. The allied army was therefore put in march, in three columns, and crossed the Zunguen, passing the enemy's left flank, and encamping on the Vamusa, on the night of the 15th.

On the 16th, the enemy followed this movement with a large force, apparently the whole of their cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry; but they did not attempt to press upon the rear. They took advantage of the ground, however, to cannonade the rear-guard, consisting of the light division under Major-general Charles Alten, on its passage of the Helebra, at San Munoz, on the 17th, and occasioned it some loss.

At this period, the allied army suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather, which was much worse than it had ever been known at that season of the year; and the transport of guns and stores was thereby much impeded. It was, in a great measure, owing to this circumstance that Lieutenant-general Sir Edward Paget was taken prisoner; for that officer, on the 17th, commanding the centre column, and the fall of rain having greatly injured the roads and swelled the rivulets, there was an interval between the fifth and seventh divisions of infantry, to discover the cause of which, Sir Edward rode to the rear alone; and, as the road passes through a wood, either a detachment of the enemy's cavalry had got upon the road, or he had missed it, and fell into their hands in the wood.

The retreat of the army continued until the 19th, when part of it crossed the Agueda, and the head-quarters were fixed at Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the 24th of November, the head-quarters of the allies were again established at Freynada, on the Por-

tuguese frontier; and the greater part of the enemy's forces had recrossed the Tormes, and were marching towards the Douro. General Hill had withdrawn southwards, to Coria, in Estremadura.

One lamentable consequence arising from this disasterous retreat of the allies was, the spirit of insubordination which it introduced into the army. This had arisen to so great a height, as to compel his lordship publicly to reproach his troops with a want of discipline. In his address to his army, he says, "I am concerned to observe, that the army under my command has fallen off, in this respect, in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read; yet this army has met with no disaster; it has suffered no privations, which but trifling attention on the part of the officers could not have prevented; and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service: nor has it suffered any hardships, excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather at a time when they were most severe. It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men; irregularities and outrages of all descriptions were committed with impunity, and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred."

Before we proceed to notice the transactions which took place in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, subsequent to the allied army being put into winter-quarters, it will be proper to take a view of the proceedings in the British Parliament, as connected with our hero. It will tend greatly to illustrate his character, and to shew how highly his services were appreciated by all parties; and that, whatever difference of opinion might prevail with respect to the propriety of carrying on a contest, which was by some thought to be hopeless, no difference existed as to the merits and deserts of the Marquis of Wellington.

Parliament having met in the latter end of the year, a motion of thanks for the victory of Salamanca was moved by Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords; who declared, that he should not do justice to the gallant marquis, if he did not preface the motion which he had to make, with a detail of the circumstances which preceded that glorious battle: these, however, he should not make out from reasonings after the victory, but from documents which existed before it.

He then adverted to the period when the marquis resolved to go into Castile, in order to gain a victory over Marmont, and to cut off all communication between him and Soult; and he added, that, as it was on the 17th of June that Lord Wellington entered Salamanca, so it was about that time that the correspondence between the two French marshals fell into his hands;—a correspondence which related to the British operations, from the commencement of the march into Spain.

Lord Bathurst here asserted, that if the brilliant successes of the marquis were required to be stated in the strongest possible manner, they could not be better done, than by laying these letters before the House; as from these it would appear, that there was not any movement of the enemy which Lord Wellington did not anticipate—no expectation which he did not frustrate—and no fear which he did not realize; insomuch that one of the French marshals declared, that the marquis *must either read their correspondence, or dive into their hearts!*

His lordship next adverted to a most singular and important circumstance, as an historical feature, and passed the highest panegyric upon the marquis for refraining (previous to the battle) to avail himself of an opportunity which presented itself, of obtaining the most *brilliant* victory over Marmont, since it would have been attained with an immense loss of lives, and no important result.

He was anxious to shew, great as were Lord Wellington's military talents, how unwilling he was to risk the lives of his soldiers; how careful he was of the means of his country; and how willing to sacrifice what must be most dear to a soldier—an opportunity of gaining personal renown, if that opportunity must be purchased with too great a loss of blood.

He next drew a striking contrast between the two hostile chiefs, by observing, that Lord Wellington, having received reinforcements, was able to cross the Douro where he chose; and, having selected Tordesillas, was attacked on the next day by the whole army of Marmont, from which he retreated without loss. The two armies then continued for two days in sight of each other, anxious for an engagement: with this difference, that Marmont would have engaged, provided he could have done so on terms not wholly unfavourable; but Lord Wellington would not have done it without being confident of a decided advantage.

There were two heights, he observed, with respect to this point, the possession of which would give advantage to either army; one was immediately occupied by the British army, the other by the French. But Lord Wellington soon perceived that, from Marmont's position, his rear would be exposed to be cut off from that retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo which he himself conceived it might be necessary for him to make good with the allied forces in the course of the day. He, therefore, immediately directed all his baggage into

Ciudad Rodrigo; and, after some time, Marmont extended his line to the left, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the marquis; who, aware of the danger of being reduced, by Marmont's success in this manœuvre, to a forced action, immediately directed the third division to pass the rear so as not to be seen. If Lord Wellington had quitted his position, he might then have been deprived of an advantage which might never happen again; and who can tell, asked Lord Bathurst, what passed in the general's mind during the conflict, whether he should remain exposed as he was, or abandon that position? How little do we think of those anxious moments which a general experiences, in whose decisions are placed the lives and fortunes of so many brave men? The critical moment at length arrived.—"*Now I have it!*" exclaimed Lord Wellington; and the same army, who were before in a disposition for retreat, were now in array for battle, as if they had been so from the very dawn of that day.

"The third division," said Lord Bathurst, "was under the command of Major-general Pakenham—a very young man to undertake so great a task as was entrusted to him; but he proved, on this occasion, that he united to the enterprising spirit of youth the wisdom and experience of maturer years. He was well supported by the cavalry, who advanced and overthrew every thing without resistance: but it was not until the sixth and seventh divisions came to his assistance, that advantage was obtained over the enemy; when the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton decided the fortune of the day, which was uncertain till they burst upon the enemy, and carried every thing before them. After this, nothing was left for the enemy but flight, which, however, would have been unavailing to them, but for the night, which covered their retreat."

Lord Bathurst then said, that he left it for others to descant upon the most noble general's heroism, judgment, forecast, and skill; all of which were displayed at the victory of Salamanca, and which had not slept since. If he forebore from panegyrising all these qualities as they merited, it was not from a want of feeling them, but from a consciousness of his own inadequacy to an eulogy, which, unless animated by genius, and chastised by taste, would add no lustre to the hero's name; he therefore said he should leave the task to others better qualified than himself, and concluded by moving, "That the thanks of the House of Peers be presented to General the Marquis of Wellington for his many and great services, more particularly for the great and decisive victory of the 22d of July last, whereby the siege of Cadiz was raised, and the Andalusians were freed from the hands of the enemy."

The Marquis of Lansdowne said, that no person who had the honour to be connected with the family of the illustrious individual at the head of our army in the Peninsula, could be more anxious to support the proposition now submitted to the noble house, than he was; and that no person could have felt more pleasure than he did, in listening to the just, clear, and glowing description of the mover. That anxiety, he declared, was not diminished by the late unfavourable events which had taken place; for he was entirely of opinion that these circumstances ought to make no alteration as far as regarded the present question. In fact, he considered the question, not to be whether Lord Wellington had been supplied by the British government with proper means and resources; but the question was simply, whether the means with which his lordship had been entrusted, had been wisely, skilfully, and successfully, as far as circumstances would admit, applied for the public service.

Though unwilling to mix these topics with the present subject, the Marquis of Lansdowne conceived that he might be permitted to say so far as that if there were any persons who had seen the difficulties of the war in the Peninsula in a stronger light than others, who thought the means of carrying it on were very imperfect, and who, though admiring the patriotism of the Spanish people, yet feared that the organization, civil and military, in that country, was not such as afforded security for effectual co-operation; then the greater they felt these difficulties to be, in that proportion must be their admiration of the talents of the general who had met, and in many instances gloriously surmounted, these difficulties. The campaign, indeed, he considered as one which must be characterised as of various fortune; yet out of this very circumstance there arose a display of military talent in Lord Wellington which would not otherwise have appeared. It was thus evident, that whether the gallant Marquis pursued the triumphs gained by himself, or experienced disappointment from extraneous circumstances, he was no less capable, by his rare talents, of alleviating misfortune, than of improving success.

The Marquis of Lansdowne then added, that, in reviewing the military transactions in the Peninsula for the last three years, if he were qualified at all to decide on the subject, those which he would rest upon with the highest admiration would be such as occurred under the circumstances when Lord Wellington was obliged to retreat before a superior force of the enemy. However unfavourable the circumstances, he had always on those occasions preserved his army and its resources entire, and fit for attack when the proper moment for attack should arrive. Such was the retreat to the lines at Torres Vedras; such was his retreat previous to the

battle of Salamanca—a retreat suddenly converted into a brilliant victory, where a superior enemy was checked, and forced to retrace his steps; such, too, was the present retreat to the frontiers of Portugal: all of them evincing the greatest military genius in the commander.

Another striking feature in the character of our hero was pointed out by Lord Somers, whose son, the gallant Colonel Cocks, had fallen at Burgos. His lordship observed, that he did not rise to trouble the house at any length, for it was hardly possible to add to what had already been said on the great merits of Lord Wellington; but, feeling particular obligation to his lordship, he could not help expressing his sincere concurrence in the measure proposed, and his desire to add, as much as was in his power, to the well-earned honours of that great man. There was one trait in his character, which, he said, had not yet been noticed, but which was well worth mentioning—he meant the attention which the gallant general, though occupied as he must be by his great plans, paid to the comforts of those who had fallen into ill-health from the labours of their situation. He knew that such attention had been paid to a dear relative of his, who had nearly died from fatigue after the battle of Salamanca, and would have died then, had it not been for the friendly care of the Marquis of Wellington, who saved a little longer that life which was soon after sacrificed in the performance of public duty. This fact he thought worth mentioning; and he fully agreed with Lord Bathurst, that there never was a general less disposed to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers, except when the service of his country demanded such a sacrifice. This he knew personally: and he had only further to observe, that the knowledge of the attention which Lord Wellington paid to those under his command must complete that confidence which the army and the country reposed in that eminent commander; and he need not expatiate on the advantages of such confidence when so well placed.

These testimonies of approbation, from so many parties, naturally excited the most lively emotions in the breast of his illustrious brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, who observed how gratified he felt by what had occurred. "If the merits of Lord Wellington," said he, "could have a higher and more eloquent eulogium than that pronounced by Lord Bathurst, it would be by that bestowed by the venerable Lord Somers. There could, indeed, have been but one feeling in the House when that nobleman spoke: his praise of the British general was the most valuable; he spoke like a patriot; he had sustained a deep and bitter loss, but he had sustained it with the honourable and manly feeling of one who had given up a dear son for his country."

On the general subject of the motion, the Marquis of Wellesley added, that it could scarcely be supposed that he would offer objections; but one thing he had to observe, where Lord Bathurst had alluded to the display of Lord Wellington's talents in the pressure of retreat, and thought them not less signally displayed than in victory. "For my part," exclaimed the Marquis, "if I were called on to give my impartial testimony of the merits of your general, I confess, before Heaven, I would not select his victories, brilliant as they were; I would go to the moments when difficulties pressed and crowded on him—when he had but the choice of extremities. It is to his *retreats* that I would go, for the proudest and most undoubted evidence of his ability. It is not my intention to debate upon these services—there is but one feeling on them amongst us. The speech of Lord Bathurst was sufficient; if its chasteness, tastefulness, and truth, could have a want, it was more than compensated by the admirable speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had followed him in the debate." Here his lordship sat down, amidst loud applause; and the motion was carried unanimously.

The House of Commons was no less eager to bestow its thanks upon our hero than the Upper House. As, however, we should exceed our prescribed limits by inserting all the speeches that were delivered on the occasion, it may suffice to observe, that in substance they were the same as those in the House of Lords. Independent of these testimonies of their approbation, the House of Commons proceeded to take into their consideration the message of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, relative to an additional provision for the Marquis of Wellington, to enable him to support the dignity of his rank; and Lord Castlereagh, in bringing forward this subject, after bestowing the warmest eulogium upon the noble marquis, observed, that the Prince Regent of Portugal had conferred on him the rank of field-marshal, with the pay attached to that rank in the Portuguese army, which had been stated to amount to eight thousand pounds *per annum;* but Lord Wellington, though he accepted the *rank*, had refused the *emoluments* attached to it, on the disinterested ground, that he was paid by his own sovereign and country. These emoluments, however, were set apart for some years, in hopes that Lord Wellington's delicacy might give way, and he be prevailed on to accept them; but when offered to him in a gross sum, he repeated his refusal, and begged they might be distributed amongst the officers of the army of Portugal, who had deserved so well of their country. In looking at the present measure, Lord Castlereagh wished the House to view it in the light of an honourable remuneration, by the country to Lord Wellington and his family, for the most splendid

services performed by that illustrious general; and that the provision should be such as would particularly mark the wish of the House to render it as particular and permanent as possible. By an accidental concurrence of circumstances, the manor of Wellington, from which the noble marquis had taken his title, happened at present to be in the hands of persons who were willing to dispose of it; and it would be a desirable concurrence that it should be purchased as part of those lands, which it was his intention to move, should constitute the remuneration of his lordship on the present occasion. Under these circumstances he moved, "that one hundred thousand pounds should be vested in the hands of trustees, to be laid out in the purchase of lands of that value, to be settled on Lord Wellington, his heirs, and successors."

But to return to the affairs of the Peninsula.—At the close of November, 1812, the hostile armies in Spain went into winter-quarters; and, with the exception of a few trifling affairs, military operations were wholly suspended; each party being employed in repairing their losses in the last campaign, and endeavouring to render their forces as efficient as possible for the great struggle that was to ensue in the next. During this interval, therefore, Lord Wellington took the opportunity of visiting Cadiz, to confer with the Spanish government on the best means of rendering more efficient the powers of the commanders of armies; drawing the line between their authority and that of the civil governors and municipal councils of provinces, and providing for the maintenance of each army.

His reception at Cadiz was of the most flattering nature: a splendid entertainment was given him by the Spanish grandees, as a public testimony of their gratitude for the eminent services which his heroic conduct in the field had rendered to the Spanish nation, and of manifesting to the world, in a manner worthy of his exalted character, the sentiments which they entertained of his private virtues and eminent military talents.

Having transacted his business with the Spanish government, our hero quitted Cadiz, early in January, to return to the head-quarters of his army at Freynada; and, in his route, passed through the capital of Portugal, where he was honoured with a most triumphant reception, which is thus described in a letter from Lisbon:—

"His excellency the Marshal General the Marquis of Torres Vedras, after having passed through triumphal arches erected in the fortress of Elvas, and in all the towns on the road to the left bank of the Tagus, where, for the space of thirty leagues, all the inhabitants strove to outdo each other in testimonies of enthusiasm and gratitude, at length arrived, at half-past three in the afternoon, in the Commercial Square of this capital. He was there received by all the Portuguese and English generals, by all the troops of both nations, and the whole armed force in Lisbon. His arrival was announced by the repeated salutes from the ships and frigates in the Tagus, and the castle of St. George. The troops were ranged in two lines, extending to the Palacio das Necessidades. His excellency mounted on horseback, thus affording a sight of himself to the immense concourse of spectators that were collected, and to innumerable ladies who adorned the windows of that vast edifice, which had been prepared for his reception Repeated and loud acclamations accompanied his excellency as he passed on; and the people of Lisbon, who had never given a plaudit nor one salutation to Junot, notwithstanding all the power with which he was surrounded, were now boundless in their applauses to their deliverer from the cruel invasion of Massena. At night, there was a general illumination, which was repeated three successive nights.

"On Sunday morning his excellency, in the Portuguese uniform, went to pay his compliments to the lords regents of the kingdom; and at four, on the same afternoon, he returned to the palace of government, to partake of a sumptuous entertainment, at which the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were present. At about half-past seven, his excellency repaired to the theatre of San Carlos, which was richly adorned with emblematical figures. The scene was opened with an anthem in praise of the prince regent, whose portrait, on being suddenly displayed, was greeted with thunders of applause. A piece was then performed, entitled O Nome, (The Name,) composed in honour of Lord Wellington. The interlocutors were Glory, Posterity, Camoens, and the Great Constable. Many verses from Camoens were introduced; and every line that could be applied to his excellency was enthusiastically applauded. On the conclusion of the piece, flowers and verses in honour of the hero were thrown from various parts of the house."

After his visit to Lisbon, the marquis proceeded to the head-quarters of his army at Freynada, where every preparation was made to open the ensuing campaign with the greatest vigour. No alterations in the positions of either army had, at this time, taken place; but, about the middle of February, great changes were apparently taking place in the state of the French armies: and, at Madrid, they evidently shewed they did not expect to occupy that city beyond the middle of the month at the furthest, acknowledging that they should abandon that point, in order to unite in Castille the three armies, of the centre, the south, and of Portugal.

Soult was now recalled for want of a proper under-

standing with Joseph; and Gazan was appointed *pro tempore* to supersede him. The march of troops into France was taking place to a great extent; for, besides the ten men per company of the artillery, and of other corps, ordered to proceed for France from the army of Portugal, six hundred grenadiers of the Imperial guard were also on their route; several entire regiments, with their sick and baggage, were pushing on for Valladolid and Vittoria, all with similar orders; and it was asserted, that, with those who marched for France, and those who died in the hospitals, where the greater part of the conscripts that arrived in the autumn had perished, the army of Portugal was reduced to a mere skeleton, in comparison with what it had been; for, by accounts from Madrid of the 24th, it amounted only to thirty-one thousand two hundred and twenty infantry, three thousand two hundred and fifty-six cavalry, and two thousand seven hundred and seventy-five artillery-men. At this period, two convoys had arrived from Valencia at Madrid, to the number of six hundred carriages; the army of the south was diminished by the returns into France; and Drouet, then commanding the army of the centre, had with him only thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-four men, of whom three thousand two hundred and forty-eight were cavalry, and five hundred and eleven artillery-men, with only ten pieces of cannon.

About the middle of February, some warlike demonstrations were made by the enemy; who, after they had retired across the Tormes, and their troops had taken up their cantonments, those on the Upper Tormes collected again from Piedraheta, Congosta, El Bano, and Avila; and, on the morning of the 20th, a body of about one thousand five hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry, under the general of division Foy, attacked Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill's post at Bejar, consisting of the fifty-sixth regiment and sixth Portuguese caçadores, which troops were under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Harrison of the fiftieth regiment.

A little before day-break in the morning, the allied picquets were attacked, and, after some smart firing, were compelled to fall back; but, on being reinforced by some companies of the fiftieth regiment, and the caçadores, the assailants were driven back, leaving some dead; they then retired across the bridge on the road to Congosta, and were for some time followed by Major Mitchell with the sixth caçadores.

In the beginning of March, the French found it necessary to evacuate Madrid; and Joseph found it expedient to take up his quarters at Valladolid with the whole of his court.

The British army still remained in its position; but detachments of the cavalry were occasionally sent into Estremadura, for the purpose of defending those who were employed in collecting provisions and forage: and Lord Wellington himself was extremely active in visiting the frontier towns and advanced posts, reviewing the several garrisons, and inspecting the different corps, previous to the opening of the campaign. The allied army was at this time composed of forty thousand English infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, independent of the Portuguese and Spaniards; and there was reason to expect that reinforcements, hospital returns, &c. would increase the cavalry to the number of twelve thousand previous to the month of April, at which period the commencement of hostile operations was expected to take place.

Great changes were now taking place in the superior departments of the French army; and, as early as the 12th of the month, the arrival of several generals of division from France, to take the command of several divisions hitherto commanded, *ad interim*, by generals of brigade, had been announced at Valladolid. Supplies also were sent to a certain extent; and it was known that a convoy was expected in Valladolid with clothing for the troops, which had already arrived as far as Vittoria, protected by a strong escort.

Some correspondent movements now began to take place in both armies; and a considerable part of the French troops in front of the British positions having been marched to Valladolid, the third brigade of Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill's division was advanced from Coria to Placentia;—a movement whose evident aim was to take possession of that city, together with the bridge. In other respects, as far up as the 14th, no forward movements had taken place; but the troops from the interior were ordered up in all directions, and, amongst others, the tenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth hussars proceeded from Lisbon to join the allied army. At this period, indeed, transports with all descriptions of English troops had arrived at Lisbon.

On referring to Lord Wellington's despatches at this crisis, it does not appear that any important movements had taken place on the part of the enemy: but the province of La Mancha was completely freed from the hostile corps, and the force under Drouet, amounting to upwards of fourteen thousand men, had also left the neighbourhood of Madrid, where they had been for some time stationed.

On the 8th of April, General Castanos marched from Badajoz to Ciudad Rodrigo, at which time Lord Wellington had ordered rations for one hundred thousand men to be prepared at Truxillo: the marquis, indeed, was still at head-quarters at Freynada, but the movements on all sides seemed to announce the opening of the mighty contest. Sir Rowland Hill had now re-

ceived orders to put himself in motion towards the Tagus, in which direction Castanos was also advancing; his head-quarters having hitherto been at Aldea near Truxillo, whence he had gone to Badajoz, in order to have a personal interview with the commander-in-chief.

Lord Wellington himself was not expected to move before the 12th of May, at which period it was supposed that every thing would be in readiness for all the British and Spanish armies to assume the offensive simultaneously, and thus to act upon a general plan. Whilst Lord Wellington and Sir Rowland Hill were to approach the Douro, it was expected that Sir John Murray would force Suchet to evacuate Valencia, and fall back on the Murviedro, which it was supposed he would defend.

On the other hand, the French seemed to have determined on a combined defensive plan. Gazan had already evacuated Toledo and Madrid; but the evacuation of the capital under existing circumstances was not considered as an event of much importance either in a political or military point of view. As to the usurper himself, we have already seen that he had removed to Valladolid, to be in the centre of his principal armies; of which Gazan's was mostly spread along the right bank of the Tormes, Drouet's was in the Cega, and Reille's on the Pisuerga: the two former occupying the country in front of the Douro; the latter, that between Valladolid and Burgos.

From all circumstances it seemed that the French were resolved to maintain as long as possible all tenable points. It was known that they were fortifying Toro and Tordesillas, as well as Burgos; thus shewing that though they anticipated a retreat as far as behind the Ebro, still they did not intend hastily to abandon the Douro.

No movement of importance took place among the allied troops until the 30th of April, when they began to leave Ciudad Rodrigo by the Sierra da Pinha de Franca. Don Carlos de Espana had orders to advance to Salamanca, to join the allied army; and the division of Morillo proceeded also for the same point, but, on its arrival at Caceres, received orders to suspend its march. General Silviera, however, with another Spanish division, passed on by Alcantara, in order to join the allies.

After considerable delay, the army under the Marquis of Wellington moved from its quarters; and, on the 26th of May, arrived at Salamanca, and found the enemy still in the town, with one division of infantry, and three squadrons of cavalry and some cannon, of the army of the south, under the command of General Villate.

They evacuated the town, however, upon the approach of the British; but, by waiting longer than was necessary upon the high ground in the vicinity, they enabled Generals Fane and Victor Alten (the former of whom crossed the Tormes at the ford of Santa Martha, and the latter at the bridge,) to do them considerable injury in the retreat. Many were killed or wounded, and about two hundred taken prisoners, with seven tumbrils of ammunition, some baggage, provisions, &c. The French then retired by the road of Babila Fuente; and near Huerta were joined by a body of infantry and cavalry in their march from Alba, when Lord Wellington ordered the troops to discontinue their pursuit.

Major-general Longa and Brigadier-general Morillo, in command of the Spanish division, then attacked Alva, from which place the enemy retired; and, in the course of the 27th and 28th, Lord Wellington established the troops which had marched from the Agueda and Upper Estremadura, between the Tormes and Douro, under the command of Sir Rowland Hill.

On the 29th, our hero set off with his usual activity, to join the troops at Carvajales, passing through Miranda de Douro in the same day, a distance of sixty miles, and was at his destination on the 30th. Here he found the troops under the orders of Sir Thomas Graham, with their left at Tabera, and, in communication with the Gallician army, their right being at Carvajales, and all the arrangements made for passing the Esla. Indeed, on the next morning, (the 31st,) the greatest part passed that river, the cavalry by fords, and the infantry by a bridge thrown across the river.

On the 1st of June, the allied troops had proceeded as far as Zamora, and, on the 2d, were at Toro, with several considerable detachments in advance. The English hussars fell in, between Toro and Morales, with a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which were immediately attacked by the tenth, supported by the eighteenth and fifteenth; the tenth royal hussars being just brought forward under the orders of Major Roberts, who charged the enemy's advanced squadrons in the most gallant manner. The front line of the French made a desperate resistance, but was soon overpowered by the irresistible impetuosity of the tenth hussars; who, being now supported by the eighteenth, (the fifteenth being kept in reserve,) reached their second line, and drove it, with loss, to the heights two miles in front of Morales;—a position which the enemy occupied with a numerous force of cavalry and infantry, and where the remains of their shattered squadrons took shelter under cover of their guns. The enemy's loss was considerable; and two hundred and ten prisoners, many horses, and two officers, fell into the hands of the British.

Previous to this affair, the enemy had destroyed the bridges at Zamora and Toro, and the difficulties in the

passage of the Esla had retarded the movements of the allied rear; while the enemy had concentrated their force to a considerable amount between Torrelobeton and Tordesillas. The Marquis of Wellington, therefore, halted on the 3d at Toro, in order to bring the light division, and the troops under the command of Sir Rowland Hill, across the Douro, by the bridge of the town, and thus to close up the rear, and enable the Gallician army to join the allied left. But he moved again from this position on the 4th.

On the 7th, the French had passed the Carrion; which river was immediately crossed by the allied army, who, during these three succeeding days, brought forward their left, and, on the 10th, passed the Pisuerga in close pursuit of the enemy. But the celerity of the march up to this period, the consequent fatigue of the troops, and the necessary delay in the advance of stores, induced our hero to make short movements on the 11th, and even to halt the left division on the following day. On that day, however, he moved forward the right under Sir Rowland Hill, consisting of British and allies, with several brigades of cavalry, towards Burgos, with a view to reconnoitre the enemy's position and numbers near that town, and to force them either to abandon the castle to its fate, or to protect it with all their force.

The marquis found the enemy posted with a considerable force, commanded by General Reille, on the heights on the left of the Hormazar, with their right above the village, and their left in front of Estepar. He immediately turned their right with the hussars, and Brigadier-general Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and the light division from Isar; while General Victor Alten's brigade of cavalry, and the Honourable Colonel O'Callaghan's brigade of the second division, moved up the heights from Hormazar, and the remainder of the troops, under the command of Sir Rowland Hill, threatened the heights of Estepar.

These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of the allied left and centre were then entirely on the rear of the enemy, who were thus forced to retire across the Arlanzon, by the high road towards Burgos.

The French now took post on the left of the Arlanzon and Urbel rivers, which were much swelled by the rains; and, in the course of the night, withdrew their whole army through Burgos; having abandoned and destroyed, as far as they were able, the works of the castle, which they had constructed and improved at so large an expense; and, on the 13th of June, they were in full retreat towards the Ebro.

On the 13th, the whole of the allied army made a movement to the left; the Spanish corps of Gallicia, under General Giron, and the left of the British and Portuguese armies, under Sir Thomas Graham, being pushed on in advance to cross the Ebro on the following day, whilst the Marquis of Wellington kept his head-quarters at Villa Diego.

That movement was accordingly performed on the 14th, by the bridges of St. Martin and Rocamunda; and, on the next day, the remainder of the allies crossed the Ebro by the same route and by the bridge of Puente Arenas, continuing their march on the following days towards Vittoria.

On the 16th and 17th, the enemy assembled a considerable corps at Espejo, not far from the Puente Carra, composed of some of the troops which had been for some time in the provinces in pursuit of Longa, of Mina, and others, detached from the main body of the army, which were still at Pancorbo. They had also a division of infantry and some cavalry at Fries, for the purpose of watching the movements of the allies on the left of the Ebro. These detachments marched early in the morning of the 18th; that from Fries upon St. Millan, where it was found by the light division of the allied army under Major-general Alten; and that from Espejo on Osma, where it met the first and fifth divisions under Sir Thomas Graham.

Major-general Alten drove the enemy from St. Millan, and afterwards cut off the rear brigade of the division, of which he took three hundred prisoners, killed and wounded many, and the brigade itself was dispersed in the mountains.

The corps from Espejo was considerably stronger than that under Sir Thomas Graham, who had arrived nearly at the same time at Osma. The enemy, presuming on their numbers, moved on to the attack, but were soon obliged to retire; and they were followed to Espejo, whence they returned through the hills to Subijana on the Bayas. It was late in the day before the other troops came up to the advanced position which Sir Thomas Graham had taken, and the marquis halted the fourth division near Espejo.

The memorable engagement which followed these movements, is described, by our hero himself, in the following despatches, dated Salvatierra, June 22, and Irunzun, June 24:

"My Lord,

"The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as the major-general, took up a position, on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied, with the right of the centre, a height which commanded the valley of Zadora,

and their right was stationed near Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would be necessary. I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it. We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday; and I am happy to inform your lordship, that the allied army gained a complete victory; having driven them from all their positions, and taken from them one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners.

"The operations of the day commenced by Sir R. Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division under General Murillo, the other being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, that Sir R. Hill was obliged to detach, first, the seventy-first regiment, and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained, possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and I am concerned to have to report that Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan has died of a wound which he received. In him his majesty has lost an officer of great zeal and tried gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom it might be expected, that if he had lived he would have rendered the most important services to his country. Under cover of the possession of these heights, Sir R. Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla and the defile formed by the heights and the River Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain. The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their station on the River Bayas, at as early an hour as I had expected; and it was late before I knew that the column composed of the third and seventh divisions, under command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them. The fourth and light divisions, however, passed the Zadora immediately after Sir R. Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nanclaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes; and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendonza, and the third division, under Sir T. Picton crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the seventh division, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Sir R. Hill should move forward from Sabijana de Alava, to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line, to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

"In the mean time, Sir T. Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the first and fifth divisions, and Generals Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and Generals Bock's and Anson's cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Sir T. Graham, if his support had been required. The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as têtes-de-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. General Pack with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the fifth division of infantry under the command of General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. Sir T. Graham reports that, in the execution of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish

troops behaved admirably. The fourth and eighth caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa, being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor.

"As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed and carried by General Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. The lieutenant-general then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse-artillery; and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried; the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry. During the operation at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to re-possess themselves of the village of Gamarra Maior, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the fifth division under General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights of the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark. The movement of the troops under Sir T. Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pampeluna; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Arunez and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only.

"The army under Joseph Buonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and of the centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa; and General Clausel, who commands the army of the north, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Topin, and General Vandermasen's division of the army of the north. The sixth division of the allied army, under General Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores.

"I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the general officers, officers, and soldiers, of the army in this action. Sir R. Hill speaks highly of the conduct of General Murillo and the Spanish troops under his command, and of that of General the Honourable W. Stewart, and the Conde d'Amaranthe, who commanded divisions of infantry under his directions. He likewise mentions the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel O'Callagan, who maintained the village of Sabijana de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of it; and that of Colonel Brooke of the adjutant-general's department, and the Honourable A. Abercromby of the quarter-master-general's department. It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of the divisions of the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir T. Picton, Sir L. Cole, and Baron C. Alten. These troops advanced in *echelons* of regiments, in two, and occasionally in three lines; and the Portuguese troops in the third and fourth divisions, under General Power and Colonel Stubbs, led the march with a steadiness and gallantry never surpassed on any occasion. General C. Colville's brigade of the third division was seriously attacked in its advance by a very superior force, well formed, which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of the seventh division, commanded by Colonel Grant of the eighty-second. These officers, and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves. General Vandeleur's brigade of the light division was, during the advance upon Vittoria, detached to the support of the seventh division; and the Earl of Dalhousie has reported most favourably of its conduct.

"I am particularly indebted to Sir T. Graham, and Sir R. Hill, for the manner in which they have conducted the service intrusted to them since the commencement of the operations, which have ended in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to Marshal Beresford, for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations. I must not omit to mention, likewise, the conduct of General Giron, who commands the Gallician army, who made a forced march from Orduna, and was on the ground in readiness to support Sir T. Graham. I have frequently been indebted, and have had occasion to call the attention of your lordship, to the conduct of the quarter-master-

general, General Murray, who, in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st instant, has again given me the greatest assistance. I am, likewise, indebted much to Lord Aylmer, the deputy-adjutant-general, and to the officers of the adjutant and quarter-master-general's departments respectively; and to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff, and to Sir R. Fletcher and the officers of the engineers. Colonel his Serene Highness the hereditary Prince of Orange was in the field as my aid-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence. Mareschal del campo Don Luis Wimpfen, and the inspector-general Don T. O'Donoju, and the officers of the staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at their conduct, as likewise with that of Mareschal del campo Don M. de Alavo, and of Brigadier-general Don J. O'Lawlor, who have been so long and so usefully employed with me. The artillery was most judiciously placed by Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, and was well served, and the army is particularly indebted to that corps.

"The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged; but the general officers commanding the several brigades kept the troops under their command close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria. I send this despatch by my aid-de-camp Captain Freemantle, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection: he will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the colours of the fourth battalion of the hundredth regiment, and Marshal Jourdan's baton of a marshal of France, taken by the eighty-seventh regiment. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

"*Irunzun, June* 24.

"MY LORD,

"The departure of Captain Freemantle having been delayed till this day, by the necessity of making up the returns, I have to report that we have continued to pursue the enemy, whose rear reached Pampeluna this day. We have done them as much injury as had been in our power, considering the state of the weather and of the roads; and this day the advanced guard, consisting of Baron V. Alten's brigade, and the first and third battalions of the ninety-fifth regiment, and Major Ross's troop of horse-artillery, took from them the remaining gun they had. They have entered Pampeluna therefore with one howitzer only. General Clausel, who had under his command that part of the army of the North, and one division of the army of Portugal which was not in the action of the 21st, approached Vittoria on the 22d, when he heard of the action of the preceding day; and finding there the sixth division, which had just arrived under the command of General E. Pakenham, he retired upon La Guardia, and has since marched upon Tudela de Ebro. It is probable that the enemy will continue their retreat into France. I have detached General Giron with the Gallician army in pursuit of the convoy which moved from Vittoria on the morning of the 20th, which I hope he will overtake before it reaches Bayonne.

"WELLINGTON."

It appears that Joseph Buonaparte narrowly escaped being taken prisoner after the battle of Vittoria. He was seated in a close carriage, which was pointed out by some of the prisoners. A detachment of cavalry, led by the Marquis of Worcester, made for it at full gallop, and actually cut down several of the escort. Captain Windham fired two pistol-shots at the carriage. The escort made a stand at a mill-dam; the carriage got through; and Joseph was seen to mount a horse on the opposite bank, with which he immediately galloped off.

The army of the usurper did not venture, on their arrival at Pampeluna, to continue there, knowing that want of provisions would soon have reduced them to the necessity of surrendering; but, on the 25th, they continued their route by the Roncevalles road, toward the town of St. Jean de Pied de Port, in France.

Pampeluna was immediately invested by a detachment of the Spanish army, whilst the light troops went in pursuit of the straggling fugitives.

Sir Thomas Graham, in the mean time, had taken possession of Tolosa, after two actions with the French, in which they sustained considerable loss. He continued to push them along the road to France, dislodging them from all their strong posts; and a brigade of the army of Gallicia, under General Castanos, drove them across the Bidassoa, (the boundary river,) over the bridge of Irun. The garrison of Passages surrendered on the 30th to the troops of Longa; and St. Sebastian was blockaded by a Spanish detachment. A garrison being left by the enemy in Pancorbo, commanding the road from Vittoria to Burgos, our hero directed the Conde del Abisal to make himself master of the place, which he effected, the garrison surrendering themselves prisoners of war. General Clausel having remained some time in the neighbourhood of Logrono, a force of light troops and cavalry were detached towards Tudela, for the purpose of intercepting him; but, by extraordinary

forced marches, he arrived at Tudela, and thence retreated to Saragossa.

No sooner had the Spanish Cortes been officially apprised of the battle of Vittoria, which consummated their independence, than they immediately, by acclamation, voted their thanks to the great hero who had achieved so much for their country. A deputation was sent to compliment the English ambassador at Cadiz, the brother of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; medals were ordered to be struck in commemoration of this important event; and Senor Arguellas, one of the members of the Cortes, rose in his place and said, "Although the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo does not require fresh proofs to be convinced of the grateful sentiments which animate the Cortes, in respect to this illustrious captain, I think that the time is now arrived when the Cortes should bestow upon him a territorial property, as it has already elevated him to the first class of the civil order. I therefore propose, first, That the Cortes bestow upon the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo a territorial property of the national domains, administered on account of the national treasury, for which purpose the regency will propose to the Cortes what it conceives suitable to the merits of the Duke and the generosity of the Spanish nation: Secondly, That the title of possession which shall be prepared shall contain the following words:—"In the name of the Spanish nation, in testimony of its most sincere gratitude."

On the 11th of July, the Cortes, still anxious to celebrate the late brilliant victory, published a decree, stating, that "the General and Extraordinary Cortes, wishing to transmit to the most distant posterity the memory of the late glorious victory, which the allied army gained under the command of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 21st of June, over the enemy, commanded by the intrusive king, in the fields of Vittoria, decreed as follows:

"First, When circumstances admit of it, there shall be erected, in the situation best calculated for that purpose, in the fields of Vittoria, and in the manner which government shall consider the most proper, a monument, which shall record to the latest generations this memorable battle.

"Secondly, The political chief and provincial deputation of Alava shall charge themselves with the execution of this monument."

The proposed grant of a territorial property to the Marquis of Wellington was further taken into consideration on the 22d of July, when the regency stated, that, in answer to an address of the Cortes, for appropriating an estate to their gallant generalissimo, they were of opinion that the estate called *Soto de Roma*, in the valley of Granada, should be bestowed upon him. This recommendation was referred to a commission; which reported next day their opinion that the Cortes ought to approve of the appropriation of the said fief to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, his heirs and successors, comprehending therein the territory of *Las Chanchinas*.

On this estate, which is estimated at the annual value of ten thousand pounds, there is a large park, celebrated in Spanish history, inclosed and improved by the Emperor Charles V., remarkable for the fineness of its timber, and the luxuriancy of its vegetation, as well as for its being the only place where there are any pheasants in Spain, and which, it is supposed, were first brought thither by that emperor. There is a hunting-seat upon it, which was the retreat of Bernardo Wall, minister of Spain during the latter years of Ferdinand VI., and the beginning of the reign of Charles III.

In England, the recent victory was no sooner made public than an universal feeling of exultation pervaded all classes. A day of thanksgiving was ordered to be observed for the *repeated* successes obtained by the allied forces over the French army in Spain. On the 3d, a notification took place in the Gazette, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent being pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to nominate and appoint General Arthur the Marquis of Wellington, K.G. to be FIELD-MARSHAL in the British army, taking rank from the 21st of June, 1813, the day of his brilliant victory.

On the very day on which the account of the battle of Vittoria arrived, the following letter was addressed to our hero by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent:—

"*Carlton-House, July* 3, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my grateful thanks to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England.

"The British army will hail it with enthusiasm; while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it.

"That uninterrupted health and still increasing laurels may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of, my dear lord,

"Your very sincere and faithful friend,

"G. P. R."

"*The Marquis of Wellington.*"

Our hero, in the mean time, was making arrangements for the siege of Pampeluna and that of St. Sebastian. The battering-train arrived at Santander on the 29th of June, with ordnance-stores; on the 30th, it sailed from thence to Deba, and was to move from Deba by Tolosa to Pampeluna. All the intrenching tools were also arrived: and so anxious was the marquis to avail himself of all the resources from the late victory, that he had even ordered balls to be cast at Santander for the French twelve-pounders taken; and these were sending off to the army at the rate of a thousand per day.

Notwithstanding the French had withdrawn both their right and left into France, yet they still maintained their centre in strength in the valley of Bastan, of which, on account of its fertility, and the strong position it afforded, they appeared resolved to keep possession; and had assembled there three divisions of the army of the south, under the command of General Gazan.

Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, however, having been relieved from the blockade of Pampeluna, dislodged them successively from all their positions, on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, with two brigades of British and one of Portuguese infantry, of the second division, under the command of Lieutenant-general the Honourable W. Stewart; and with one brigade of the Portuguese infantry of the Conde d'Amaranthe's division, under the command of that officer, and compelled them to retire into France.

The operations on the border between France and Spain had hitherto been upon a comparatively small scale; but, towards the close of July, an effort was made by the French to ward off the impending invasion of their own country, which brought into action the whole force on both sides, and occasioned some of the most sanguinary battles that had yet been fought, and displayed a greater degree of skill, if possible, than had previously been shewn in the long course of these military operations.

Marshal Soult, having been appointed "Lieutenant de l'Empereur," and commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain and the southern provinces of France, had arrived and taken the command of the army on the 13th of July; which, having been joined nearly about the same time by the corps which had been in Spain under General Clausel, and by other reinforcements, was now called "the army of Spain," and re-formed into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of General Reille, Count d'Erlon, and General Clausel, as lieutenant-generals, and a reserve under General Villatte, besides two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry; the former under the command of Generals Treilhard and Tilly, and the latter under that of General Pierre Soult. There was also allotted to this army a large proportion of artillery; and, by the middle of July, a large number of guns had already joined.

On the 24th of July, the allied army was posted in the passages of the mountains. Major-general Byng's brigade of British infantry, and General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right, in the pass of Roncevalles; Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscenet, to support these troops; and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, was in reserve at Olaque.

Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan, with the remainder of the second division, and the Portuguese division under the Conde de Amaranthe; detaching General Campbell's brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, the town of Vera, and the Puerta de Eschalar, and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; whilst the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera, and those under Sir Thomas Graham and Marshal del Campo Giron on the great road; Pampeluna being blockaded by the Conde Abisbal.

Such were the positions of the allied army previous to the battle of the Pyrenees; and, on the 24th, Marshal Soult collected the two wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and, on the 25th, attacked, with between thirty and forty thousand men, General Byng's post at Roncevalles.

Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support with the fourth division; and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day: but the enemy turned it in the afternoon, on which Sir Lowry Cole considered it necessary to retire in the night to the vicinity of Zubiri.

These troops were at first obliged to give way; but, having been subsequently supported by Major-general Barnes's brigade of the seventh division, they regained the most important part of their post, which they could have held, had not the retreat of Sir Lowry Cole rendered it expedient for them to retire. On the 27th, Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Thomas Picton, thinking the post to which they had retreated not tenable, drew further back, to a position to cover the blockade of Pampeluna. Their force consisted of the second and fourth divisions of the allied army; and, as they were taking their ground, they were joined by Lord Wellington. Shortly after, the enemy made an attack on a hill upon the right of the fourth division, the importance of which post rendered it an object of vigorous assault and de-

fence during that and the following day, and the enemy was finally repulsed. On the 28th, the sixth division joined, which, as soon as it had taken its position, was attacked by a large body of the enemy, who were driven back with immense loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, and in every part was in favour of the allies, excepting where one battalion of the tenth Portuguese regiment of Major-general Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and obliged to give way on the right of Major-general Ross's brigade, the enemy established themselves on the allied line, and the Major-general was compelled to withdraw from his post. This, however, did not escape the observation of our hero, who immediately ordered the twenty-seventh and forty-eighth regiments to charge, first, that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and, next, those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with considerable loss; and the sixth division having advanced at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the fourth, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of the line.

After various operations on the 29th and 30th, Lord Wellington, on the latter day, directed an attack upon the French, which obliged them to abandon one of the strongest positions ever occupied by troops. A separate attack upon Sir Rowland Hill's position was also repelled, after a severe contest; and, on the night of August the 1st, the allied army was nearly in the same position which it occupied on the 25th of July.

Throughout the whole of these trying conflicts, our hero was enabled to bestow the highest commendation on the behaviour of the troops of the different nations under his command; and it must be admitted, that in none of the actions during this war was more military skill displayed by the officers, or steady valour by the private soldiers.

The enemy continuing posted, on the 2d, with two divisions on the Puerto de Echelar, and nearly their whole army behind the Puerto, Lord Wellington resolved to dislodge them by a combined movement of three advanced divisions. One of these, however, the seventh, under the command of Major-general Barnes, being first formed, commenced the attack by itself, and actually drove the enemy from the formidable heights they occupied. This part of the Spanish frontier was then completely cleared of the enemy.

The loss of the French in all these affairs is supposed to have amounted to fifteen thousand men, of whom four thousand were prisoners. That of the allies was also considerable, though scarcely equal to what might have been expected from the variety and obstinacy of the actions in which they were engaged.

On the 25th, an unsuccessful attempt was made on St. Sebastian. An assault was made on the breach in the wall on the left flank of the works; and the time chosen for it was, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after day-light. But, notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom forced their way into the town, this attack did not succeed, as the enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way; from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and also to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary, at length, to desist from the assault.

On this occasion, the third battalion of royal Scots, which led the attack, suffered severely in men and officers; and the whole loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly nine hundred.

On the 11th of August, Lord Wellington received intelligence of a fortunate co-operation on the part of General Mina, who, a few days previous, had got possession of the enemy's fortified post at Saragossa, by capitulation, where he had taken about five hundred prisoners, forty-seven pieces of cannon, besides a vast quantity of ammunition, arms, clothing, &c.

Hitherto the besieging army before St. Sebastian had desisted from any fresh attack upon that fortress; but, on the 26th of August, the fire was re-opened, and directed against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face, against the demi-bastion on the south-eastern angle, and on the termination of the curtain of the southern face.

The Marquis of Wellington having directed Sir Thomas Graham to attack and form a lodgment on the breach, which now extended to a large surface of the left of the fortifications, the assault commenced at eleven in the forenoon of the 31st of August, by a united column of English and Portuguese. The external appearance of the breach, however, proved fallacious; for when the column, after being exposed to a heavy fire of shot and shells, arrived at the foot of the wall, it found a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet to the level of the streets, leaving only one accessible point, formed by the breaching of the end and front of the curtain, and which admitted an entrance only by single files. In this situation, the assailants made several endeavours to gain an entrance, but all proved fruitless, no man surviving the attempt to gain the narrow ridge of the curtain.

At this critical juncture, the gallant Graham, after

consulting with Colonel Dickson, in command of the royal artillery, adopted a plan altogether unprecedented, but which displayed not only a most admirable genius, but also a dependence upon the coolness and steadiness of the troops, worthy both of him and them; for, as he expressed himself, he now *ventured* to order the guns of the besieging batteries to be turned against the curtain where the British troops were actually engaged. In consequence of this, a heavy fire of artillery was directed against it, passing a few feet only over the heads of the assailants in the breach: and this was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example.

In the mean time, a Portuguese brigade was ordered to ford the river, near its mouth, and attack the small breach to the right of the great one. The success of this manœuvre, joined to the effect of the batteries upon the curtain, at length enabled the troops to establish themselves on the narrow pass, after a most heroic assault of two hours; and, in an hour more, the defenders were driven from all their works, and retired, with great loss, to the castle, leaving the assailants in full possession of the town. A prize thus contended for could not but cost dear to the besieging army; their loss amounted to about two thousand three hundred killed and wounded: but the possession of this place was of the greatest importance to the further operations of the campaign.

After the fire against St. Sebastian had recommenced, the French had drawn the greatest part of their force to one point, which convinced our hero of their intentions. Three divisions of the Spanish army were, therefore, posted upon the heights near the town of Irun, commanding the high road to St. Sebastian, and were strengthened by a British and Portuguese division on the right and left, whilst other troops occupied different positions for their greater security. Early in the morning of the 31st, the enemy crossed the Bidassoa, in great force, and made a desperate attack on the whole front of the Spanish position, on the heights of San Marçial, but were repeatedly repulsed with great gallantry by the Spanish troops. In the afternoon, the French, having thrown a bridge over another part of the river, renewed their attack, but were again repulsed; and, at length, they took the advantage of a violent storm to retire from this front entirely. Another attack was made by the French upon a Portuguese brigade, on the bank of the Bidassoa, which some British troops were ordered to support. In fine, after a variety of operations, this second attempt to prevent the establishment of the allies upon the frontiers was defeated by a part only of the allied army, at the very moment when the town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm.

The success in this quarter was rendered complete, by the surrender, on the 8th of September, of the castle of St. Sebastian. Ever since the capture of the town, a vertical fire had been kept up against that fortress, with great loss to the garrison: and the batteries being completed by the unremitting exertions of the troops, a fire was opened with such effect on the 8th, that in three hours a flag of truce was hoisted, and a capitulation was soon concluded. The garrison, now amounting to about one thousand eight hundred men, remained prisoners of war; and all the ordnance, stores, &c. were the prize of the victors.

We have now arrived at an interesting epoch in the annals of the life of our illustrious hero. The reduction of St. Sebastian had left the frontiers of France exposed to the invasion of the allies; and the war, which had hitherto been carried on with such persevering obstinacy in Spain, was now, after so many years of labour and of glory, to be transferred to an hostile land; and the proud triumph of planting the British flag on the Gallic territory was reserved to the illustrious chief who had so eminently proved himself worthy of this additional renown.

Previous to his lordship's advance, he issued the following general order of the day to his army:—

"1. The commander of the forces is anxious to direct the attention of the officers of the army to the situation in which they have hitherto been amongst the people of Portugal and Spain, and that in which they may hereafter find themselves among those of the frontiers of France.

"2. Every military precaution must, henceforward, be used to obtain intelligence, and prevent surprise; general and superior officers at the head of detached corps will take care to keep a constant communication with the corps upon their right and left, and with their rear; and the soldiers and their followers must be prevented from leaving their camps and cantonments, on any account whatever.

"3. Notwithstanding that these precautions are absolutely necessary, as the country in front of the army is the enemy's, the commander of the forces is particularly desirous that the inhabitants should be well-treated, and private property must be respected.

"4. Officers and soldiers must recollect, that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke; and they must not forget, that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy, in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, have been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties, authorised and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country.

"5. To revenge this conduct upon the peaceful inhabitants of France would be unmanly, and unworthy of the nations to whom the commander of the forces now addresses himself; and, at all events, would be the occasion of similar and worse evils to the army at large, than those which the enemy's army has suffered in the peninsula, and would eventually prove highly injurious to the public interests.

"6. The rules, therefore, which have been hitherto observed, in requiring, and taking, and giving receipts for the supplies from the country, are to be continued in the villages on the French frontiers: and the commissaries attached to each of the armies of the several nations will receive the orders from the commander-in-chief of the army of his nation, respecting the mode and period of paying such supplies."

All the necessary arrangements being made, the great event of passing the French frontier took place on the 7th of October; on which day, Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham directed the first and fifth divisions, and the first Portuguese brigade under Brigadier-general Wilson, to cross the Bidassoa in three columns below and one column above the site of the bridge, under the command of Major-general Hay, the Honourable Colonel Greville, Major-general the Honourable Edward Stopford, and Major-general Howard; and Lieutenant-general Don Manuel Freyre directed that part of the fourth Spanish army under his immediate command to cross in three columns at fords above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye; while the latter should carry those on the Montagne Verte, and on the height of Mandall, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.

"The operations of both bodies of troops," says a contemporary writer, "succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one in those by them.

"Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, having thus established the allied army on the French territory, resigned, in consequence of ill health, his command to Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope.

"Major-general Alten, in the mean time, with the light division, supported by a Spanish division under Longa and Giron, attacked the entrenchments and posts on a mountain called La Rhune, which they carried; the light division taking twenty-two officers and four hundred men prisoners, with three pieces of cannon. These latter troops, indeed, carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands, and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of the mountain with the right of the Spanish troops.

"Some time elapsed on the morning of the 8th, before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable our hero to reconnoitre the mountain, which he did in person, and which he found to be least inaccessible by its right, and also that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp at Sarra. He accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to the right; and as soon as the concentration commenced, Mareschal del Campo Don Pedro Giron ordered the battalion De las Ordenes to attack the French post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by the troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. These troops now followed up their success, and carried the entrenchment on a hill which protected the right of the camp of Sarra; and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments sent from the seventh division by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschelar, for this purpose.

"Don Pedro Giron next established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the hermitage; but it was then too late to proceed further that night: the French, however, thought proper before morning not only to retire from the post of the hermitage, but also from the camp of Sarra itself.

"All these operations were conducted with great bravery and good order; and the loss of the allies, amounting to between fifteen and sixteen hundred, in killed, wounded, and missing, may be regarded as moderate, for the extent and importance of the action.

"In the night of the 12th, the French attacked and carried an advanced redoubt of the camp at Sarra, with the men posted on it; and on the following morning they made an attack on the advanced posts of the army of Andalusia, but were easily repulsed. At this time, a considerable reinforcement of troops, raised by the conscription, had joined the enemy.

"The fall of the strong fortress of Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, completed the liberation of that part of Spain from the French arms. The garrison, on the 26th of October, made proposals of capitulation to Don Carlos D'Espana, the commander before the place, but upon conditions that could not be accepted; and, on the 31st of that month, they surrendered, on the indispensable terms of being made prisoners of war, and sent away to England.

"The condition of becoming prisoners of war was exacted by Lord Wellington from all the French garrisons, in order to prevent the augmentation of their armies in other quarters, by the return of the veteran troops in Spain."

The surrender of Pampeluna having disengaged the right of the allied army, Lord Wellington resolved to put in execution a meditated operation against the troops opposed to him in France. From the commencement of August, the French army occupied a position, with their right upon the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz, and on the left of the Nivelle; their centre on La Petite la Rhune in Sarre, and on the heights behind the village; and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry under the Compte D'Erlon, on the right of that river, on a strong height in rear of Anhoue, and on the mountain of Mondarin, which defended the approach to that village. They had one division under General Foy at St. Jean Pied de Port, which was joined by one of the army of Arragon, under General Paris, at the time the left of the allied army crossed the Bidasso, on the 7th of October. General Foy's division joined those on the heights behind Anhoue, when Sir Rowland Hill moved into the valley of Bastan.

Heavy rains obliged our hero to defer his attack until the 10th of November, when he completely succeeded in carrying all the positions on the enemy's left and centre, in separating the former from the latter, and by these means turning the enemy's strong positions occupied by their right on the Lower Nivelle, which they were compelled to evacuate during the night, leaving behind them fifty-one pieces of cannon, and one thousand four hundred prisoners.

After the retreat of the French from the Nivelle, they occupied a very strong position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with immense labour. It was completely under the fire of the works of the place, the right resting upon the Adour, and the front covered by a morass occasioned by a rivulet which falls into the Adour; the right of the centre rested upon the same morass, and its left upon the river Nive. The left was between the Nive and the Adour; on which river the left rested. They had their advanced posts from their right in front of Anglet, and towards Biaritz; with their left they defended the river Nive, and communicated with General Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, which was at St. Jean Pied de Port, and they had a considerable corps cantoned in Monguerre and Ville Franche.

To attack the enemy in this position, whilst they remained there in force, was impracticable; but Lord Wellington determined, by one of his bold manœuvres, to force Soult to adopt a plan of tactics which would prevent him from availing himself of his defensive post.

The marquis had resolved to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, yet was long prevented by the bad state of the roads and the swelling of all the rivulets, occasioned by the fall of rain; but having, at length, collected materials and made the necessary preparations for forming bridges for the passage of that river, he moved his troops out of their cantonments on the 8th of December, and ordered that the right of the army, under Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, should pass on the 9th, and in the neighbourhood of Cambo, while Marshal Sir William Beresford should support this operation, by passing the sixth division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, at Ustaritz. Both operations succeeded, and the French were immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and compelled to retire towards Bayonne, by the great road of St. Jean Pied de Port. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the sixth division, and one regiment was driven from the road, and obliged to march across the country.

After a variety of operations, in which the allies had a decided advantage, Lord Wellington finding himself in possession of a considerable portion of the French territory, issued a proclamation, stating that the constituted authorities should remain in the towns and villages occupied by the allies, continuing their municipal functions, until a new order of things should take place.

He also directed that in case the persons who exercised these functions previously, should have retired along with the French army, or should desire to quit their employment, then the respective towns and villages should make known the circumstances to him as commander-in-chief, when he engaged that he would take the necessary measures for the welfare of the people, and the preservation of order and security.

As the affairs of France were now evidently hastening to a crisis, our hero determined to put his army in motion, and advance as soon as possible on the road to Bourdeaux, leaving fifteen thousand men, principally Spaniards, to invest Bayonne.

From the latter end of January, when the Duke d'Angouleme arrived at the head-quarters of Lord Wellington's army, and published a proclamation to the French people in the name of Louis XVIII. nothing worthy of a detailed narration transpired till the 27th of February, when the battle of Orthes was destined to add another laurel to the wreath which already encircled the brow of our hero.

The enemy had placed his army on some heights, the course of which necessarily retired his centre, while the strength of the position gave extraordinary advantages to the flanks. Lord Wellington, therefore, ordered Marshal Beresford to turn and attack the enemy's

right with the fourth division under Lieutenant-general Sir Lowry Cole, and the seventh division under Major-general Walker and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry: while Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton should move along the great road leading from Peyrehourade to Orthes, and attack the heights occupied by the enemy's centre and left, with the third and sixth divisions, supported by Sir Stapleton Cotton with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-general Baron Alten, with the light division, was ordered to hold himself in reserve between the two attacks, so as to succour either, should it be necessary. Sir Rowland Hill, in furtherance of the general dispositions of the day, was ordered to cross the Gave, and to turn the enemy's left, by which means the whole British right and centre would be brought into action; whilst the left, under Sir John Hope, in conjunction with a naval force, was operating below Bayonne, in order to gain possession of both banks of the river.

The battle now commenced, and soon became general: Marshal Sir William Beresford carried the village of St. Boes, with the fourth division under the command of Sir Lowry Cole, after a most obstinate resistance; but the ground was found so narrow, that the troops could not defile to attack the heights, notwithstanding repeated attempts for that purpose. Finding it, therefore, impossible to succeed in this quarter, Lord Wellington so far altered the plan of the action as to order the immediate advance of the third and sixth divisions, and moved forward Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood. This attack, led by the fifty-second regiment under Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, was supported on their right by the brigades of Major-general Brisbane and Colonel Kean of the third division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by Major-general Anson's brigade of the fourth division, and on the right by Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, with the remainder of the third division, and the sixth division under Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton. The enemy, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack, were completely dislodged from the heights, and victory in this quarter crowned the glorious efforts of the allies.

Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, in the mean time, had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes; and, perceiving the state of the battle, he moved immediately with the second division of infantry under Lieutenant-general Sir William Stewart, and Major-general Fane's brigade of cavalry, for the great road from Orthes to St. Sever; thus keeping upon the enemy's left, and checking his movements in that quarter. The enemy at first retired in good order, taking every advantage of the favourable positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained in the continued attacks of the allies, and the danger with which they were menaced by Sir Rowland Hill's movements, soon accelerated their movements, and compelled them to retreat in the utmost confusion.

On the morning of the 28th, Lord Wellington put his army in motion in pursuit of the enemy, when he followed them to St. Sever, his head-quarters being at that place on the 1st of March. Every preparation was immediately made for crossing the Upper Adour: which event took place on the morning of the 1st, by a part of the army crossing the river; but the rain which fell in the afternoon of that day swelled the Adour, and all the rivulets falling into it so considerably, as materially to impede the further progress of the allied army. Lord Wellington, therefore, halted there on the 2d, till the bridges could be repaired, all of which the enemy had destroyed.

After an affair with General Hill, in which the British troops were completely victorious, the enemy retired on the 2d, by both banks of the Adour, towards Tarbes, with a view, probably, of being joined by the detachments from Marshal Suchet's army, which had left Catalonia in February. Lord Wellington, therefore, sent, on the 7th of March, a detachment under Major-general Fane to take possession of Pau; and, on the 8th, Marshal Sir William Beresford had orders to take possession of Bourdeaux, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. The magistrates and city guards took off the eagles and other badges, spontaneously substituting the white cockade, which had been adopted universally by the people of Bourdeaux. The Duke D'Angouleme, who had gone towards Pau, was also sent for express, and the city decidedly declared for the House of Bourbon.

The continued fall of rain which had hitherto impeded the advance of the allies, had given time to Marshal Soult to prepare for the defence of Toulouse, to which place he had retired, and he improved the opportunity with the greatest diligence. The situation of Toulouse is peculiarly strong. Surrounded on three sides by the Garonne and the canal of Languedoc, and possessing an ancient wall, the French engineers found it easy to construct *têtes-de-pont*, commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and to support them by musketry and artillery from the wall. They had, also, fortified a commanding height to the eastward with five redoubts; but as the roads from the Arriege to Toulouse had become impracticable for cavalry or artillery, and nearly so for infantry, no alternative remained but to attack them in this formidable position. It was not until the 8th of April, that it became possible

to move any part of the allied army across the Garonne. On that day, the Spanish corps of Don Manuel Freyre crossed the right of the river, together with some British hussars, who drove a superior body of the enemy's cavalry from a village on the small river Ers, which falls into the Garonne some distance below the town. Between this river and the canal of Languedoc, were the fortified heights, which constituted the chief strength of the enemy's position. It was therefore resolved, that while these heights should be stormed in front by Don Manuel Freyre, Marshal Beresford should march up the Ers, and turn the enemy's right, and Sir Thomas Picton should menace the *tête-de-pont* on the canal of the left. These operations on the right of the Garonne were also to be supported by a simultaneous attack of Sir Rowland Hill's on the *tête-de-pont*, formed by the suburb on the left of that river. The 9th elapsed in preparations for these several attacks; but, on the 10th, the whole plan was carried into full effect. Marshal Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions, carried the height of Monblanc, and forced his way to the point at which he turned the enemy's right. The Spanish corps of Don Manuel Freyre, at the same time, moved forward to the attack in front; but the French troops were here so strongly posted, that they not only repulsed the assailants, but pursued them to some distance. The Spaniards, however, both in the attack and retreat, conducted themselves with the utmost steadiness; and the light division being moved up by Sir Thomas Picton to their support, they were soon re-formed and brought back to the attack. Marshal Beresford, in the mean time, had succeeded in carrying the redoubt which covered the enemy's extreme right, and had established himself on the heights on which the other four redoubts were placed. A short interval now succeeded, during which the Spaniards were re-formed, and Marshal Beresford's artillery, which had been left behind at Monblanc, was brought up. As soon as this was effected, the marshal continued his movement along the heights, and stormed the two next redoubts which covered the enemy's centre; the French, after having been driven from them, in vain making a desperate effort to regain them. There now remained only the two redoubts on the enemy's left, and these were soon carried by the British troops advancing along the ridge, whilst the Spaniards attacked in front. These were the principal operations. Sir Thomas Picton, however, with the third division, drove the enemy's left within the *tête-de-pont* on the canal; and Sir Rowland Hill, in like manner, forced the exterior works of the suburb on the left of the Garonne; so that, at the close of the day, the French troops were closely hemmed in; the allies being established on three sides of Toulouse, and the road of Carcassone being the only practicable one which was left open. By this road Marshal Soult drew off the remainder of his troops in the night of the 11th; and Lord Wellington entered Toulouse the next morning.

The loss of the enemy in killed, on this occasion, is not exactly known; but three generals and one thousand six hundred men were taken prisoners. One piece of cannon was taken on the field of battle, and others, with large quantities of stores of all descriptions, in the town. The loss of the allies, however, amounted to five hundred and ninety-five killed, and four thousand and forty-six wounded.

On the evening of the day on which our hero entered Toulouse, Colonel Cook brought him despatches, acquainting him with the events which had taken place at Paris relative to the dethronement of Buonaparte and the recall of the Bourbons. Colonel St. Cimon also brought the same information to Marshal Soult. But the latter did not consider the information to be so authentic as to induce him to send his submission to the provisional government of France: he, however, proposed a suspension of hostilities, to afford him time to ascertain what had occurred. This Lord Wellington refused: but, on the 17th, having received Marshal Soult's adhesion to the new government, he agreed to a suspension of hostilities between the allied armies, and the French armies under the command of Marshals Soult and Suchet.

General Hope, who commanded at the Siege of Bayonne, having heard of the change of affairs at Paris, sent information to the governor, and requested a suspension of hostilities, till further intelligence and fresh instructions should be received. The governor sent back a verbal message, intimating that a formal answer would be given in the morning; and the besiegers, little suspecting an attack, were induced to relax from their vigilance. The enemy, however, made a sortie on the morning of the 14th of April, on the left and centre of the allied posts at St. Etienne. Major-general Hay commanded the outposts, and was killed shortly after the attack commenced, having just given directions that the church of St. Etienne should be defended to the last extremity. The enemy succeeded in gaining possession of the village, from which, however, they were soon driven. In the centre, after compelling the picquets of the allies to retire, the French were obliged to fall back in turn, and the posts were finally re-occupied. Major-general Stopford was here wounded. It was towards the right that Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope was taken. In endeavouring to bring up some troops to the support of the picquets, he came unexpectedly in the dark on a part of the enemy: his horse was shot dead, and fell upon him; and not being able to disengage himself

from under it, he was unfortunately made prisoner. He was wounded in two places, but in neither dangerously.

A considerable part of the above operations took place before day-light, which gave the enemy a great advantage from their numbers; but whatever end they might promise to themselves, it was completely frustrated

It has been stated, that the commandant at Bayonne looked upon the message of Sir John Hope as a *ruse de guerre*, and that he therefore adopted the method he pursued to counteract the plans of the British commander; but, as soon as he was fully persuaded of Buonaparte's dethronement, he endeavoured to excuse his conduct, and professed his sorrow for the effusion of blood which he had occasioned.

The war being now terminated, our hero repaired to Paris, where he was received with marks of distinction, corresponding to the high renown he had acquired by his military deeds. At a ball given in that city by Sir Charles Stewart to the allied sovereigns, and upwards of four hundred distinguished individuals, Lord Wellington was present, and attracted the whole attention of the company. Here it was he saw and conversed with the illustrious Blucher, who was presented to him. They bowed, and looked at one another for some minutes before they spoke a word; at last, however, a conversation commenced, which lasted about ten minutes. Platoff also was presented to him, followed by a crowd of officers, all anxious to obtain a sight of the British hero. Lord Wellington appeared in a British Field-marshal's uniform, with the orders of the Golden Fleece, Garter, Great Cross of Maria Theresa, Tower and Sword, and the Swedish order of the Sword. Soon after his arrival in Paris was known, he was honoured by a visit from the Emperor of Russia.

From Paris, our hero went to Madrid, to pay his respects to King Ferdinand; and from thence he proceeded to his own country, where he arrived after an absence of nearly six years. He landed at Dover about five o'clock in the morning of the 23d of June, and, at six o'clock in the evening, he arrived at his own house in Hamilton Place.

In all places where his lordship appeared, he was welcomed by grateful acclamations; and it would greatly exceed our limits, were we to attempt to describe all the fêtes and festivals which took place in the metropolis on his arrival. The Prince Regent, at Carlton House—the nobility and gentry, at Burlington House—and the principal merchants—all seemed to emulate each other, in displaying the admiration in which they held him.

As a reward for his eminent services, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to grant the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom to our hero; and, on the 8th of May, these honours so deservedly conferred, were announced in the London Gazette, in the following manner.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, to grant the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Field-marshal Arthur Marquis of Wellington, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the names, styles, and title of Marquis Douro, and Duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset."

A message from the Prince Regent having been delivered to both houses, desiring the assistance of Parliament towards making a suitable provision for the noble duke and his heirs, Lord Liverpool, in the House of Peers, said, that in rising to move an address in answer to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's most gracious message, he could not anticipate the possibility of the slightest opposition. Perhaps he should perform the duty he had to discharge, if he simply laid his proposition before the House, accompanied by necessary explanation: but though he might not have occasion to detain their lordships longer than necessary, he could not do justice to the great individual, if he did not, on an occasion like this, trouble the House with a few observations. Conquests had been made under the Duke of Wellington without parallel. If they were to look back to the history of former times, when the glory of the British arms was raised to a high pitch of renown, they would be struck by the splendour of the military glory this country had acquired; but a comparison would be in favour of the great events which had recently occurred. It was in the recollection of this House, and every man in the country, that, a few years since, it was supposed that our military character was confined to one element. It was said, that we only held a high place on the ocean, and when our armies fought on land we could not be great. Those who made such observations did not judge rightly. Some supposed the character of the British people would suffer in a military point of view; others, that we were unacquainted with operations in the field; but he would now ask, whether there was the slightest ground for those observations? We have proved to the world, that England is not without military renown. The noble Duke of Wellington has elevated the British name; and his genius, joined to the skill and ability of the illustrious person at the head of the army, has made the British equal, if not superior, to any soldiers in the world. The House, perhaps, would reflect, that it was only four years since England was the only independent nation. All the other powers were under the influence of France. With the exception of the lines of Torres Ve-

dras and Cadiz, defended by the noble duke, all was at the disposal of the enemy. The House might follow Lord Wellington from the lines of Torres Vedras, moving forward in 1810; see his operations, the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; follow him to the field of Vittoria, and see him plant at last the British standard on the walls of Bourdeaux. The noble duke, having conquered Spain, had finished his career of glory by placing the standard of Bourbon on the walls of the first city in France, to hail the restoration of their legitimate sovereign. This noble example was the work of Lord Wellington, and it proved the harbinger of the peace and happiness likely to follow. These were services which ought to be marked by some singular act of British gratitude. If ever there was a man deserving a public mark of approbation, it was Lord Wellington.

Lord Liverpool had felt that he should have been wanting in respect to the House, had he not reminded them of the claims on which he had to establish his proposition, and he had only to state to their lordships what the proposal was. The House knew that the measure to convey a grant to the noble duke would originate in another house. It was there intended to grant to the Duke of Wellington, in addition to the former grant, an annuity of ten thousand per annum on the consolidated fund. It was desirable that it should be laid out in the purchase of land: therefore it was proposed to give authority to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to advance three hundred thousand pounds to be laid out in lands, and a portion of the annuity to be cancelled as soon as the purchase is made. In the next place, it was intended that the income of the lands should be equal to the sum of the annuity. His lordship's experience in the purchase of lands had induced him to make this proposition. It was much better for the House to adopt this mode, leaving the individual, if he preferred it, to purchase estates out of a former grant made by parliament, instead of cancelling the annuity. The noble duke was entitled by the vote of parliament, on a former occasion, to ten thousand pounds a year, three thousand of which might be applied annually to the purchase of lands, leaving the noble duke seven thousand pounds a year. The noble earl concluded by moving an address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to inform him that the House would cheerfully concur in the recommendation contained in his royal message, which was unanimously carried.

In the House of Commons, a committee upon the message of the Prince Regent being gone into, the Chancellor of the Exchequer took a wide survey of the military character of the Duke of Wellington, and concluded by moving, "That the sum of ten thousand pounds be paid annually out of the consolidated fund, for the use of the Duke of Wellington, to be at any time commuted for the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, to be laid out in the purchase of an estate."

On the question being put, Mr. Whitbread, though a prominent character in the opposition, objected to the proposed grant, because he thought it was *not large enough;* and he did not approve of the proposition, that, if the sum were found insufficient, another application might be made: no time ought to be delayed in making such a provision as was commensurate to the service rendered, and the dignity conferred; and least of all would he consent to leave open any anticipation of future reward. The House should have in contemplation to settle the Duke of Wellington on a great landed estate, and in a noble house, in some part of the country, and the sum proposed was not sufficient for such a purpose.

Mr. Ponsonby said, eighteen or nineteen thousand per annum was not enough to support the dignity of one of the first nobles in the land; for his own part, he would willingly vote for five hundred thousand pounds; and if no other person would propose it, he would move to add one hundred thousand pounds to the proposed sum.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer felt that no pecuniary reward could be equal to the services of the Duke of Wellington. He would therefore propose four hundred thousand pounds, and augment the annuity to thirteen thousand pounds per annum; so that, with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds already granted, half a million would be placed at the disposal of the Duke of Wellington.

Mr. Whitbread said, the addition made the act complete, and he was perfectly satisfied.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

On the occasion of our hero taking his seat in the House of Lords, great formality was observed, and the utmost respect was shewn to his grace. The Duke of Norfolk, acting as Earl Marshal, led the procession into the House; Sir Isaac Heard, knight, Garter King at arms, appearing in his tabard and state habiliments. His grace entered the house supported by the Dukes of Richmond and Beaufort, all in military uniform, and in their ducal robes of state. After the usual ceremonies were gone through, his grace took his seat on the dukes' bench, when the Lord Chancellor rose, and addressed his grace to the following effect:—

"My Lord Duke of Wellington—In obedience to the commands of their lordships, I have to communicate to your grace the thanks of the House, and the cordial congratulations of their lordships on your return from your continental service, and on your introduction to a

seat of the very highest rank and dignity in this House. Those high and distinguished honours have been well and eminently merited by your grace, by a long series of splendid and signal services, performed in various places and situations, but more especially on the continent of Europe. The cordial and applauding thanks of this house—the highest honorary distinction in the power of their lordships to bestow—have not only been most frequently and repeatedly voted to you, with the most perfect unanimity, but your grace has had the additional satisfaction of being the medium and channel through which the like honours have been conveyed, at various periods, to other gallant and meritorious officers, who have commensurately distinguished themselves under your grace's direction and command. In the instance of your grace, also, is to be seen the first and most honourable distinction of a member of this house being, at his first introduction, placed in the very highest and most distinguished rank among their lordships and in the peerage. No language, no expression of mine, however fully I feel impressed with their magnitude and importance, can do justice to your great and unparalleled services and merits: their nature and character is such as will render the name of Wellington immortal, and will constitute one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of this country. They have been frequently and justly felt by this house, and repeatedly made the subject of its thanks and its applause. In the sentiments so often and so justly expressed by this house, I have, for my own humble part, most fully and cordially participated. The wisdom, gallantry, and exertions, so frequently displayed by your grace, in a long series of services in the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, are beyond any language I can use to characterize or express. Your freeing the kingdom of Portugal from the arm and power of France,—your glorious career of victory, in subduing, on various occasions, and pursuing the enemy through the territory of Spain, more especially on the signal occasions of the victories of Salamanca and Vittoria, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and other mighty fortresses,—will be luminously inscribed in the page of British history, as well as your subsequent successes, by which you led on the allied forces, until you had established them in occupation far within the territories of France. Great and important as these services are in themselves, their consequences are incalculable; with reference not only to their so greatly contributing to secure the prosperity and tranquillity of your own country, but to the peace, the happiness, and independence, of Europe at large, by infusing the spirit of resistance, and enabling other countries to place themselves in that state, which enabled them successfully to resist the influence and the power of the common enemy. You will have the heartfelt, the glorious satisfaction of considering yourself as principally instrumental in the achievement of this great work; and for all which, I feel a conscious pride and satisfaction, in being the organ of communicating in person, and on this auspicious occasion, the recent vote of thanks of this house, which I am thus directed to pronounce—'That the thanks and congratulations of this House be given to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, on his return from his command on the continent of Europe; and for the great, signal, and eminent services which he has so repeatedly rendered therein to his majesty and the public.' "

To this feeling and impressive address the Duke of Wellington replied to the following effect:—He assured his lordship and the house, he felt himself overwhelmed by the strength of his feelings, as occasioned by what he must consider as the very flattering language, far beyond his personal merits, in which the expressions of their lordships' favour and approbation were conveyed to him that day; and for which he had to tender his most sincere and grateful thanks. The successes which had attended his humble but zealous efforts in the service of his country, he had principally to attribute to the ample support which he had received from his prince, his government, and his country; and also to the zealous co-operation and assistance which he had received from his gallant and meritorious companions in arms, and the valour and exertions of that army which he had the honour to command. The support which he had thus received, encouraged and excited him, and gave rise to that conduct, on which, by the favour of Parliament, its unanimous approbation and applause had been pronounced. For those honours, and to that of the other house of Parliament, he felt most gratefully indebted. These, together with the very kind and flattering manner in which the noble lord was pleased to express himself, he repeated, were sufficient to overwhelm one who felt unconscious of deserving such a degree of panegyric and eulogium. He could assure their lordships, he had endeavoured to serve his country and prince to the best of his power and ability; and that he would always endeavour so to do, whenever occasion might require it, in the best manner in which his limited capacity would allow him.

On the 1st of July, his grace received the thanks of the House of Commons for his great and eminent services. Soon after five o'clock on that day, Lord Castlereagh rose, and said, "Mr. Speaker—The resolution to which this House unanimously agreed yesterday evening having been communicated to the Duke of Wellington, I have now to inform you that his grace is in attendance. I shall, therefore, move, that the Duke

of Wellington be now called in." This motion having been unanimously adopted, the noble duke was conducted to the bar by the serjeant at arms, the whole House rising upon his entrance within the bar: and the speaker having informed him that there was a chair in which he might repose himself, the duke sat down covered for some time, the serjeant standing on his right hand with the mace grounded; and the House resumed their seats. His grace then rose, and, taking off his hat, spoke to the following effect:—

"Mr. Speaker—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this House, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me, in deputing a committee of members of this House to congratulate me on my return to this country; and this, after the House had animated my exertions by their applause upon every occasion which appeared to merit their approbation, and after they had filled up the measure of their favours by conferring upon me, at the recommendation of the Prince Regent, the noblest gift that any subject had ever received.

"I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this House and the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operation by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a termination.

"By the wise policy of parliament, the government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my direction; and I was encouraged by the confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers and by the commander-in-chief, by the gracious favour of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this House, for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments.

"Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel: I can only assure the House, that I shall always be ready to serve his majesty, in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this House."

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, who during the foregoing speech sat covered, stood up, uncovered, and spoke to his grace as follows:—

"My Lord—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved, upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless, on this day, to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause: it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fates and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments. But this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor: it owes to you the proud satisfaction, that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence. And when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate, the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth."

His grace then withdrew, making his obeisances in like manner as upon entering the House, and the whole House rising again whilst his grace was re-conducted by the serjeant from his chair to the door of the House.

On the 9th of July, a magnificent banquet was given by the Corporation of London, in compliment to the Duke of Wellington. Prior to the dinner, at about five o'clock, his grace was presented with the freedom of the City in a gold box, and with a splendid sword, pursuant to the following resolutions:

"That the thanks of this court be given to Lieutenant-general Lord Viscount Wellington, for the consummate ability, fortitude, and perseverance, displayed by him in the command of the allied British and Portuguese forces, by which the kingdom of Portugal has been successfully defended, and the most signal and important services rendered to his king and country.—Resolved,

That the freedom of this city, with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, be presented to Lord Viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense which this court entertains of his great public services."—*May* 9, 1811.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellington, general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Spain and Portugal, for his magnanimous conduct so eminently displayed in the several victories obtained by the allied army over the French army, led on by the most able and distinguished marshals and commanders in the French service, and particularly in the brilliant and decisive victory near Salamanca, on the 22d day of July last."—*Sept.* 23, 1812.

"Resolved, That the freedom of this city, voted by the court on the 9th day of May, 1811, to be presented to Lord Viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense they entertained of his great public services, be presented to the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellington, on his return to this country, in a gold box of the value of two hundred guineas, (together with the sword voted on the said 9th day of May,) by a committee of this court, then to be appointed."—*Oct.* 29, 1812.

"Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to Field-marshal the Marquis of Wellington, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, for the wisdom and energy with which he has conducted the late operations of the allied armies in Spain; and particularly for the splendid and decisive victory obtained, upon the 21st day of June last, near Vittoria, when the French army was completely defeated, with the loss of all its artillery, stores, and baggage. This court, feeling its inability to bestow any additional testimony of regard adequate to the exalted sense it entertains of the merits of the Marquis of Wellington, do unanimously resolve, That a bust of his lordship be placed in the Common Council Room of this city, in order that the citizens of London, when assembled in Common Council, may ever have recalled to their recollection, the glorious deeds of the great military hero of their country, when, at the same time, they have in view the bust of the immortal Nelson."—*July* 12, 1813.

After administering the oath of a freeman to his grace, and stating the substance of the foregoing resolutions of the court for presenting the freedom of the city in a gold box, with a sword, and placing a bust of his grace in the Common Council Room of this city, the Chamberlain said—

"Although the subjects of these resolutions are confined to the events which have recently taken place in Europe, the citizens of London can never forget the many signal victories obtained by your grace, in those regions which have been dignified by the triumphs of an Alexander, an Aurengzebe, and a Clive. By the exertions of your grace, the British empire in India has been placed in a state of security which promises felicity to millions in that country, and an extension of commerce to Great Britain. To enumerate the brilliant actions of your grace in Europe, would require more time than the present occasion will permit, and would trespass too much upon your grace's delicacy; but it is a truth, which I cannot refrain from declaring, that, during the war in Spain and Portugal, which terminated in the complete emancipation of those kingdoms, a more illustrious instance is not recorded in history, of the caution of *Fabius*, most happily combined with the celerity of *Cæsar*.

"I am conscious, my lord, how inadequately I express the sense of my fellow-citizens of your grace's merits; but they will recollect, that, where I have failed, no one has succeeded: the most eloquent of the British senate, and the first authorities in the two houses of Parliament, have confessed themselves unequal to the task. But ample justice will be done to your grace by the world at large, who will frequently and attentively peruse with admiration and delight those inimitable despatches, which, like the Commentaries of Cæsar, will hand down with honour, the name of their illustrious author to the latest posterity.

"Your grace has been a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence during war. May you long enjoy in peace the love of your country and the admiration of mankind; and, in the discharge of that honourable office to which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has recently appointed you, may you cement and perpetuate union and good-will between Great Britain and France, so essential to the peace and happiness of Europe."

The noble duke expressed his high sense of the honour conferred upon him by the city; and attributed the success of all his enterprises to the ability with which he was supported by his brother-officers, and to the valour and discipline of his majesty's forces, and those of the allies. On receiving the sword, he, with particular energy, declared his readiness to employ it in the service of his sovereign and his country, should it unfortunately happen that the general wish of the nations of Europe, for a permanent peace, should be disappointed, and that he should be again called upon to assist in the public cause.

The preceding ceremony was performed in the council-chamber; at the further extremity of which was raised on a pedestal the bust of his grace in white marble.

The Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, Gloucester, Norfolk, Beaufort, and the cabinet ministers, being assembled, they next proceeded to the great hall in due order; and, before going to the hustings, where the chief tables were placed, went entirely round the hall; by which means the ladies who were assembled in the galleries were gratified with a sight of those heroes who have so nobly supported the glory of their country.

The dinner was served up in the first style; and consisted of turtle, venison, and every other delicacy.

After dinner, *Non Nobis* was sung; and the following toasts were given, by sound of trumpet, with an appropriate glee or song between each.

The King.—The Prince Regent.—The Queen and royal family.—The Duke of Wellington, "our immortal hero, the pride and glory of Britain."—The Duke of York, and the royal dukes present.—The Emperor of all the Russias, the Emperor of Austria, and King of Prussia.—The King of Spain, the Prince Regent of Portugal, the King of Sicily, and the King of Sardinia, "who have remained firm in their alliance with this country."—Our brave and illustrious heroes by sea and land.—His majesty's ministers, "the pacificators of Europe."—The revered memory of the late Lord Nelson, our great and immortal naval champion.—Louis the XVIIIth.—The ambassadors of the King of Spain and the Prince Regent of Portugal, and the foreign ministers present.—Admirals Lord Radstock, Sir George Berkeley, Sir J. B. Warren, Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Jos. Yorke, and Sir Harry Neale, and the rest of our naval heroes, whose brave exertions have tended to raise the glory of their country.—Lords Beresford and Hill, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Henry Clinton, and the officers and privates of the victorious army of the Peninsula, whose gallant exploits, after freeing the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, planted in France the standard of Britain, and led to the repose of the world.—The memory of the man whose virtues and energies saved England, and whose example has produced, under Providence, the deliverance of Europe.—Our senators in parliament; and may their exertions ever be directed to the honour of the king and the welfare of the people!

The Duke of Wellington, after the toast to the King of Spain, &c. proposed—The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and prosperity to the City of London. After the toast to Lords Beresford and Hill, &c. the commander-in-chief gave—The volunteers of the united empire, particularly those of the City of London.—To which his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, as commandant of the corps of Loyal North Britons, made a most excellent reply, and proposed—"The respectability of the crown, the durability of the constitution, and the prosperity of the people." In the course of the evening, the Duke of Wellington proposed the health of the Ladies.

The Lord Mayor prefaced the toast of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington with the following observations:—"The highly gratifying visit of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to this festive hall, accompanied by mighty sovereigns and renowned warriors of foreign nations, is still fresh in our recollection. Many, perhaps all of us, regretted the British hero was not seen amidst the laurelled conquerors upon that memorable occasion. The regret was natural, but, perhaps, unseasonable; for who can doubt but the invincible commander of our own brave armies deserved a civic triumph to himself? It would be ingratitude not to celebrate *distinctly* the splendid victories achieved by our own illustrious general, which accelerated the restoration of peace; victories not bestowed by the capricious favour of fortune, but won by a noble perseverance, through adverse circumstances, and by hard-contested struggles with rival generals of consummate skill, and veteran troops of acknowledged valour. And though every tribute of praise is due to the native bravery of our own soldiers, of what avail would it have proved, if it had not been directed, and raised even to enthusiasm, by the military genius, the personal valour, and the indefatigable vigilance of their great commander? His grace will allow me, in the name of my fellow-citizens, to assure him, it is not in his presence that they praise him most, and that, in the entertainment given to him this day, they do not pretend to do more than testify their gratitude for services rendered to his country, which, in their estimation, not any honour from the crown, nor any applause from the people, can more than adequately reward."

His grace, in reply, totally disclaimed any peculiar merit attaching to himself; but attributed it, under divine Providence, to the perseverance of the nation, the wisdom of his majesty's councils, the care and attention of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, and the brave co-operating exertions of his comrades in arms, so many of whom he felt highly gratified in seeing surrounding him upon this occasion; and above all, he said, he had the honour of commanding an army of Englishmen, who lost not an atom of the spirit of their country, but behaved as Englishmen should do.

The Lord Mayor, in proposing the toast of his majesty's ministers, said, "On this occasion, it will be almost superfluous to compliment them in words: the presence of the Duke of Wellington is itself a panegyric on their conduct: they wisely appreciated his character, and boldly trusted the best military energies of the nation to his uncontrolled direction. By this, and similar measures, they have steadily assisted the great common

cause; and, amidst the unexampled success which has attended their ministry, they have the candour to disclaim as presumptuous the attributing to any man, or set of men, the auspicious termination of the late arduous contest. Such liberality of sentiment and conduct at once advances their own merits, and benefits their country, by promoting a spirit of conciliation through all ranks and parties in the state. And I must request his majesty's ministers to accept our grateful thanks, for the glorious, and, we trust, permanent peace, which this country has lately obtained, and which we attribute in an eminent degree to their ability in negotiation, as well as to their energy in conducting the war."

The Earl of Liverpool, in the name of his majesty's ministers, made a most eloquent reply, in which he paid the highest compliments to the Duke of Wellington, whose successes had far out-stripped all human expectation. His lordship said, his majesty's ministers had to be grateful for the confidence which had been placed in them; and attributed the glorious results of the late arduous contest to the steady perseverance of the nation, amongst whom none stood more conspicuous than the citizens of London.

Towards the close of the evening, a temporary staircase was opened from the galleries into the body of the hall, by which the ladies descended, and passed round the whole of the tables on the hustings; and every one had the honour of shaking hands with the immortal hero and the royal dukes, and some of the younger ones were saluted by his grace. Near seven hundred ladies were in the galleries, most superbly dressed. The decorations in the hall were nearly similar to those at the late entertainment. There was not so great a display of plate, the city plate from the Mansion-House being the only plate used, which afforded sufficient for the upper tables, and the remainder were served with most elegant British china. No person sat under the canopy of the throne; and the three chairs on which the Prince Regent, the Emperor, and the King sat, were raised on a platform, and remained empty the whole evening. At the back of the throne was placed one glass, containing nearly sixty square feet, of British manufacture, which had a most beautiful effect.

The corporation of London, upon this occasion, invited every person to the entertainment who had been in any way noticed in the votes of parliament for their services, either by sea or land; as well as those they had themselves noticed in votes of thanks, and given the freedom and swords, boxes, or other rewards; in addition to which, were the relations and those that were connected with the Duke of Wellington, his staff, and many others, both naval and military, who, although they had not been noticed by name, had deserved well of their country for the services they had performed.

In the London Gazette of July 5th, 1814, the Duke of Wellington's appointment of ambassador to France, appeared; and, in the beginning of August, his grace set out on his embassy. He arrived at Dover on Monday, the 8th of August, under a salute from the batteries; but, the weather being too rough to embark there, he proceeded to Deal, where the Griffin sloop of war was ordered to meet him. In the evening, his grace embarked for Ostend, and soon after commenced his inspection of the fortresses in the Netherlands. After reviewing the British troops in that country, and giving instructions for the strengthening of the fortified places, he proceeded to Paris, where he made his public entry on the 23d, and was presented to Louis XVIII. on the 25th of August. The latter ceremony displayed all the pomp of which it was capable; the French monarch displaying an evident anxiety to pay his excellency and the British nation all due honours.

On his introduction to Monsieur, the latter addressed him in these words:—

"The king and all the royal family of France receive the highest pleasure from the choice the Prince Regent has made of a hero worthy to be his representative. It is our desire and hope to see a durable peace established between two nations made rather to esteem than to wage war with one another."

The subsequent events which re-kindled the torch of war on the continent, and led to that memorable victory which transcended all our hero's previous splendid achievements, have been already minutely detailed. It only remains, therefore, to select a few traits of his private character from the remarks of contemporary historians.

"Perhaps no man, in any station of life, was ever more generally beloved," says a respectable writer, "than the Duke of Wellington; to which his extreme suavity of manners has materially contributed. The affability of his deportment at his table, during his campaigns, is well known to the officers of his army, and tended to endear him to all who had the happiness to approach his person, and receive the honour of his notice. In the midst of those cares which were inseparable from his high command, he always found leisure to attend to the minutiæ of his arrangements; and no instance could be found where his regulations for the conduct of his army were inefficient. The secrecy which he observed on all occasions, and his rapidity of conception, gave him incalculable advantages. No preparation was ever necessary for the establishment of head-quarters previous to a march, their removal always keeping pace with the army.

"It is the peculiar character of the noble duke's despatches, that they present a clear picture of the transactions which employ his pen, divested of that colouring only required to adorn the pages of fiction; at the same time, they are *faithful* transcripts, to which the future historian will eagerly apply for that information which he can never obtain from a more authentic source.

"In contemplating the character of a great man, it is natural to compare him with others who have excelled in similar circumstances. The nearest approach to him is the great Marlborough: like him, his grace possesses a degree of civic talent, which of itself would have raised him to high honours and distinctions. It is this quality, in particular, which has led government to entrust larger powers to him than were perhaps ever before given to any other military commander. So many specimens, indeed, has he given of his diplomatic skill, that no powers seem to have been indiscreetly bestowed upon him."

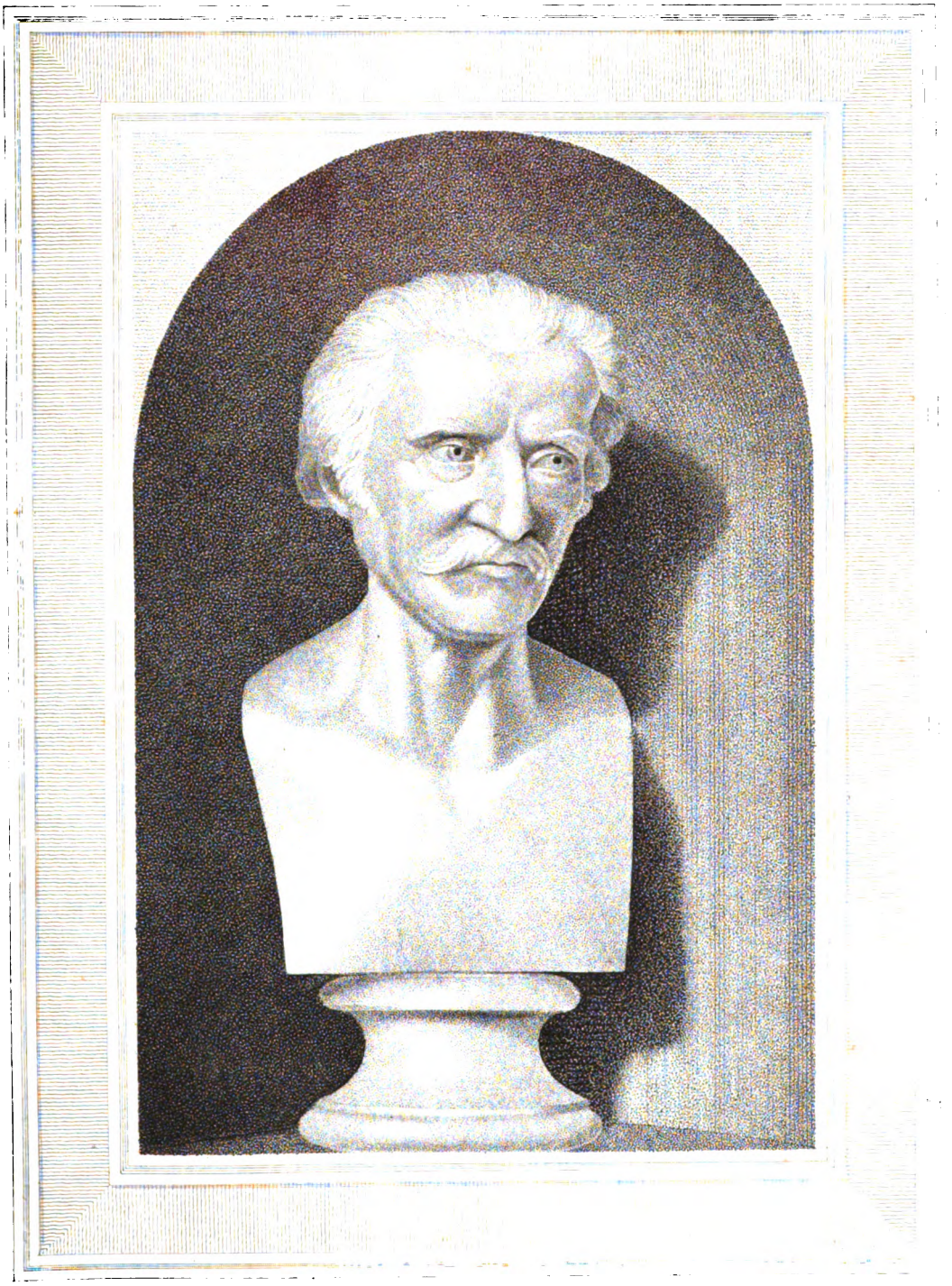
Of his indefatigable activity, sufficient proofs have appeared in this biographical sketch: but the prominent trait in his character is to be found in that *steadiness* evinced in his retreat to his lines at Torres Vedras, by which he preserved his own strength unbroken, whilst that of his enemy was wasting away; and in his uniform conduct on the field of Waterloo.

It must also be remarked, as another important trait in his character, that he sees every thing himself, and may be said, during his campaigns, to live with his soldiers. He never ordered his army to move without seeing that his troops were well provided with one or two days' sustenance; he always put them in motion at an early hour, in order that they might arrive at their ground in good time; and he never halted them without taking care that every comfort and facility possible might be afforded to the troops for the preparation of their repast. He was equally attentive to their comfort in cantonments, and also to the hospitals. In the early part of the war in Spain, his grace's regulations were deemed so oppressive by the medical persons then attached to the army, that, in a body, they sent in their resignations. To this he is said merely to have replied, "Gentlemen, I accept your resignations, and shall immediately write home for a fresh medical staff; but, mark me! until they come out, you shall remain here, and you shall perform your duty." This was an observation which became him as a general, and which reflected the highest honour on him as a man.

Secret to an extreme in all his plans, even his staff were always ignorant of his intentions: at head-quarters, all was conjecture. He thinks, acts, and succeeds; and so well is he understood and seconded, that scarcely is his plan formed, before it is executed. So guarded, in fact, is his secrecy, that he once humourously said, "If I thought the hair of my head knew my plans, I would wear a wig."

Previous to the late great events of his life, it was well observed of him by an intelligent writer, that, "In all his former actions, there were two or three principal characteristic traits;—an indefatigable activity; a sagacity which sees and determines in a moment, and a promptitude which instantaneously acts; an indifference to the mere circumstance of numerical equality; an incomparable readiness in disencumbering himself of whatever is superfluous; and an equal readiness in determining what *is* superfluous, and the exact point of time when it becomes so." Combined with these traits, it is proper to observe, that his grace is stated by those who have the best opportunities of knowing it, to enjoy an admirable self-possession and command of animated spirits and temper under any state of circumstances, never losing himself in the moment of victory, coolly weighing the passing events where he finds himself checked, and thus proving that he would not lose himself even in defeat.

To him, as an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence, may England and the world ascribe the glorious termination of a war which seemed to defy all limits to its duration. And to the success with which his arms were crowned, is to be attributed the downfall of the tyrant, who threatened, a second time, to impose on France and Europe his hateful chains. It is pleasing to reflect, that his services have not gone unrewarded; and that his country, in estimating them, has given a noble proof of its munificence, in the honours and rewards which it has bestowed upon him and his brave companions in arms.



Albert Leopold Graf

Blücher.

PRINCE OF WALSTAD[illegible]

FIELD-MARSHAL VON BLUCHER,

PRINCE DE WAGSTADT.

ALBERT LEOPOLD VON BLUCHER, commander-in-chief of the late Silesian army, was born at his father's country-seat, in Pomerania, A.D. 1743, and commenced his military career in the seven years' war, under the command of the celebrated Zieten, the favourite of Frederick the Great. When only fifteen years of age, he entered into the regiment of Red Hussars, which had acquired great celebrity by its bravery on different occasions, and particularly in defeating the French in the memorable battle of Rosbach. In this regiment he remained twenty years, when he demanded and obtained his discharge, in consequence of the promotion of a junior officer to his prejudice.

He now occupied himself in the cultivation of his paternal estates; and his leisure hours were probably employed in literary pursuits, as several of his proclamations bear evident marks of a cultivated understanding. His intercourse with the great was still kept up, and he was well known to the different administrations of the Prussian government. He regularly attended, as a spectator, at the grand annual reviews; and at one of these, after the demise of Frederick II., he was noticed by Frederick William II., who gave him a squadron in his old regiment of hussars; and, soon after, made him a colonel. He now came into perpetual service, his regiment being under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick; and his name acquired great reputation on the banks of the Rhine, during the revolutionary campaigns. The characteristic plan of his attacks was to rush upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity; to retire, upon meeting with serious resistance; to place himself at a distance, and, vigilantly observing the enemy's movements, to take advantage of every indication of weakness and disorder by a fresh attack, and then to dart upon his opponents with the rapidity of lightning, cut his way into their ranks, carry off some hundreds of prisoners, and retire again. Such was his usual manœuvre, and its success obtained for him considerable military reputation.

After the unfortunate battle of Jena, Blucher, who had now attained the rank of general, conducted the retreat of his division with remarkable ability in the face of the victorious enemy. It was his intention to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenloe, and to gain the Oder; and, by giving full employment to several divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, consisting of ten thousand five hundred men, which had suffered very materially under the Prince of Wurtemberg, at Halle, and had lost great part of their artillery, and been exhausted by forced marches, was entrusted to him on the 24th of October, and afterwards met with the corps under the Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Duke of Brunswick. After several attempts to join Prince Hohenloe, (in which Blucher's little army had been repeatedly obliged to separate, although they rejoined after many difficulties, and to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced,) our hero received the mortifying intelligence, that the prince had been obliged to capitulate at Prentzlow. After a series of harassing attacks and rapid marches, and several invitations to capitulate, he found himself compelled either to retire to Hamburgh or Lubeck, or to fight the next day; as the Duke of Berg (Murat) was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose division was more than double the number of his own. He therefore resolved to retire to Lubeck, and this he accomplished; but here, to his unspeakable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him, with the troops of the French, who soon filled the town. A contest now took place, which, in fierceness and horror, has seldom been exceeded. The squares, the streets, and even the churches, were scenes of the most awful conflict and carnage; and the Prussian troops were ultimately obliged to yield to the overwhelming forces of the enemy, and withdraw from the town. In the extreme want of ammunition, with exhausted strength and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed absolutely impossible. After three weeks'

constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a-day, with only the most scanty means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men were often obliged to be left behind,—but in which the whole corps had displayed the most heroic fidelity and courage,—he felt it his duty to capitulate at the moment the French were about to attack him.

General Blucher was shortly after exchanged for Victor, Duke of Ragusa; and, returning to Koningsberg, was sent by sea, at the head of a division, to Swedish Pomerania, in order to assist in the defence of Straslund, and, generally, to support the gallant efforts of the heroic Gustavus.

It is not compatible with the plan of this biographical sketch to detail the subsequent operations of the French, which nearly destroyed the Prussian monarchy. Suffice it to say, that the Corsican usurper arrived at Potsdam on the 24th of October, and visited the palace and tomb of Frederick the Great. The sword of that celebrated warrior, the riband of the order of the Black Eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years' war, and the scarf which he used during that memorable period of his vicissitude and glory, were sent to the Hotel of invalids at Paris. These trophies the gallant Blucher solemnly pledged himself to use every effort to redeem, and he has lived to restore them to his country.

After the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, Prussia was treated as a conquered country, and oppressed by a yoke of iron. The French armies remained in it, contrary to the terms of the treaty, and lived at discretion during eighteen months. French garrisons were stationed in the three fortresses of the Oder; and the country was obliged to defray the expense of their appointments. By extraordinary and unparalleled efforts, Prussia succeeded in paying two-thirds of the contribution; and was preparing to pay the remainder, when the immense preparations of Russia announced that war was about to be kindled in the north. The king, anxious to preserve, at any price, the national existence, and fearing every thing from the colossal power of Buonaparte, concluded with him a treaty of alliance; but, before the news of the conclusion of it could have reached Berlin, French troops entered Pomerania and the Marche Electorate, to obtain, by force, what it seemed impossible to obtain by negotiation. Prussia was compelled to provision and supply the wants of the grand army; but, whilst she exhausted all her means to pour into the magazines the stipulated products, the French armies lived at the expense of individuals. The property of the inhabitants was forcibly taken away without any account being rendered of it; and the country lost, by these acts of violence, about seventy thousand horses and twenty thousand carriages. At the end of the year 1812, the advances by Prussia amounted to ninety-four millions of franks. It was now represented to the Corsican, that the exhausted state of Prussia could no longer suffice to support the French armies. These representations remained unnoticed, or produced only vague assurances and distant promises. At length, the king, seeing one part of his provinces invaded, and the other menaced, without being able to rely upon the French armies for assistance, was obliged to reinforce his own; and the ordinary way being tedious and insufficient, an appeal was made to the loyalty of the young Prussians who wished to arrange themselves under the colours of their sovereign. This awakened, in every heart, the desire of serving the country. A great number of volunteers were preparing to leave Berlin for Breslau, when Beauharnois, the commander of the French armies, (who, in his flight from the Russians, had taken refuge at Berlin,) forbad the recruiting enjoined by the royal Prussian decree, and the departure of the volunteers in the provinces occupied by the French troops. This attempt, so directly aimed at the rights of sovereignty, excited the most lively indignation. At the same time, the French governors of the fortresses on the Oder received orders to take, by main force, for a circle of two leagues, every thing that was necessary for their defence and provisioning.

The rapid approach of the victorious armies of Alexander, the convention of General D'York to remain neutral with the troops under his command, and the general feeling of the people, determined the king what measures to adopt. On the 15th of February, 1813, he proposed a truce, on condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula, and the French troops behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and all its fortresses free from foreign occupation. This proposal, however, was sullenly rejected by Buonaparte; and accordingly, on the 22d of February, a mutual treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was agreed upon by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and arrangements were immediately made for an active combined system of military operations.

Our hero was now appointed to the chief command of the Silesian army, and, on entering the Saxon territory, he addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants:

"Saxons!—We Prussians enter your territory to offer you our fraternal hand. In the north of Europe, the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice; and the angel of death has cut off three hundred thousand of the strangers, by the sword, famine, and cold,

from that earth, which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under their yoke. We march wherever the finger of God directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones, and our national independence. With us come a valiant people, who have boldly driven back foreign oppression, and, in the high feeling of its victors, have promised liberty to the subjugated nations.

"We bring to you the rising morning of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke, which, during the last six years dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war, unfortunately commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the severest articles of that treaty, not one has been kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard conditions of the preceding one. For this reason, we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty.

"Saxons!—Ye are a noble enlightened people! You know that, without independence, all the good things of this life are, to noble minds, of little value; that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer. You will no longer permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your sons, dry up the springs of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once-happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the vandalism of your oppressive foreigners wantonly and unmercifully destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the bridge of Dresden. Rise! join us; raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free.

"Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the steps a treacherous policy forced him to take; we will no more attribute them to him, than cause you to suffer for them. We only take the provinces of your country under our care for your lord, which fortune, the superiority of our arms, and the valour of our troops, may place in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and, in return, expect from us the strictest discipline. Every application to me, the Prussian general, shall be open to all oppressed persons. I will hear complaints, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the meanest, may approach me with confidence, and shall be received with kindness.

"The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother; the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road: but the dishonourable despicable tool of foreign tyranny we will pursue, with the utmost rigour, as an enemy to our common country.

"23*d March*, 1813. (Signed) "BLUCHER."

A contemporary writer has justly observed, that "Prussia now became one great camp. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided into four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzein, Magzenbach, and Gotzen. The militia was called out; the levy-en-masse was preparing; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides; not less than twenty thousand of the militia were collected at Koningsberg, besides a reserve of ten thousand men."

On the 2d of May, the battle of Lutzen was commenced by Generals Blucher and D'York, who entered into it with an ardour and energy which was participated by the whole of the troops under their command.

The hostile armies met between Pegau and Lutzen; that of the French being under the command of Buonaparte in person. The most dreadful cannonade took place, and continued from eleven o'clock until ten o'clock in the evening, when night alone put an end to it. During this cannonade, the fire of musketry was nearly kept up almost without interruption; and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attacks with the bayonet. Seldom had a battle been fought with such animosity, or such an effusion of blood. The French derived great advantage from their position on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, defended with a heavy fire of artillery. Such, however, was the valour of the allies, that the French were driven back from one position to another, with immense loss, and the Russian and Prussian troops kept possession of the field of battle during the whole of the night.

On the 26th of May, a brilliant affair took place, between the cavalry under the command of our hero, and a division of the enemy under General Maison. The following is the Prussian account of this affair:—

"The Prussian army, united with the corps of the Russian general, Barclay de Tolly, had their bivouac near Haynau, on the 25th of May. On the 26th, they marched in two columns towards Liegnitz. The first column was composed of the corps of Barclay de Tolly and D'York; the second, of the corps of General Blucher. The rear-guard halted on the other side of Haynau, in order to oppose the enemy, who usually pushed on from eleven o'clock in the morning till night.

"As the enemy advanced, General Blucher ordered his column to retire through the plains of Haynau to Steudentz and Gelsdorff, leaving twenty-one squadrons

of cavalry, with twenty-two pieces of flying artillery, under the command of General Von Ziethen, in the enemy's rear. General Von Ziethen observed the strength of the enemy from the windmill of Bandinasdorf, which was ordered to be set on fire, as a signal for the Prussian cavalry to attack, and for the rear-guard to halt and oppose the enemy.

"At eleven o'clock, the enemy appeared from Haynau, and began a cannonade against the Prussian rear-guard under the command of Colonel Mulins, which took a position on the heights of Haynau. It was only a reconnoissance of Marshal Ney. About five o'clock in the evening, the enemy defiled from Haynau, and attacked our rear-guard, which retired, according to the preconcerted dispositions.

"General Von Ziethen, seeing a French division following our rear-guard, resolved to strike a great blow; and, trusting to the gallantry of the troops, gave orders to suffer the enemy to pass on, and to attack him in rear: but our cavalry had already quitted their ambuscade, and advanced against the right flank of the enemy; the windmill was set on fire; and the whole of the rear-guard made front against the French, who formed themselves in squares.

"Dispositions had been made for the horse-artillery to throw the enemy into disorder, at which time the cavalry were to have attacked them; but the impatience of the latter allowed no time for the artillery to produce the desired effect. After one discharge of cannon, the cavalry rushed in upon the enemy's squares, which were successively destroyed. His firing ceased; and a battery of twelve guns, with thirteen hundred prisoners, fell into our hands. When the dust, which had concealed him, cleared away, we saw the remainder of General Maison's division retreating on Haynau. The battle lasted only half an hour, and not a single man of our infantry was engaged, it having marched towards Liegnitz. The brigade of General Von Ziethen alone remained on the heights behind Golsdorff."

On the 28th, General Blucher's corps d'armée retired to Preschau, on the river Striegau, while the main army took up its position near Schweidnitz. The armistice, which was now concluded, and subsequently prolonged until the 10th of August, gave a short respite to military operations.

The warlike preparations were not, however, impeded by the armistice. The Russian army received large reinforcements; and an army of reserve and magazines were established on the western frontier of the empire. The King of Prussia was indefatigable in raising troops, and organizing his population. Troops, artillery, and stores, were sent from England to the Baltic; and the Crown Prince of Sweden strained every nerve to augment the patriotic legions arranging themselves under his standard.

At length the termination of the armistice approached, and, as there seemed to be no prospect of Buonaparte's acceding to the required terms, on the 10th of August, it was declared to be at an end.

The allies were now considerably strengthened by the accession of the Emperor of Austria, who became sensible of the only policy he could pursue with the greatest chance of success; and, convinced of the honourable principle that actuated the conduct of the allies, declared war against Buonaparte, and entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Court of St. Petersburgh, which was concluded at Toplitz, on the 9th of September, 1813.

At the recommencement of hostilities, the allied forces were thus disposed. Their grand army, consisting of the whole of the Austrian forces, and large Russian and Prussian detachments, had its position in Bohemia. This force, computed at two hundred thousand men, was under Prince Schwartzenberg. Another of the allied corps, the army of Silesia, under Field-Marshal Blucher, consisting of one hundred thousand men, was in Silesia. This army was composed of the remains of the Russian and Prussian regulars, and of a considerable body of well-organized militia. To the army of Silesia, were attached the Prussian general D'York, and the Russian generals Sachen and Langeron. The army of the north of Germany, estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand men, and consisting of the whole Swedish army, large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, the Brandenburg militia, and the troops levied from the Hanse towns and other districts that had risen against the tyranny of Buonaparte, was under the command of the Crown-Prince of Sweden.

Buonaparte fixed his principal attention on Marshal Blucher's army, which occupied the centre position, conceiving that he should be able to crush him, and afterwards attack separately the armies of Prince Schwartzenberg and the Prince Royal of Sweden.

The plan of the allies was to debouch from Bohemia by the various passes into Saxony, and to enter on immediate offensive operations in the flank and rear of the enemy, if he continued to maintain his positions in Lusatia, and continued on the right bank of the Elbe; and the army of Silesia was to move on Lusatia, and menace the enemy in front; but a general action, especially against superior numbers, was to be avoided.

On the 20th of August, our hero marched his troops in three columns from Leignitz, Goldsberg, and Jauer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg. General Sachen, com-

manding one column, moved to the right on Buntzlau; General D'York, with another column, moved on the centre; and General Langeron, with the third column, on the left. The enemy abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and General Blucher's force advanced to the Bober, where, on the 21st, it was attacked by Buonaparte in person, who had moved a considerable force on Buntzlau, Lowenberg, and Laun.

The allied troops, though opposed to numbers greatly superior to their own, contested the ground in the most gallant style; but, as General Blucher had received orders to avoid a general engagement, he withdrew in excellent order, and took up a position behind the Katzbatch.

Buonaparte being obliged to return, on the 23d, to the Elbe, in order to defend Dresden, our hero re-commenced his operations on the 26th, by an attack on the corps of Macdonald, Ney, Lauriston, and Sebastiani, at Jauer, and, notwithstanding their desperate opposition, obtained a complete victory; as appears from the following letter of an officer in the Silesian army:—

"Our victory has been far more complete than I imagined when I addressed you last. The day after the engagement, we found, in the steep and woody valleys of the Niesse and Katzbach, the guns and tumbrils of the enemy.

"We have taken upwards of one hundred guns, and three hundred ammunition-waggons and field-forges: fifteen thousand prisoners are also brought in, and more arrive every hour. All the roads between the Katzbach and the Bober are covered with dead bodies, overturned vehicles, or villages in ashes. Macdonald's army is almost disbanded: their retreat having been cut off by the overflow of the rivers, the fugitives wander about in the woods and mountains, and commit various excesses for want of food. I have had the alarm-bells rung, and sent out the peasants to kill them, or bring them in.

"Yesterday, the division Pacthoud was annihilated in this neighbourhood. It was overtaken and forced into action, with its rear upon the Bober. After some cannonading, the attack with the bayonet commenced: one part was killed; the other thrown into the river, or taken—generals, officers, eagles, &c.

"The weather is dreadful: it rains incessantly. During the battle, we had a hurricane blowing in our faces. The men pass the nights in open fields, buried in mud, most of them without shoes: they pursue the enemy through the inundated country, up to their necks in water, without being able to obtain any nourishment, as the deserted villages yield none, and carriages cannot bring it up.

"The greater part of the landwehr (militia) have only linen pantaloons, and are without cloaks: our army having been augmented from forty thousand to two hundred and seventy thousand, and the resources of the country previously exhausted, there is neither material nor money to get clothing. The soldier has not even liquor to revive him in these fatiguing marches, because it cannot be had in any quantity; and nevertheless he is content, patiently suffers every hardship and privation, and attacks the enemy with firmness and vigour. Our new-levied infantry equals the old levies; the landwehr emulates the regulars.

"I have formed sixty-nine battalions and forty squadrons in Silesia: of these, forty-six battalions and twenty-eight squadrons are in the field; the rest in the fortresses. A battalion of the landwehr attacked the enemy formed in a square, and killed or dispersed them. Soon after, the same battalion was surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and called upon to surrender: the men attempted to fire; but, finding that their muskets would not go off on account of the rain, they took to the bayonet, drove back the cavalry, and took two field-pieces.

"No infantry in the world could perform more; the swollen rivers delayed our pursuit, as the enemy had destroyed the bridges. Twenty thousand men of Macdonald's army, which consisted of eighty thousand, may, therefore, have escaped for the present; but even these will be annihilated, if the orders that have been given can be put in execution.

"There is a spirited action fighting just now near Buntzlau: they are contending for the possession of a bridge. The enemy has set fire to the village of Tillendorf; and the Russian general, Horn, has given orders to make no prisoners, but drive them into the flames.

"The division of Pacthoud was annihilated, as I have stated; and, at this moment, dead bodies are drawn out of the river: more than a thousand have been drowned. Near Goldsberg, another division of the enemy's rear was overtaken, and immediately attacked: three battalions formed into a square; they were called upon to surrender, but resolving to defend themselves to the last, they were cut down almost to a man by the cavalry.

"We have taken more than eighteen thousand prisoners already, besides one hundred and three field-pieces, two hundred and fifty ammunition-waggons, and a number of other carriages. The discomfiture of the enemy has been decisive; we pursue him as fast as the state of the roads and the inundated country will permit. Within eight days, (from the 19th to the 26th of August,) our army fought eight severe actions, (exclu-

sive of trifling ones,) in several of which we lost from four to five thousand killed and wounded; and we have fought one great battle and three actions since. The great merit of this army, and its exertion in the good cause, are undeniable.

"We have now ascertained that, on the 21st, near Lowenberg, we had Napoleon's main force and himself against us. We manœuvred against one hundred and forty thousand men: we fought against him during the whole day, keeping the greatest part of our troops out of action, and retreating slowly for about five miles, when we formed again and halted; but Buonaparte, finding that he could not induce us to engage in a disadvantageous battle, returned, on the 23d, towards the Elbe."

General Blucher now issued the following general orders:—

"*September* 2, 1813.

"Silesia is delivered from the enemy. It is to your valour, brave soldiers of the Russian and Prussian army under my command, to your efforts and patience in bearing fatigues and privations, that I owe the good fortune of having wrested a beautiful province from the hands of a rapacious enemy.

"In the battle of the Katzbach, the enemy advanced presumptuously upon you. Courageously, and with the rapidity of lightning, you burst from behind your heights; you disdained firing at them; you advanced against them with the bayonet, and thrust them down the steep banks of the rapid Neisse and the Katzbach.

"Since that time, you have waded through rivers and swollen torrents; you have spent whole nights in the mire; several of you were even without provisions, as the badness of the roads, and the want of conveyance, prevented the supplies from coming up; you had to struggle with cold, damp, privations of various sorts, and even the want of clothes; yet you diligently pursued the beaten enemy. Thanks to you, for such praiseworthy conduct. He only is a true soldier, who unites these qualities in himself.

"You have in your hands one hundred and three pieces of cannon, two hundred and fifty tumbrils, the camp-hospitals, the enemy's forges, his flour-waggons, one general of division, two brigadier-generals, a great number of colonels, officers of the staff, and others, eighteen thousand prisoners, two eagles, and other trophies.

"The rest of those who were opposed to you in the battle of the Katzbach, were so completely panic-struck, as to be unable to bear the sight of your bayonets. The plains between the Katzbach and the Bober bear testimony to the terror and consternation of your enemies.

"Let us send up our thanks to the Lord of Hosts, by whose aid you have defeated the enemy; and, assembled in divine service, prostrate ourselves before him for the glorious victory he has granted us. Let your devotions close with three cheers; and then, once more, against the enemy.

"Blucher."

On the 1st and 2d of September, the advanced guard of the Silesian army passed the Queis and the Neisse; and the army followed. On the 3d, the enemy was on the stream of the Lobau; and retreated, the next day, towards Bautzen. Hochkirch was already evacuated by him, when his columns halted, and attacked the advanced guard. Troops were on their march through Bautzen; and the prisoners asserted, that Buonaparte was come up with great reinforcements. In fact, a large body of cavalry made their appearance; and, in the afternoon of the 4th, it was confirmed that the Corsican had arrived with his guards about noon. The general-in-chief withdrew the advanced guard, under General Wasilsikoff, behind the water of Lobau; and concentrated the army in a retrograde direction, in a mountain-ridge, called the Landskron, waiting to see whether the enemy would hold back, or offer battle.

On the 5th, the enemy deployed a numerous body of forces in advance of Reichenbach, where they commenced a brisk attack on a corps of the army. As the general-in-chief did not think proper to engage the enemy in this position, he withdrew the army over the Neisse and Queis, leaving a corps on the right bank of the Neisse to observe the enemy, should he be inclined to advance farther into Silesia. The French, however, were aware of their dangerous situation; and Buonaparte returned, on the 7th, to Dresden with his reinforcements.

The Russian partisan Prince Madeloff, Colonels Rachmoff and Figner, and the Prussian Majors Flackenhausen and Boltenstern, operated in the rear of the enemy, and did him much injury. On the 2d of September, the former took, in Wurschen, a French battalion, consisting of one colonel, five captains, eighteen lieutenants, two adjutants, and six hundred and sixty-seven private men. On the 4th, he also took, at Bischoffswerda, a detachment of five hundred men, guarding a large convoy of ammunition; and blew up one hundred ammunition-waggons.

On the 8th, the Silesian army put itself in motion. General Count St. Priest crossed the Neisse at Ostritz; the corps of Count Langeron followed on the 9th. According to the previous arrangements, Lieutenant-general St. Priest was vigorously to attack Korbau, and to be supported by Count Langeron, while the corps of

DUKE OF BRUNSWICK OELS.

D'York was to take the enemy's corps at Goerlitz in flank and rear at Landskron, and to cut it off by Reichenbach.

General St. Priest attacked the Polish corps d'armée, which was concentrated at Lobau; but the attack of the corps at Goerlitz could not be carried into effect, as the enemy retreated with such rapidity, that General Sachen's cossacks could not come up with him.

On the 16th of September, the Corsican usurper advanced at the head of his guards, and the remains of the armies which had been opposed to our hero, and the Prince Royal of Sweden, united to the first, second, and fourth corps d'armée, towards Kulm, intending to make a serious operation against Bohemia. His attacks, however, were repulsed at all points, and he was driven back into the heights of Nollendorf, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, and more than two thousand prisoners.

The allies now determined to cross the Elbe with their main-armies, and pursue a more vigorous line of action. General Benningsen, with a Russian reinforcement of forty thousand men, was moving into Bohemia, and rapidly advancing to Toplitz; Marshal Blucher was to cross the Elbe above Dresden, in conjunction with the Crown Prince of Sweden; whilst Prince Schwartzenberg, who was at Toplitz, on being relieved by the reinforcement under General Benningsen, was to advance through Saxony, in the direction of Leipsig, and form a junction with the Crown Prince and Marshal Blucher, who were moving on the opposite side.

In pursuance of this arrangement, General Blucher advanced with the greater part of his army from the vicinity of Bautzen to Elster; and, though he had to carry with him pontoons, he marched with such rapidity as to reach the latter place in three days. After passing the Elbe, he attacked the fourth corps of the enemy's army, commanded by General Bertrand, on the 3d of October, near Wirtemberg; routed, and drove it from all its entrenchments; and took six guns, seventy harnessed caissons, and one thousand prisoners.

The Corsican, in the mean time, had manœuvred from Dresden, with a large corps of cavalry on the right, and all his infantry on the left bank of the Elbe, as far down as Archlau; and a strong demonstration of twenty or thirty thousand men was made towards the point of Elster, where General Blucher passed, probably with a design of inducing him to repass the river. The determination of the allies was not, however, to be affected by demonstration; and the whole army of our hero being now in close communication with the Crown Prince of Sweden, marched from Douba to Jesnitz, on the 9th of October, and passed the Mulda. The Crown Prince, having concentrated his forces between Zorbig, Radegast, and Bitterfeld, General Blucher moved from Jesnitz to Zorbig; and the armies of Silesia and the north of Germany were here united.

The allies having resolved to pass the Saale, orders were issued in the night, and General Blucher moved with the Silesian army, to pass the river at Wettin; bridges having been previously constructed for that purpose. The remainder of the allied force, under the Crown Prince, and Generals Bulow and Winzingerode, was also to cross the river at different points; and the whole to place itself in order of battle, with its left resting on the Saale.

Intelligence was now received at the head-quarters of the Crown Prince, that the grand allied army of Bohemia was approaching Altenberg, and the communications seemed about to be established in the rear of the French army; and the rivers Mulda, Elster, and Saale, being now passed, the allies interposed their main strength between Buonaparte and the French dominions.

These decisive measures compelled the Corsican to quit Dresden, on the 7th of October, preceded by the greater part of his army, adopting the plan of crossing the Elbe, and extending his forces along the opposite bank from Dresden to Magdeburg, in order to push a detached corps into the centre of Prussia, and even upon the capital. In consequence of this movement, the Crown Prince and Blucher made some change in their plan of operations; and, on the 13th, the army of the former recrossed the Saale. On the 14th, General Blucher moved his head-quarters to Gros Kugal, pushing his advance on the great road to Leipsig, and occupying the villages on each side of it. The enemy was in force in this front, still retaining possession of Deblitsch and Bitterfeld, with some troops along the Mulda.

General Blucher found the enemy's forces, consisting of the fourth, sixth, and seventh corps of the French army, and great part of the guards, under Marshals Marmont and Ney, and General Bertrand, occupying a line with their right at Freyroda, and their left at Lindenthal. The country around these latter villages is open and very favourable for cavalry; but the enemy was strongly posted in front of a wood of some extent, near Radefeld, and behind it the ground is more intersected; generally speaking, however, it is open, and adapted to the operations of arms of all descriptions.

The attack of the Silesian army was planned as follows:—General Langeron's corps was to attack and carry Freyroda and Radefeld, having the corps of General Sachen in reserve. The corps d'armée of General D'York was directed to move on the great paved way leading to Leipsig, until it reached the village of Sitzchera, when, turning to its left, it was to force the

General St. Priest, crossed close to Coblentz, and took that city, after a slight and ineffectual resistance.

The field-marshal now issued the following addresses to the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, and to the army:—

"*To the Inhabitants of the Left Bank of the Rhine.*

"I have conducted the army of Silesia beyond the Rhine, to establish the liberty and independence of nations, and to conquer peace.

"The emperor Napoleon incorporated with the French empire, Holland, a part of Germany and of Italy: he has declared that he would not give up a single village of his conquests, not even if the enemy were upon the heights of Paris.

"The armies of all the European powers are acting against this declaration and these principles? Will you defend these principles? If so, range yourselves in the battalions of Napoleon, and endeavour to fight against the most just of causes, which Providence so visibly protects. Do not partake in this opinion: you will find protection on our part.

"I will protect your property. Let every citizen, let every landholder, peaceably remain at his home, and every magistrate at his post, to continue his functions without interruption; however, all connexion with the French empire must cease from the moment of the entrance of the allied troops.

"Whoever infringes this order, will render himself guilty of treason against the allied powers: he will be carried before a military council, and condemned to death.

"Given upon the left bank of the Rhine, January the 1st, 1814.

"BLUCHER."

"*To the Army of Silesia.*

"*Jan.* 8, 1814.

"At this moment, when the army is advancing upon the French territory, I think it my duty to remind the commanders of corps of the orders which preceded that movement, and to enjoin them to redouble their zeal for the maintenance of order and discipline. They will exact the same attention, under a responsibility the most extensive, from all commanders of regiments, battalions, &c. The troops will make the scourge of war bear as lightly as possible on the inhabitants; and on no account must they exact more than the fixed marching allowance. The conduct and exact discipline of the soldier must fulfil the solemn engagements entered into by the allied monarchs in their declaration to the French people; must convince them that we do not make war upon them, and that we are now in the midst of them only to conquer peace, and to enable them to participate its blessings. The army, in uniting to its well-tried valour the most severe discipline, will fix the admiration of its own age, and of future generations.

"The commandants of corps will repeat to their corps the order, that the most severe punishment will be inflicted on every offender, as due to the honour of the army which is entrusted to my command. They will also announce, that every inhabitant out of uniform, taken with arms in his hands, will be considered as a malefactor or assassin, and shall be judicially condemned as such, and punished with death.

"The town, city, or village, the inhabitants of which shall oppose any resistance, and commit any acts of hostility, shall be razed and reduced to ashes."

Pursuing his victorious march, our hero entered the strong position of Keyser-Slautern, from which Marshal Marmont had retired; and a detachment of the Silesian army made themselves masters of Treves, which was defended by a garrison of one thousand men.

On the 27th of January, Marshal Blucher, having passed the Marne, entered Brienne; which was furiously attacked by the French in the afternoon of the 29th: the assault, however, was vigorously repelled till night put an end to the contest. The field-marshal then perceiving that he could not maintain his position against the superior force of the enemy, prepared to retire.

On the 31st of January, the corps of Marshal Blucher, consisting of General Sachen's, and part of General Langeron's divisions, took up a position near Trames. The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg was at Maison, in communication with the field-marshal's right. General Giulay's corps was formed on the great road between Trames and Dienville; and General Wrede marched with his corps upon Donlevant, whence he was directed to advance to Chamneuil, upon the road by Tremilly. General Barclay de Tolly commanded the reserve, consisting of two divisions of Russian grenadiers and a division of cuirassiers, about six thousand men.

The French, commanded by Buonaparte in person, occupied two lines extending across the plain, from the front of Dienville on the right, by the village of La Rothiere, towards Tremilly on the left. General Marmont was posted at the village of Morvilliers in reserve. The French, also, occupied the heights in the vicinity of Brienne.

Marshal Blucher commenced the attack about noon, by advancing the corps of General Giaulay towards Dienville, and by forming in the front of La Rothiere the divisions of his own corps. The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg also advanced to attack the enemy in the village of La Gibrie, which they occupied, with the

surrounding woods, in considerable force; and, after an obstinate contest, succeeded in carrying it: and General Wrede, about the same time, advanced upon Tremilly, of which he ultimately took possession with little difficulty.

General Sachen, perceiving that his right wing was now secured, determined to attack the centre of the French position at La Rothiere. While his infantry were engaged in the attack of the village, Marshal Blucher directed a charge of cavalry upon the right of it, which completely succeeded. The enemy were driven from La Rothiere; and, at a late hour in the evening, General Giulay advanced upon Dienville, and succeeded in taking that part of the village situated on the right of the Aube.

Buonaparte, at the head of the young guards, repeatedly attacked the allies in the village of La Rothiere, but was unable to regain possession of this important post; and was finally obliged to retreat upon Vitry, Troyes, and Arcis.

In this engagement, the allies took seventy-three pieces of cannon, and about four thousand prisoners; and the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was very considerable.

On the 8th of February, Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were at Etoges; General Sachen being then at Montmirail, General D'York at Chateau Thierry, and General Kleist at Chalons; the whole advancing upon the French army under the command of Macdonald, who was retiring with one hundred pieces of artillery. On the evening of the 8th, however, Marshal Blucher moved his head-quarters to Vertus, on the report of a Russian regiment having been attacked at Baye. General D'York's advanced posts from Darment, and General Sachen's from Montmirail, now reached as far as Chateau Thierry and La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

In the afternoon of the 10th, the Russian corps of Alsuffieff was attacked at Champaubert, by a very superior force from Sezanne; and, after an obstinate resistance, was obliged to retire with considerable loss. On the following day, our hero's head-quarters were at Bergeres, and the corps of General Sachen and D'York marched upon Montmirail against the enemy. A severe engagement ensued, during which the village of Marchais was taken and retaken three times. Both armies maintained their positions; but, two days afterwards, the field-marshal judged it expedient to retire behind the Marne.

On the 12th, Marshal Blucher, with the corps under Generals Kleist and Kassielvitz, being in position at Bergeres, advanced to attack Marshal Marmont, who was at Etoges, with ten thousand men. The French fell back, closely pursued by the allies, to Janvillieres, where they were joined by Buonaparte, on the 14th with the whole of his guards, and a large body of cavalry.

The Field-marshal was now attacked with great impetuosity by the enemy, whose decided superiority of numbers determined him to retreat: he therefore formed his infantry into squares, which resisted all attempts of the French cavalry to break them; and, finally, forced their way through a French corps which attempted to intercept them, and reached Etoges in safety.

The loss of the allies, on this occasion, amounted to about three thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but that of the enemy was considerably greater, in consequence of their being exposed to a tremendous fire of artillery, in which the combined forces were superior.

On the 21st, the field-marshal, having been previously joined by Generals D'York and Sachen, marched upon Mery, which was already occupied by General Count Witgenstein. On the arrival of our hero, the Count withdrew his corps, and, early on the morning of the 22d, took the direction of Chevrigny. Scarcely had the posts he left in front of the town been relieved by the army of the field-marshal, when Marshal Oudinot, with two corps, commenced, at eight o'clock in the morning, an attack from the opposite side of the river.

As, however, it was not the immediate design of the allies to carry on any operation on the left bank of the river, arrangements were made for burning the bridge over the Seine, that divides the town into two parts, and for defending that on the other side of the river. Whilst Marshal Blucher was superintending this operation, the town itself took fire in three places, and, the wind being very high, it became impossible to subdue the flames: the defence of the town, therefore, became impracticable.

During the action, the field-marshal, whilst reconnoitring the enemy's position in the town, was struck by a musket-ball on the leg, which passed through his boot, without, however, doing any material injury.

The field-marshal now drew up his army in two lines, in an extensive plain outside of the town, having his cavalry in reserve, and prepared to attack the enemy, if he should venture to cross the river. Oudinot pushed over three battalions, and extended them along the left bank of the river, designing, by a very sharp fire, to cover the further advance of troops from the river. He was, however, now attacked by the allied troops, driven back into the town, and compelled to recross the broken bridge, leaving behind him many prisoners and

wounded; and, at sun-set, each army remained on their respective sides of the town.

The field-marshal now received intelligence of the approach of the different corps by which he expected to be joined; and also, that Marmont, encouraged by his absence, had advanced to Sezanne. He therefore determined to break up from Mery, and to march against Marshal Marmont, whose great object seemed to be to get into the rear of the allies.

The enemy retired on the approach of the field-marshal, for the purpose of effecting a junction with Marshal Mortier, who had marched from Chateau-Thierry for that purpose: the united force amounted to between sixteen and twenty thousand men.

The field-marshal did not think it prudent to pass the Marne in the presence of such a force, with the probability that Buonaparte, hearing of the march of the Silesian army in this direction, might detach a force to attack it in the rear: he therefore made the following dispositions, by which he threatened to cut off the enemy's communications with Paris, and compelled him to evacuate La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

The corps of General Baron Sachen and General Count Langeron were directed to march on Coalomiers and Chailly, and to pursue their route on the morning of the 27th towards Meaux. The corps of General D'York and General Kleist, after halting for the night in the vicinity of Rebais, were to march at the same time to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre; whilst General Korf formed the rear-guard, at La Ferte Gauchep, with a reserve of three thousand cavalry.

The demonstration towards Meaux was crowned with complete success. Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who had united their force at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, hastily evacuated the town, leaving the river in the front of it open to the establishment of pontoon-bridges in every direction. Some yagers got over in a small boat, and took possession of the town.

These movements were no sooner known to Buonaparte than he quitted Troyes, upon which place Prince Schwartzenberg again advanced. The Corsican took with him the flower of his troops, consisting of the whole of his guards, the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and a considerable body of cavalry. He arrived at Aisne on the 4th of March, and resolved, on the following day, to attempt retaking Soissons.

On the evening of the 3d of March, Field-marshal Blucher, with the Silesian army, had effected a junction with the corps of General Winzingerode and Bulow at Soissons; and, on the following day, the field-marshal, who was entrusted with the command of the wholo allied force, took up a position on an extensive *plateau* to the left, and in the rear of Soissons, with his right near the village of Laffaux, and his left in the vicinity of Craone.

The town of Soissons was occupied by ten thousand Russian infantry, under the orders of General Rudgewick. On the 5th, soon after day-light, the attack was commenced by the French, who succeeded in gaining possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and twice attacked the town itself on opposite sides with heavy columns; but in each attack they were repulsed with dreadful slaughter. The enemy still retained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, unroofed the houses, and kept up a constant fire upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put an end to the contest.

These operations were entrusted by the Corsican to Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who, on the morning of the 6th, gave up the contest, and retired. In the afternoon of that day, the enemy crossed the Aisne at Bery-le-Back; and, at about two o'clock, commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by Marshal Blucher's army near Craone. At the same time, strong columns of the enemy were observed to be marching by the way of Corbeny towards Laon.

Our hero now directed General Winzingerode, with a corps of ten thousand cavalry, to march by the way of Chevrigny and Presle, and throw itself in the line of the enemy's communications, across the road from Corbeny to Laon. General Bulow, with twenty thousand men, was directed to march and occupy Laon: and the corps of Generals D'York, Sachen, and Kleist, were ordered to incline towards General Winzingerode's infantry, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martin and Craone.

The enemy approached under cover of the wood of Corbeny, and sent forth large bodies of skirmishers, supported by artillery, but were repulsed; and the firing ceased with the night.

On the morning of the 7th, it was ascertained that the enemy had given up his design of marching upon Laon, though, in other respects, his position was not clearly ascertained. To be prepared for whatever might occur, Marshal Blucher directed the corps of Generals D'York and Kleist to move across the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Lenilly, to support the movement of the cavalry under General Winzingerode; and, together with General Bulow's corps, to make an attack on the enemy's right, in case of his pushing forward against the points occupied by General Winzingerode's infantry, near Craone. General Baron Sachen was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn the enemy's left, should he make an attack on the other side: if pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road towards Laon, and draw in the garrison of Soissons.

The enemy commenced the attack about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with his whole force, amounting to not less than sixty thousand men, against the point where General Winzingerode's infantry was posted. Marshal Blucher immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but unexpected difficulties had precluded the advance of the cavalry during the night, and it was found to have proceeded no further than Presle.

General Kleist's corps of infantry, which had marched in the morning, reached Fetticia; but the advanced guard of the cavalry alone had come up, and it was therefore impracticable to undertake, with effect, the movement which the field-marshal had projected against the enemy's right. In the mean time, the corps posted near Craone was exposed to a most severe attack. General Count Strogonoff commanded, in General Winzingerode's absence, and General Count Woronzoff had the infantry. The cannonading was tremendous; but the enemy was resisted in every point, with equal spirit and resolution. The pressure, however, was so great, that General Baron Sachen, to whom the direction of the whole had been entrusted, finally found it necessary to draw off the troops engaged towards Laon. This was accordingly done in admirable order. Though fourteen pieces of cannon had been dismounted by the enemy's fire, not a single gun or carriage was left behind. The prisoners taken were not more than fifty or sixty: the killed and wounded were stated to be about two thousand. General Count Strogonoff had his son, a lieutenant-general, killed early in the action. Three other Russian generals were wounded. The French had four generals wounded; and their loss, from the fire of the artillery of the allies, which was admirably served, was very great. The combined troops effected their junction, during the night and on the following morning, with the rest of the army.

About day-break, on the 9th, our hero was attacked in his position at Laon by Buonaparte, with his whole force. The city of Laon is situated on an elevated *plateau*, with deep shelving banks, which command an extensive plain around: the town covers the greater part of the *plateau;* the remainder is crowned by an old castle, and by several windmills built on high terrace-walls. General Bulow occupied this position; and the remainder of the field-marshal's army was posted on the plain below, to the right and left of the town, forming towards Soissons; and the cavalry was in the rear.

The attack of the French being made under the cover of a thick fog, which concealed all their movements, they gained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, so close under the town as to be regarded as its suburbs, and the fire of their musketry reached the walls of the town.

About eleven o'clock, the dispersion of the fog discovered the enemy in force behind the villages of Semilly and Lenilly, with columns of infantry and cavalry in the *chaussée* leading towards Soissons, and occupying, at the same time, the village of Ardon. They were instantly repelled from Semilly; and Field-marshal Blucher, the moment he could observe their position, ordered the cavalry from the rear to advance and turn their left flank. General Count Woronzoff, who was on the right of the field-marshal's position, advanced, at the same time, with his infantry; and pushed forward two battalions of yagers, who drove in the enemy's posts, sustained a charge of cavalry, and maintained themselves in an attitude to keep the left of the enemy in check until the cavalry could come up.

The field-marshal, at the same time, directed a part of General Bulow's corps to advance against the village of Ardon; whence the French, after sustaining a fire for about half an hour, were compelled to retreat, whilst the cavalry was taking a circuit round from the rear: and, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy were observed to be advancing a column of sixteen battalions of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, along the *chaussée* from Rheims. General D'York was directed to oppose him, and General Baron Sachen was ordered to support General D'York. It was here that the battle became most general and decisive. The French opened a formidable battery of forty or fifty pieces of artillery, and advanced as if confident of success. They formed a column of attack, and were moving forward with a *pas de charge* to the village of Altheis, when Prince William of Prussia, who was advancing to the village at the same time, met and overthrew them. They then began to retreat with precipitation, and were pursued as far as Corbeny, with considerable loss of artillery, baggage, and prisoners. On the 10th of March, when the action was scarcely concluded, forty-five pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, were already brought in.

During the night of the 10th, the Corsican retired towards Soissons, pursued by the cavalry of the field-marshal's advanced guard.

The negotiations for a peace, which had been carried on at Chatillon-sur-Seine since the 4th of February, being now terminated, our hero addressed the following proclamation to the French people:—

"Frenchmen!—Your own preservation induces me once more to address you. Attempts are made to mislead you, by proclamations, which try to persuade you

that we have no other object than to desolate and divide France; and by false accounts of advantages, which it is pretended the French troops have gained. It is enough to recall to mind the conduct of our sovereigns, and the conduct of yours—to contemplate what has passed in Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, and to see that our armies are at present more numerous and finer than ever—to know how your credulity is constantly abused. In order to judge of the events of the war, you have only to inquire of the inhabitants of Laon, concerning what happened on the 9th and 10th of this month, when the French army, commanded by Napoleon in person, was totally defeated under the walls of this town. Ask them if they did not see the enemy fly before our gallant troops; if they have not seen the trophies of our victories, consisting of fifty pieces of cannon, of numerous caissons, and some thousand prisoners? And it was, besides, only a *part* of the army entrusted to my command which gained this decisive victory, while another part made themselves masters of St. Quintin, where they took forty-five pieces of brass cannon; and while the grand army, after having, on the 3d and 4th, defeated the corps opposed to it in the vicinity of Troyes, is advancing on the other side towards your capital. Do not, then, any longer listen to the promises and the deceptions of a government, whose only object is to arm you against us, to prolong the war at the expense of the last drop of your blood, and of the whole of your property.

"Excesses have been committed by our soldiers. This proceeded from a sentiment of revenge, which they cherished because several of their comrades had been murdered by the inhabitants. I have, however, repressed them: I have had the guilty punished, even with death. But recollect, that there is no more certain method of preventing the excesses of the soldiery, than to remain quietly in your houses; not to shut your doors, which are then of necessity forced open; and, above all, not to hold any communication with our enemies, or take up arms against us. I have not punished, as I might have done, the cruelties committed by some towns and villages against couriers and single soldiers of the allied army, hoping that my moderation might recall them to their duty. But I inform you, that, from this day, stronger measures will be adopted; and that the towns and villages, whose inhabitants shall presume to take up arms against our troops, or to oppose our operations, shall be reduced to ashes; painful as it will be to me to be compelled in this manner to punish the innocent with the guilty.

"I repeat to you, that we desire nothing but the peace and repose of Europe. The negotiations at Chatillon, when they are published, will convince you, that it is your sovereign alone, who, in spite of all his assertions to the contrary, continually throws fresh obstacles in the way: in the mean time, I need only remind you of the celebrated speech which a Frenchman (M. Raynouard) made to the Legislative Body, to found your opinion upon it.

"For the rest, all the nations of Europe combat for one end. The event cannot be doubtful. A longer resistance, and even some advantages, if you may flatter yourselves with them, will only serve to render you more unhappy than you already are.

"Given at head-quarters, Laon, March 14th.

"Von Blucher."

Our hero, having been joined at Laon by the corps of General St. Priest, who had been compelled to retreat from Rheims after a most gallant resistance, put his army in motion on the 18th of March; and, on the following day, directed Generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, and Benkendorff, with their corps, to retake Rheims, which they accordingly effected; and Buonaparte retired to Chalons and Epernay.

The successes of the Silesian army now promised such important advantages, that Prince Schwartzenberg resolved to support Marshal Blucher in his victorious career, by advancing upon Chalons. He accordingly took up a position at Menil-la-Comtesse, before Arcis-sur-Aube, where the French had assembled a considerable force. On the 21st, an attempt was made to prevent the junction of the Prince with our hero; but it proved ineffectual, and Buonaparte withdrew towards Vitry, leaving a strong rear-guard at Arcis, which was immediately attacked and carried by the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg.

The subsequent triumphs of the allied army, and the overthrow of the usurper, need not be repeated in this place: but it must be recollected, that these are to be attributed, in a very considerable measure, to the military skill and bravery of our hero and his gallant companions in arms.

On the arrival of this distinguished warrior, with the allied sovereigns, at Dover, on the 4th of June, 1814, the King of Prussia conferred on him the title of Prince of Wagstadt in Silesia, with a suitable territory and revenue. His own countrymen, also, anxious to commemorate his brilliant services, caused a medal to be struck at Breslau, the capital of Silesia, commemorative of the battle of the Katzbach, fought on the 26th of August, 1813. On the obverse is the head of the field-marshal, with the legend—"*Albert Leopold Von Blucher, born December* 16, 1743:" on the reverse, the Province of Silesia seated on trophies, hold-

ing in her right hand an emblem of victory, and reclining her left on a shield bearing the arms of Silesia, with the legend—"*Silesia delivered—Battle of the Katzbach.*"

The following anecdotes will, no doubt, be acceptable to our readers, as they are truly characteristic of the subject of this biographical sketch:—

On the 19th of June, while the marshal was giving audience to some of his friends at his apartments in St. James's, three females made their way into his presence, apparently affected with strong emotions of veneration and gratitude. On explaining their business, through the medium of a foreign gentleman who acted as interpreter, it appeared that they were the mother and two sisters of a seaman belonging to an English ship of war, who, with others, had been cast on shore, in the ship's boat, on the coast of Pomerania, during the short war between Prussia and England; and who, being compelled to surrender, fell into the hands of our hero, who not only treated them with all possible kindness, but maintained them, at his own expense, for several weeks, supplied them with clothes and money, and finally sent them back to their own country. This grateful fellow was with his ship at Portsmouth, and, not being at liberty to come to town to thank the gallant veteran in person, had charged his mother and sisters to wait upon him for that purpose. The field-marshal was highly pleased with this mark of the sailor's gratitude. He wrote his name upon the letter addressed to the mother, to convince her son that his request had been complied with; and said, that he should shortly be at Portsmouth, when he would make a point of seeing the seaman himself.

Two days afterwards, the field-marshal visited the committee for conducting the subscription for the suffering Germans; and addressing them, in German, said, he was truly happy in the opportunity of expressing his sentiments of gratitude for the laudable exertions they had made towards the relief of his suffering countrymen; and he felt the value of these exertions the more, inasmuch as he had so often, from his situation, been doomed to be the unwilling instrument of their distress. He made his acknowledgments to the ladies for the zeal and activity with which they came forward to assist their suffering sisters of Germany; and observed, that, after a year of privations during an afflicting war, he considered the few weeks he had spent in England among the happiest of his life. "Had I not a wife and children," said he, "whose inclinations and conveniences it is my duty to consult, I declare to you, I never would leave this blessed country. I cannot find words to express the feelings of my grateful heart for all the kindnesses I have experienced; but, if the ladies, the committee, and the British public, could lay their hands upon my heart, they would feel how strongly it beats towards them. I cannot say more, except that I wish them to enjoy, in everlasting peace, those blessings which they have so richly merited."

It has been justly remarked, that the truly brave have at all times been rewarded by the smiles and approbation of the fair sex. And it is well known, that, during his stay in England, the field-marshal experienced the most flattering notice on the part of the ladies. Elegant females pressed forward through the crowds, that constantly surrounded his residence, to have the happiness of shaking hands with him. The gallant veteran was not insensible to these expressions of cordiality: he received them with delight and respect, often making an immediate return in the present of a medal or a ring. On one occasion, an interesting and elegant female of rank introduced herself to his presence; and, obtaining his attention, expressed her wish to *embrace* the hero who had restored the glory of his country, and so eminently contributed to destroy the tyranny under which Europe so long had groaned. Deeply affected at her address, the venerable warrior advanced to meet her embrace with the affection of a parent for a child. The lady took the opportunity, while her head reclined on his bosom, to slip a diamond ring of considerable value on his finger; and retired, after accepting from the field-marshal the medal struck in his honour at Breslau.

Of the field-marshal's passion for play, various anecdotes have been related, and the following is too interesting to be passed over in silence:—During his campaigns, he sometimes amused himself by playing with the officers of his own staff, to whom he generally returned the sums he might have won. But, amongst these, there was a young Prussian count, whose growing love of play he was resolved, if possible, to check, though unable to control his own. Having won of him to the amount of three thousand pounds, he sent for him to his tent the next morning; and, after a short lecture on the ruinous consequences of gaming, he said, "You are young enough to profit by the example which the indiscretion of a long life has rendered too habitual in me to be conquered. The money which you lost last night I shall restore with pleasure, on condition that you pledge your honour never to play at any game in future by which you can lose more than one hundred rubles in the course of the night." This pledge being given, the marshal put into the hand of his

young friend half the sum which he had won, saying, "The remainder of the money I shall seal up under your name, to be received by you on calling upon me, at the expiration of twelve months, to complete the redemption of your pledge."

The following letter of our hero, to the King of Prussia, declining pay during his continuance in France, is truly characteristic, and well deserves a place in this work:—

"Your majesty has been graciously pleased to order that the army shall receive its arrears of pay; but, as nothing has yet been received in France, his highness the chancellor Prince Hardenberg has given orders to M. Von Bulow, the minister of the finances, to draw the necessary sums from our own country. Your majesty will allow me to express to you openly, and without reserve, my opinion and request, and that of the army. Upon our advance into France, we were animated with the wish to acquire nothing for ourselves but *honour;* but, on the other hand, to relieve our distressed country, and enable your majesty to heal the wounds, which long misfortunes and hostile arrogance have inflicted upon our country in general, and upon every individual family. For this reason I demanded a contribution of one hundred millions of francs from Paris; and of this sum I wished to apply only a part to the use of the army; and therefore proposed to your majesty to allow the army two months' pay, which was graciously granted; but, as altered circumstances render this impossible, the whole army will not only joyfully renounce the two months' pay, but we most humbly beseech your majesty to let no more money be paid us at present, than what is absolutely necessary for the wounded. We will rather submit to the greatest privations, than draw to France the revenues of the state, which are raised with so much difficulty, and thus enrich this detested country, and destroy in the bud the reviving prosperity of our native land.

"BLUCHER."

"*Head-Quarters, at Chartres, Aug.* 12, 1815."

The following was the farewell proclamation of Prince Blucher to his troops, on leaving France:—

"*Head-Quarters, Compeigne, Oct.* 31, 1815

"I cannot leave the army, which is now about to return home, without thanking you, brave soldiers, and bidding you farewell. When his majesty the King intrusted to me anew the command of the army, I obeyed the honourable call with confidence in your so often tried valour. You have maintained your reputation, soldiers, and justified the confidence which your king, your country, and Europe, placed in you. Mindful of your high destination, you have preserved your ancient glory, and ended such a hard contest in a few days. You are worthy of the name of Prussians, of Germans. Accept my thanks, comrades, for the courage, the perseverance, and the valour, with which you have gained such great and glorious success in so short a time. The gratitude of your fellow-countrymen will receive you at your return, and, while you enjoy merited repose, the country will find you prepared for new deeds, should it again require the support of your arms.

"BLUCHER."

The brilliant achievements of this gallant hero, subsequent to the second usurpation of Buonaparte, have been already laid before the reader. We shall therefore close this article with observing, that to him, in conjunction with the illustrious Wellington, and their brave allies, are to be attributed the overthrow of gigantic ambition and the repose of the world.

FREDERICK WILLIAM,

DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LUNEBURG, OELS, AND BERNSTADT.

AMONG the gallant heroes, who fell on the sanguinary field of Waterloo, the Duke of Brunswick-Oels claims a prominent place, both on account of his elevated rank as a sovereign-prince, and his near alliance to some of the most illustrious houses in Europe. Descended from a line of heroes, he closed his career in a manner worthy of their glory, and of the high character which he had previously acquired. This heroic prince was the fourth and youngest son of Charles William Ferdinand, the late reigning Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, who died November 10, 1806, at Ottensen, near Altona, in consequence of a wound which he received at the unfortunate battle of Jena. He was doubly allied to the illustrious house which sways the British sceptre; his mother being the sister of our beloved monarch, and his sister the wife of the Prince Regent.

He was born Oct. 6, 1771, and received the same education as his brothers, till the military profession, for which he was destined, required a course of instruction particularly adapted to that object. By his father the young prince was beloved with the greatest tenderness. In 1785, he was nominated successor to his uncle, Frederick Augustus, Duke of Oels and Bernstadt, in case he should die without issue;—an arrangement which was confirmed by his Prussian majesty. After a residence of about two years in Switzerland, the prince commenced his military career. He was appointed captain in the regiment of infantry then in garrison at Magdeburg, commanded by Lieutenant-general Langefeld, governor of that place;—a regiment which previously had for its chief the prince's great uncle, the hero of Crevelt and Minden.

His highness, who devoted himself with the greatest zeal and assiduity to the duties of his profession, was rapidly promoted; and, at the early age of nineteen, he was invested with the grand order of the Black Eagle. In the war with France, which commenced in 1792, the prince accompanied the Prussian army. He gained experience; and the military talents and intrepidity which he gradually developed, were conspicuously displayed by him on all occasions. Sometimes, indeed, his buoyant sense of youthful energy, which banished every idea of personal danger, impelled him beyond the bounds of prudence. On the 27th of November, 1792, he incurred the most imminent danger of his life in a skirmish which took place in the village of Etch, near Wurbel. He there received two wounds, and it was a considerable time before he recovered from their effects.

The treaty concluded at Basle, in April, 1795, again gave repose to the Prussian army. Prince Frederick William, after being for some time commander of the regiment of Thadden, at Halle, and afterwards of Kleist's regiment, at Prenzlau, was, in 1800, promoted to the rank of major-general. The latter regiment had long distinguished itself in the Prussian army, and, under the conduct of the prince, who bestowed on it the most assiduous attention, confirmed the character and reputation which it had previously acquired. In 1802, he married the Princess Mary Elizabeth Wilhelmina, the grand-daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden;—a circumstance which diffused new satisfaction and joy over his whole house. The prince and his consort seemed to have been created expressly for each other; and their mutual felicity was augmented by the birth of two sons, Oct. 30, 1804, and April 25, 1806, both of whom are still living.

On the demise of his uncle, Frederick Augustus, on the 8th of October, 1806, he succeeded to the duchy of Oels and Bernstadt. The following year was marked by the breaking out of the long-expected war, the issue of which is so well known. The Duke was attached to the corps commanded by General Blucher, which, after the most astonishing exertions and the most obstinate resistance, was obliged to submit to the law of necessity.

The capitulation of Lubeck put an end to the duke's military career for this war; and the circumstances of the times, with the peculiar relations resulting from them, induced him to solicit his dismission from the Prussian service.

The unexpected decease of his eldest brother, the hereditary prince, in the month of September of the same year, and the agreement concluded by him with his two next brothers, called him, on the decease of his father, to the government of the patrimonial dominions; which, however, he held but for a short time, Brunswick being, by the treaty of Tilsit, incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia. After this event, the Duke resided chiefly at Bruchsal, in Baden; and there he was doomed to experience a misfortune that afflicted him still more severely. On the 20th of April, 1808, he lost his amiable consort, before she had attained her twenty-sixth year.

Early in 1809, when a rupture between France and Austria appeared probable, his highness concluded a convention with the latter power, by which he engaged to raise a corps of two thousand men, half infantry and half cavalry, at his own expense; and, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way by Prussia, he succeeded in collecting the stipulated number in a very short time. Hostilities soon commenced, and the duke began his new military career by making an incursion into the kingdom of Saxony, in conjunction with a corps of Austrian troops. They were, however, obliged to evacuate Leipsic and Dresden, on the approach of a considerable force, composed of Dutch and Westphalians. The duke and General Am Ende retired from Dresden in a western direction, towards Franconia, into which the Austrians had penetrated from Bohemia with a considerable force. The armistice concluded at Znaim terminated the contest in that country also, and deprived the Duke of the co-operation of the Austrian troops. They evacuated Dresden, which they had a second time occupied, and withdrew beyond the frontiers of Bohemia.

The Duke of Brunswick, in the mean time, had likewise evacuated some of the places of which he had taken possession, but still remained in the Erzgeberge, without being pursued either by the Saxons or Westphalians. For some time he appeared undecided, whether he should join the Austrians in Bareuth, or adopt a different plan. He at length determined to quit Germany, where fortune did not seem to smile on the cause which he had espoused, and to conduct his corps to the English, who were then preparing for an expedition to the Continent.

The difficulties which opposed the execution of this undertaking were innumerable. It was not till he had traversed a space of nearly three hundred miles, that he could hope to reach the German Ocean; and his route lay through countries not wholly destitute of hostile troops.

The corps of the Duke of Brunswick had been described as completely annihilated; the inhabitants of Leipsic were, therefore, not a little surprised, when, in the morning of the 26th of July, after a smart action before the inner gates, he entered that city with nineteen hundred men, of whom seven hundred were cavalry. It is not unlikely that the duke had reason to be dissatisfied with something which had occurred during his former occupation of this city; for a contribution, though a very moderate one, amounting to no more than fifteen thousand dollars, was imposed: and this was the only requisition of the kind made by the duke during his whole march. His troops also exercised the right of retaliation on several persons who had given them offence during and after their retreat.

On the 27th, the Duke arrived at Halle, and, with unparalleled celerity, pursued his route by way of Eisleben to Halberstadt, which place Count Wellingerode, grand-marshal of the palace to the King of Westphalia, entered, with the fifth regiment of foot, on the forenoon of the 30th. The same evening the duke's corps appeared before the gates with six pieces of cannon. The enemy, though destitute of cavalry and artillery, made an obstinate resistance, but was at length overpowered, after a sanguinary conflict, which was continued for some time in the streets of Halberstadt, and during which the duke fought in the ranks of his black hussars.

He now directed his course towards his native city. Late in the evening of the 31st of July, he entered Brunswick, on whose ramparts, wrapped in a cloak, he passed the night. And here it has been justly asked by a writer of great respectability, "What must have been the feelings of the prince, when he beheld the palace, once the residence of his illustrious ancestors, his own cradle, and the theatre of his juvenile years; when he traversed the streets in which his parent had so often been seen, attended by crowds of happy mortals, who awaited the father of his people, to pay him the tribute of grateful tears; when he encountered the anxious and timid looks of those who once hoped to see the prosperity and the glory of their country augmented by him, whom alone, from among his three sons, his father had deemed worthy to be his successor? These were, perhaps, the most painful moments experienced by this high-spirited prince, since the sable genius of Auerstadt eclipsed the splendour of the house of the Welfs. Fate seemed to shew him once more the happy land, to which he was the rightful heir, to make him more keenly sensible of his loss. He, nevertheless, retained sufficient strength of mind to conduct himself with exemplary moderation. If he could not confer happiness, neither would he involve others in his own calamity: but, in a proclamation,

magnanimously recommended to his countrymen to be obedient to their present rulers."

The duke found it impossible to remain at Brunswick, as he was closely pressed on all sides. The Westphalian general, Reubel, concentrated four thousand men of his division at Oboff; General Gratien had set out with a Dutch division from Erfurt, and was approaching the coasts of the German Ocean; while General Ewald, with a corps of Danish troops, crossed from Gluckstadt over the Elbe into the Hanoverian territory, to cover the banks of that river. General Reubel was nearest to the duke, who, in his rapid retreat, had daily actions with the advanced guard of the Westphalian troops. That which was fought in the afternoon of the 1st of August, at Oelper, near Brunswick, and in which the duke's horse was killed by a cannon-ball, was the *eleventh* since the commencement of his retreat in Saxony.

The next morning he quitted his native city, and the movement which he now made caused it to be generally supposed that he was proceeding to Zell. Thither the troops under Reubel, and others, accordingly directed their course. The duke, however, suddenly made his appearance at Hanover, which he entered on the morning of the 3d of August; and, in the afternoon, pursued his route, by way of Neustadt, to Nienburg, where he arrived the following day. Here he crossed the Weser. He broke down the bridges behind him, and reached Hoya on the 4th. In this manner he hastened along the left bank of the Weser, while part of his corps, in order to make a false demonstration, turned off to Bremen. On the evening of the 5th, this detachment possessed itself of the gates of the city, and hastily departed the next day to rejoin the corps.

The duke, in the mean time, continued his march through Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, where he passed the night between the 5th and 6th of August; and it appeared as if he were directing his course towards East Friesland, with a view to embark on the coast of that province. This opinion, however, proved erroneous; for, crossing the Hunte, a small stream which discharges itself into the Weser at Huntebruck, he seized the corn-ships which had been lying inactive for years at Elsfleth. In these vessels he embarked his men in the night of the 6th, and by force procured a sufficient number of hands to navigate them; the surrounding district being chiefly inhabited by sea-faring people. On the morning of the 7th, the duke hoisted the British flag, set sail, and the following day reached Heligoland with part of his corps. That island he quitted on the 11th, and with his faithful followers proceeded to England, where they and their brave commander were received into the British service.

On the fortunate turn taken by the affairs of Europe early in 1814, his highness quitted England, to take possession of his patrimony, recovered from the rapacious fangs of Buonaparte; and was devoting his attention to those plans of internal improvement by which his father rendered himself beloved and adored by his subjects, when the perfidious conduct of the French once more summoned him to assist in the task of humbling that nation. How heartily he espoused the cause of legitimate right and social order, may be conceived from this fact, that, though the contingent required of him was no more than *four thousand* men, he actually joined the immortal Wellington with fourteen thousand, whom he clothed in black, vowing, that he with them would wear no other colour till he had witnessed the complete overthrow of the monster who had basely insulted his dying father. Providence, however, did not permit him to enjoy that gratification, nor to see the glorious results of the victory to which his own valour and that of his brave followers contributed. He was killed on the spot, whilst gallantly fighting at the head of his faithful troops, as we have already related. His body was conveyed to Brunswick, to be interred in the burial-place of his illustrious ancestors.

ALEXANDER THE FIRST,

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

THOUGH not personally engaged in the memorable battle of Waterloo, Alexander demands a prominent place in these biographical sketches, on account of the distinguished part which he bore in the first overthrow of the Corsican usurper, and the determination which he evinced, in concert with his illustrious allies, to render abortive the renewed attempts of that monster to enslave the world.

Alexander was born on the 23d of December, 1777; and, on the 9th of October, 1793, he was married to Maria Louisa Elizabeth Alexiena, of Baden. In his person he is tall, lusty, and well-proportioned; his face is full and very fair; his eyes are blue, and expressive of that beneficent mildness, which is one of the prominent features of his character; and his whole deportment is marked with mingled dignity and condescension.

In the discharge of his public duties, Alexander displays great activity and acuteness, but without show or any bustle. In fact, he is so averse to parade, that he drives about Petersburgh in a plain chariot, of a dark olive colour, drawn by four horses, driven by a bearded coachman, and a common postilion, and attended by a single footman. He is greatly attached to the English, numbers of whom have formed, under the auspices of his government, a sort of colony in his empire; and he has often been heard to say, that "the man within whose reach Heaven has placed the greatest materials for making life happy, was, in his opinion, an *English country-gentleman.*"

The following remarks on his private character are extracted from a work published during the reign of the Emperor Paul, entitled, "*Secret Memoirs of the Court of Russia.*"

"The Empress Catherine was prevented by death from executing another design, which would have been more fatal to Paul, but that the youth and natural good disposition of his eldest son defeated it; who, by the purity of his morals, and his personal qualities, inspires a high degree of admiration. That ideal character which enchants us in Telemachus, is almost realized in him; however, though his mother may have the domestic virtues of a *Penelope*, he is very far from having had an *Ulysses* for his father, or a *Mentor* for his tutor. He may be reproached, too, with the same defects which Fenelon has allowed in his imaginary pupil: but these are, perhaps, not so much failings, as the absence of certain qualities not yet developed in him, or which have been stifled in his heart by the companions that have been assigned him. He inherits from Catherine an elevation of sentiment, and an unalterable equality of temper; a mind just and penetrating, and an uncommon discretion; but a reserve and circumspection unsuitable to his age, and which might be taken for dissimulation, did it not evidently proceed rather from the delicate situation in which he was placed between his father and grandmother, than from his heart, which is naturally frank and ingenuous. He inherits his mother's stature and beauty, as well as her mildness and benevolence: while in none of his features does he resemble his father; and he must certainly dread him, more than love him. Paul, conjecturing the intentions of Catherine in favour of this son, has always behaved coldly towards him; since he discovered in him no resemblance of character, and no conformity of taste, with himself: for Alexander appears to do what his father requires of him, from a principle of filial duty, rather than compliance with his own inclinations. His humanity has acquired him the hearts of the soldiers; his good sense, the admiration of the officers. He is the constant mediator between the autocrat and those unhappy persons, who, by some trifling neglect, may have provoked imperial wrath and vengeance. This pupil of La Harpe requires not the dignity of grand-duke of Russia to inspire sentiments of love and interest; Nature has richly endowed him with the most amiable qualities; and his character of heir to the greatest empire in the world cannot render them indifferent to humanity. Heaven may perhaps have destined him to render thirty millions of people more free than they are at present, and more worthy of being so."

The following instance of Alexander's humanity, in restoring to life, by his own personal exertion, a Polish

peasant, who had been accidentally drowned in the river Willia, in Lithuania, was communicated to the Royal Humane Society of London, by James Grange, Esq. in the following letter:

"Dear Sir,

"His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Alexander, in one of his journeys through Poland, by his own personal exertion and perseverance, restored to life a peasant of that country, who had been drowned a considerable time. This highly interesting occurrence came to my knowledge during my stay at St. Petersburgh; and took place between Koyna and Wilna, in Lithuania, on the banks of the little river Willia, from which the last-mentioned town derives its name.

"The emperor, from some cause immaterial to the present subject, had considerably advanced his attendants; and, being led by the winding of the road within a short distance of the above-mentioned river, and perceiving several persons assembled near the edge of the water, out of which they appeared to be dragging something, he instantly alighted, and, approaching the spot, found it to be the body of a man apparently lifeless. Prompted by humanity alone, and without any other assistance than that of the peasants around him, to whom he was no otherwise known, than that his uniform indicated an officer of rank, he had him conveyed to the side of a bank, and immediately proceeded with his own hands to assist in taking off the wet clothes from the apparent corpse, and to rub his temples, wrists, &c. which his imperial majesty continued for a considerable time, using all other means (though destitute of any medical assistance) that appeared most likely to restore animation: but without effect.

"In the midst of this occupation, the emperor was joined by the gentlemen of his suite, among whom were Prince Wolkousky, Count Liewen, and Dr. Weilly, his majesty's head-surgeon, who always travels with, and indeed never quits, the emperor.

"The exertions of these persons were immediately added to those of the emperor; and, on the doctor's attempting to bleed the patient, his majesty held and rubbed his arm, and gave every other assistance in his power. This, however, and all other means they could devise, proved so ineffectual, that, after more than three hours fruitless attempts to recover him, the doctor declared, to the extreme chagrin of the emperor, that the spark of life was quite extinct, and that it was useless proceeding any further.

"Fatigued as he was by such continued exertion, the emperor could not, however, rest satisfied, without entreating Dr. Weilly to persevere, and to make a fresh attempt to bleed him. The doctor, although he had not the slightest hope of being more successful in this than in former attempts, proceeded to obey the injunctions of his imperial majesty; when the noblemen making a last effort in rubbing, &c., the emperor had, at length, the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing blood make its appearance, accompanied by a slight groan.

"The emotions of his imperial majesty on this occasion are not to be described; and, in the fulness of his joy, he exclaimed in French, 'Good God! this is the brightest day of my life!' and the tears which instantaneously glistened in his eyes, indicated that these words came from his heart.

"The accompanying snuff-box, on which this interesting event is faithfully though roughly delineated, (the poor inhabitants of that part of Poland being no great artists,) was sketched at a neighbouring town, for the purpose of commemorating this restoration; and is one of the four presented, on the occasion, to the principal actors in it; namely, his imperial majesty, and the three gentlemen above mentioned, who are (though not very correctly) represented on it.

"Requesting you to excuse the hasty and imperfect manner in which I have endeavoured to narrate this very affecting transaction, to which I feel myself incompetent to do adequate justice, allow me to assure you, sir, of the sentiments of respect and esteem with which I beg leave to subscribe myself,

"Dear sir,

"Your's, most faithfully,

"JAMES GRANGE."

Upon the morning after the death of the Emperor Paul, on the 11th of March, 1801, (O. S.) his son Alexander, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, was announced as his successor in the chapel of the Winter Palace, at St. Petersburgh, where he received the homage of the principal nobility; and, notwithstanding the catastrophe which had just occurred, the prospect which opened to them, by the accession of their favourite to the throne, diffused throughout all ranks an universal joy.

The measures which were immediately adopted to remedy the mischiefs of the former bad government, and to conciliate all ranks of people in favour of the new one, evince a degree of ability and strength of mind greater than was to be expected from the mildness of the new emperor's disposition. The first public act was the following proclamation:

"We, by the grace of God, Alexander the First, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., declare to all our faithful subjects: It has pleased the decrees of the Almighty to shorten the life of our beloved pa-

rent and sovereign, Emperor Paul Petrovitz, who died suddenly, by an apoplectic stroke, at night, between the 11th and 12th days of this month. We, on receiving the imperial hereditary throne of all the Russias, do also receive at the same time the obligation to govern the people committed unto us by the Almighty, according to the laws and heart of her who rests in God, our august grand-mother, Sovereign Empress Catherine the Great, whose memory will be dear for ever to us and the whole country. Following the steps of her wise intentions, we hope to arrive at the object of carrying Russia to the summit of glory, and to procure an uninterrupted happiness to all our faithful subjects, whom we do hereby invite to seal their fidelity to us, by oath, before the face of all-seeing God, whose assistance we implore to grant us power to support the weight now resting upon us.

"Given at Petersburgh, the 12th of March, (O.S.) 1801.

"ALEXANDER."

And, in about a fortnight afterwards, the following ukases were promulgated:

1. All prisoners of state are set at liberty.
2. All the recent laws relative to contraband goods are abolished.
3. The tariff of tolls and customs of 1782 is re-introduced.
4. The British seamen are released from confinement.
5. All societies and clubs are permitted.
6. The order of Malta is to be nearly suppressed.
7. The order of Saint Waldimir is restored.
8. Every body may dress according to his own pleasure, provided he do not violate public decorum.
9. The importation of books and literary productions of all sorts is again permitted.
10. The regiments are to bear their old names, and the former regiment of guards to be re-organized.
11. Every person, whether native, foreigner, or exile, shall freely enter or quit the Russian dominions, without any molestation or difficulty on the frontiers.
12. "Whereas our manufacturers have not yet gained the necessary perfection, nor are able to supply the exigence of our empire, We do hereby command, that the prohibition against the importation of china, earthen and glass wares, steel tools and instruments, hardwares, silks, cottons, and linens, be from this moment suppressed; and that, for the present year, the tariff of 1797 be in force."

The prohibitions against the exportation of corn were also removed; and the relations of peace and amity between the courts of London and Petersburgh, which had been so unfortunately interrupted by the impolitic conduct of the late emperor, were re-established.

The emperor's favourable disposition towards England was alike agreeable to his natural inclinations and the wisest policy; which cannot be better evinced than by the candid declarations contained in the negotiations preceding the renewal of the peace, which had to discuss the important subject which occasioned the bombardment of Copenhagen by Lord Nelson. In one of these papers, his imperial majesty declared to Sir Hyde Parker, admiral of the British fleet then in the Baltic, that, though prepared to repel force by force, he persisted in his pacific sentiments; but the justice and moderation of the cabinet of London must enable him to reconcile the demands of humanity with the duties he owed to the honour of his country, and the interests of his allies. From this period, his politics maintained the same pacific character; and his mind was turned to that wide field of improvement, which his extensive dominions opened to his view: his second care seemed to be the peace and happiness of Europe.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Alexander fitted out, at his own expense, two vessels for a voyage of discovery round the world, under the command of Captain Krusenstern. These ships were provided with every necessary for the accomplishment of the voyage; and several eminent literary characters volunteered their services on this occasion.

Towards the end of the year 1803, Alexander began to feel the necessity of checking the ambition of France, before Buonaparte had plundered and enslaved the whole of Germany, and extended his usurpations to the shores of the Baltic. The emperor had pledged his honour to obtain from France the performance of her engagements for the independence of the kingdom of Naples, and the indemnification of Sardinia for the loss of Piedmont; and, while the negotiations on these points were carried on between the two courts, war broke out between France and England. The Russian ambassador was then directed to take leave, though without expressing any design of immediate hostility The Russian army was recruited by a new levy of one hundred thousand men. It was declared, however, that the government merely augmented its military force on account of the posture of affairs in the other countries of Europe; and a declaration was made by the emperor to the court of Constantinople, that he had encouraged no such designs as were understood to have been suggested by France for the partition of the Turkish dominions.

The barbarous murder of the Duke D'Enghien—the cold-blooded malice of the wretch by whose command it was executed—and the unblushing violation of the

laws of nations, and of the rights of the Germanic empire, by which it was attended, made the deepest impression on every sovereign in Europe; but on none more than that of the Emperor of Russia. From the moment of his accession to the throne, the whole of his thoughts had been devoted to the happiness of his own subjects, and to the guarding the tranquillity of the other nations of the world. The object of all his public acts seems to have been the healing of those dreadful wounds which Europe had received in the long war by which she had been desolated, and to secure the independence of such of her states as had survived that terrible contest. In the question of the German indemnities, indeed, he had co-operated with France; but his motive in doing this was merely to bring that complicated question to a speedy decision, that the harmony of the empire might be restored, and that no pretence should exist for disturbing its tranquillity in future. The violation of the German territory, therefore, necessarily gave him much pain on every account, both as he had guaranteed it in the most solemn manner, and as it was an attack upon a country which, so long as it could protect its own independence, must form the most powerful bulwark to Russia against the ambition and revolutionary progress of France. But, however deeply Alexander must have felt, as a sovereign, at this outrage, perhaps even the consequences to which it evidently led did not weigh more upon his mind than the moral turpitude of the crime by which it was produced. Not contented, therefore, with causing his ambassador at Paris to remonstrate in the strongest manner upon the subject, he presented to the Diet at Ratisbon the following declaration:

"*Ratisbon, May 7.*

"The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the Elector of Baden, the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His imperial majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert its care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself.

"It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence: it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and each of its members, must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition. Moved by these considerations, and in quality of guarantee of the constitution of the Germanic empire, and that of mediator, the emperor considers it as his duty solemnly to protest against an action which is such an attack on the tranquillity and security of Germany. Justly alarmed at the mournful prospect it presents, his majesty made no delay to represent his manner of thinking on the subject to the first consul, by the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris.

"While his majesty adopts a measure prescribed to him by his solicitude for the welfare of the German empire, he is convinced that the diet and the head of the empire will do justice to his disinterested and manifestly indispensable care; and that they will unite their endeavours with his to transmit their just remonstrances to the French government, to prevail on it to take such steps and measures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future security may render necessary."

In their reply to this note, the representatives of Brandenburg and of Baden expressed a hope "that the First Consul would, of himself, be inclined to give such a full and satisfactory explanation on the subject, as might entirely correspond to the expectation of his majesty the Emperor of Russia." The great majority of the other states of the German empire, conscious of the insult which had been offered, yet fearful of a renewal of hostilities, from which they could not hope to derive any advantage, preserved an inflexible silence. Hanover and Pomerania alone, therefore, seemed to coincide with the sentiments of the imperial declaration.

An additional solemnity was given to the representations of Alexander, upon this occasion, by his putting his court into deep mourning, and by ordering all his ministers at foreign courts to do the same, in memory of the tragical fate of the Duke D'Enghien;—a step which the Corsican affected to consider as a direct insult; as it forcibly, though silently, expressed the attachment of the Russian emperor to the House of Bourbon, and plainly demonstrated that he considered the execution which had taken place as a barbarous and unqualified *murder*.

Towards the close of 1804, the Emperor of Russia entered into active negotiations with Great Britain; and, at the same time, made every exertion to preserve

the peace of Europe, again disturbed by the restless ambition of Buonaparte, who had resolved on humbling Austria, and annihilating the independence of Germany. He accordingly offered his mediation between the contending powers; but, at the very moment the French government was sending a passport for the Russian minister's journey to France, fresh aggressions were committed, affecting the political existence of the independent states of Italy, which obliged his imperial majesty to consider his mediation as rejected. Still, when invited by the Emperor of Austria, who was now obliged to provide without delay for his own safety, to renew the negotiation for a coalition with the other courts of Europe against the common disturber, he entered into the designs of the Austrian emperor with the same spirit, and confined his warlike demonstrations to the advance of a small part of his troops, merely sufficient to give weight and importance to the mediation of so great a potentate. The endeavours of the emperor to maintain the peace of the continent, however, were unsuccessful; and preparations were made for the contest which was about to ensue.

Upon the return of Count Markoff, the Russian ambassador, (whom the Corsican had personally insulted,) he was received by Alexander with the most flattering marks of favour: the thanks of the emperor, returned to him for his services in the most solemn manner, were read in the directing senate; and an annual pension of twelve thousand rubles (about 2000*l.* sterling) was settled on him.

As the intervention of Alexander, in the cause of the degraded states of Europe, originated in the purest motives and most disinterested councils, so his conduct, now war became inevitable from the unjust conduct of Buonaparte, was distinguished by every quality characteristic of the father of his people, and the friend of mankind. Having superintended the arrangements necessary for sending three great armies into the field, destined to act in aid of Austria, and which were to enter Germany successively, he suddenly appeared at Berlin, on the 26th of October. Here he gained universal admiration by his affable and engaging manners, and seemed for a moment to have infused some portion of his own spirit into the Prussian councils. But the ruin of the Austrian army at Ulm, and the retreat of the first Russian army from the Inn, changed the aspect of affairs, and compelled him to return with equal rapidity, and place himself at the head of his troops.

In the unfortunate campaign, which nearly destroyed the Austrian empire, and particularly in the fatal battle of Austerlitz, Alexander performed all that could be expected from the magnanimity of his character, and the sincerity of his policy. In this sanguinary engagement, he exhibited the most courageous devotion to the cause in which he had engaged. He placed himself at the head of the fourth column of the allied army, and constantly remained with the infantry during the whole of the conflict, exhibiting great proofs of presence of mind and military skill. When the fortune of the day turned to the side of the French, he charged the enemy three times successively, at the head of his guards; and, by his gallantry, not only secured the retreat of the combined army, which would otherwise have been cut to pieces, but actually saved the greater part of the Russian artillery, which he carried off with him, after it had been taken possession of by the French. Nor did his greatness of mind, or magnanimity of conduct, desert him when the fatal result of that day decided the fate of the war. He made no proposition for peace, nor offer of submission, to the conqueror. To the humiliating conditions imposed by Buonaparte upon the Emperor of Austria, Alexander refused to become a party; and, accordingly, caused his troops, although under very distressing circumstances, to commence their retreat, on the 6th of December, 1804, from the Austrian territories, preserving, at the same time, too formidable a front for pursuit or molestation.

Buonaparte, having grossly misrepresented the particulars of the battle of Austerlitz, in his bulletins, the following authentic account of it was published by the Emperor of Russia:

"The issue of the battle of Austerlitz has been so well confirmed by its consequences, that it is almost incredible how France could publish such extravagant and untrue relations of that affair. All Europe, and the Russian nation in particular, justly expect a relation on our part. The love of truth alone, and the wish to adduce none but authenticated facts, have hitherto prevented the appearance of this relation. In the mean time, it is necessary to correct some of the statements of the French bulletins, particularly the 29th, and to lay them before the public. General Savary spoke only with two persons belonging to the emperor's suite; and, excepting these, he only saw some field-adjutants, who had brought despatches from their chiefs, or were in waiting to transmit orders to them. The chief of the French nation might not have derived any pleasure from the conversation of Prince Dolgorucky; but he at the same time forgot that the Russians did not belong to those nations who sought his protection. The number of the allied army, as stated in the bulletins, was one hundred and five thousand men, viz. eighty thousand Russians, and twenty-five thousand Austrians, and the French much inferior. But why were their numbers not given? Besides the reserve, which was said alone to be equal to an army, the

enemy's force consisted of four large divisions of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry each, commanded by a marshal and two generals of division. The combined army, on the other hand, consisted of fifty-two thousand Russians and seventeen thousand Austrians. But this inferiority in number was the least misfortune in the Russian army: the scarcity of provisions was so great, that, for nearly two days preceding the battle, they had nothing to eat. The horses were famished to such a degree, that those belonging to the artillery could no longer draw. Of course, in the battle, the artillery was of little use, excepting in those stations where it was first planted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent our maintaining our post any longer at Olmutz, or taking another station further in the rear. These circumstances urged the necessity of the battle, the happy result of which could only be expected from the valour of the troops. The imperial guard, of which it is said, in a bulletin, that it lost all its colours, are still in possession of them, and have taken one pair from the enemy. The combined army, it is said, lost fifteen thousand killed, and twenty thousand prisoners. Do they include among these the twenty thousand said to have been drowned? After so many forced marches, and so much fatigue and hunger as had been sustained, with the sickness consequent thereupon, after the affairs upon the Danube and Moravia, of the whole Russian army there is not a deficiency of more than seventeen thousand men. But were the loss as considerable as the bulletin has pretended, why was not the Russian army pursued, as that bulletin falsely asserts? On the contrary, the Russian army kept the field till the next morning. The armistice was not concluded but with the Emperor of Germany, at whose particular desire the Russians first commenced their retreat; and which was also effected in good order and without loss, notwithstanding the French partly assert that, during the negotiations with Austria, the French army prosecuted its victories. To enhance the glory of this day, the French bulletin says, that the French guard (the reserve corps) took no part in the battle. The same bulletin, however, afterwards asserts that, when one French battalion was broken by the Russian guard, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Bessiers to advance, and that the imperial guards on both sides immediately came to action.

"The French bulletins abound with false statements, over which the pretended noise and distraction occasioned by the discharge of two hundred pieces of cannon, and a conflict between two hundred thousand men, throw but a flimsy covering. Can it possibly serve the interests of a great general to sanction such reports? Can he really stand in need of such means as these to increase that military glory which is not denied him? Posterity will do justice to the truth."

Notwithstanding the conclusion of peace between France and Austria, the Russian forces, on their return to their own country, were considerably increased by new levies; and the hope seemed to be entertained by Alexander that a fresh opportunity would present itself for retrieving the affairs of the allies, and effecting the deliverance of Europe. In the mean time, he was not inactive in that field which was still open to his exertions. By the treaty of Presburgh, the Venetian territories, which had been ceded to Austria by the peace of Luneville, together with part of Istria and Dalmatia, were to be united to the kingdom of Italy, together with the mouths of the Cattaro, which constitute a position upon the Adriatic of extraordinary strength. By the various intersections of rivers, and other peculiar circumstances attending this situation, it is capable of defence by a very small number of men against a very superior force. The officer who commanded the fortress was General Brady, who possessed but a small number of troops; according to the Austrian statement, not more than eighty men. The time for delivering it up had expired, and nevertheless it remained still in the hands of the Austrian commandant; when an officer in the Russian service, whether instructed by his government, or acting from the suggestions of his own mind with respect to the importance of the enterprise, appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender. The expedition was conducted with promptitude and decision; and, from the suddenness of his appearance, the weakness of the garrison, or a disposition on the part of the governor to cede this important station to the recent ally, rather than the detested enemy of his sovereign, the Russian officer easily succeeded, and the summons was obeyed without delay. The dexterity with which the French were circumvented on this occasion, by an enemy whom they had affected to despise, as destitute of the least portion of skill or stratagem, afforded no small triumph to the court of St. Petersburgh. On the other hand, intelligence of this event was received by Buonaparte with every indication of chagrin and rage. The French ambassador at Vienna was ordered to remonstrate on the occasion, and to insist most peremptorily on the fulfilment of the treaty of Presburgh, and on the delivery of Cattaro, not through the medium of its present Russian possessor, but by the Austrians themselves, from whose hands alone the French should receive it. Russia, however, maintained her conquest, amidst all the discussions and irritation to which it gave rise, until, toward the conclusion of the year, when a more extensive theatre was opened for her exertions.

In the year 1806, negotiations were entered into for a peace with France, in concert with England, when a circumstance occurred which gave the Emperor Alexander an opportunity of proving his good faith towards Great Britain, and the firmness of his character.

Buonaparte had contrived to cajole the Russian minister, M. Oubril, into a *separate* treaty of peace, which was transmitted to St. Petersburgh for the emperor's ratification: this, however, he peremptorily refused, and immediately published the following declaration:

"We, Alexander the First, by God's grace, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, declare and make known to all our faithful subjects, that, in our incessant care and solicitude for the welfare of the interior of our empire, equally with its foreign relations, it has ever been our wish to establish them upon an immoveable basis, and to defend the state by such alliances as the situation of our country may require. With this view, we have thought proper, from the commencement of our reign, to remove every cause of misunderstanding, and, by a friendly conduct, to unite with those powers whose wise and moderate principles were consistent with their independence and the general tranquillity.

"The Most High blessed our wishes and endeavours, and at that period bestowed upon Europe a general peace. However, it did not consist with his inscrutable providence to prolong the continuance of this order of things—war broke out again. But, as our situation did not permit us to take any immediate part in the war, we never ceased to remain faithful to our allies; and to continue to wish and labour for peace and tranquillity, consistently with the common welfare, by every friendly interference in our power. But, notwithstanding this interference, the daily increase of the French power, and the situation of our allies, threatened by its aggrandizement and unbounded ambition, compelled us to take an active part in this war. We took up arms, but we did not cease to wish for peace; and we also declared, in our ukase of September 1, 1805, that the object of our arming was to preserve the sacred inviolability of treaties, and to restore the general tranquillity. The misfortunes which attended the arms of the allies operated against the realization of our views: however, the principles upon which they were grounded remained unchanged.

"At the commencement of the present year, the French government manifested an inclination approximating to peace: we accordingly issued orders to enter into discussions with them immediately. The restoration of a peace consistent with the dignity and security of our empire, the advantage of our allies, and the general tranquillity of Europe, were laid down as the fundamental bases of these discussions. But, to our regret, the conditions of peace agreed to with France by M. D'Oubril were neither consistent with the dignity of our empire, nor with the security of our allies. We refused to ratify those conditions. But at the same time, to afford a proof of the immutability of our principles, which, under various circumstances, had been ever directed to the same end, we at that time made known the conditions on which we were disposed to renew our negotiations with the French government. The bases proposed by us are so moderate, that they cannot be rejected without an open menace of the general safety; and they are so consistent with the advantage of every power concerned, that, in case of their being accepted, a general peace must not only follow, but be confirmed to Europe upon the most permanent footing. Thus must peace, or the continuance of war, be the consequences of these measures. We wish for peace; but if no lasting peace can be obtained, grounded upon mutual advantage, then it will be necessary, for the honour of the Russian name, the sacred character of our engagements, and the general deliverance of Europe, to proceed to extremities, which, on these considerations, cannot but appear to us absolutely indispensable.

"We are convinced that each of our faithful subjects, animated with the love of their country, impelled by a sense of honour, and surrounded by examples of patriotic zeal, will speedily unite their powerful efforts with our own, as soon as the safety of Russia, the voice of glory, and our command, shall call upon them to co-operate for the public good. In this firm reliance upon the help of God, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to apprise you before-hand of our views; and, in so doing, to afford you a new proof, that, in all our undertakings, we neither seek the extension of our territory, nor the fleeting glory of victories; but that it is our wish and endeavour to secure the general safety, the preservation of our allies, and the dignity of our empire.

"Given at St. Petersburgh, August 30, and in the sixth year of our government.

"ALEXANDER.

Countersigned by the minister for foreign affairs,

"ANDRE BUDBERG."

This document was succeeded, in the month of November, by the following proclamation:

"Our manifesto of the 30th of August, declared the situation of our affairs with the French government. At that period of our hostile situation, Prussia still formed a barrier between us and the French, who

tyrannized over various parts of Germany. But, soon after, the fire of war blazed out in Prussia also: after various disasters and important losses on her part, our own dominions on the frontiers are now threatened by the flame. To Russians, accustomed to love the glory of their country, and to sacrifice every thing to it, it is unnecessary to explain how unavoidable these events have made the present war. Honour unsheathed our sword for the protection of our allies; how much more justly must it be drawn for the defence of our own safety! Before these events could approach our frontiers, we took, at an early period, every measure to be ready to meet them. Having, in good time, ordered our army to move beyond the frontier, we have now commissioned our general Field-marshal Kamenskoi to command it, and to act against the enemy with all the forces intrusted to him. We are assured, that all our faithful subjects will join us in fervent prayers to the Almighty, who directs the fate of states, and the issue of battles, that he may take our righteous cause under his all-powerful protection; that his victorious strength and blessing may direct the Russian armies employed in repelling the general foe of Europe. We are confident that our faithful subjects of the government on the frontier will, in the present circumstances particularly, redouble the proofs of their attachment, and their zeal for the common good; and that, unshaken by fear, or delusive promises, they will tread with firmness the same path in which, under the protection of the laws and of a mild government, they have hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and undisputed property, and shared in the universal prosperity of the whole empire. Lastly, we are confident that all the children of the land, relying on the help of God, on the valour of our troops, and on the known experience of their leader, will spare no sacrifice, no efforts, which patriotism and the safety of our country may demand.

"*St. Petersburgh, Nov.* 28, 1806."

During the ensuing campaign, the Russian army under General Benningsen disputed with some success the power of France: at Pultusk, Eylau, and Heilsberg, they were victorious; and even in the unequal battle of Friedland, they maintained their honour untarnished.

The following remarks on the peace of Tilsit, which followed that unfortunate battle, are extracted from "Sir Robert Wilson's Sketch of the Campaign in Poland:"

"At Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander might descend from his dignity, and suspend his estimation in Europe, by a contaminating connection of personal amity with Buonaparte; but even in that fatal moment he was not senseless to his duty, as protector of the interests of Russia, for the sake of which he consented to the revolting sacrifice; and, although he humiliated his own majesty, he enriched the sway, and essentially strengthened the throne, of succeeding autocrats. Peace was not degrading to Russia; the mode of affiancing with France could only render such peace a reproach.

"After the glorious and sanguinary resistance that he had alone opposed to Buonaparte with all his means, he was warranted in sheathing an undishonoured sword, if the situation and immediate interests of his country required some repose. Russia had engaged in the campaign as an ally of Prussia: she had prepared only as an auxiliary, and to support a sovereign who could bring into the field above two hundred thousand soldiers of high military character, whose country was covered with strong fortresses, and who had the means of abundantly providing every supply. By the loss of one battle, and a series of unparalleled treasons and misfortunes, however, Prussia was, in a few days, annihilated; and the conquerors, confident in numbers, and presumptuous from victory, appeared on the Vistula with the declared intention of planting their eagles on the towers of St. Petersburgh.

"The Russian army, inadequate in numbers, unprepared for such a contest, reinforced by no more than ten thousand dispirited Prussians, instead of the victorious multitude that they anticipated to join on the banks of the Rhine—with a knowledge of their immediate wants—without the hope of succour for several months—conscious, but always indignant, at the disasters of Austerlitz, resolved to resist the menacing torrent; and, by a combination of extraordinary courage and endurance, they not only arrested its progress, but preserved the Russian territory from invasion, and finally maintained an attitude which obliged Buonaparte to treat their country with a consideration that no hostile power had ever before experienced in his negotiations.

"Had Alexander but refused for a *third* time that interview which Buonaparte so eagerly urged, and sent his ministers to treat for a peace which the exigencies of Russia might have rendered desirable, such peace would have been sanctioned by honour, and, although not in unison with the wishes of England, England would have had no right to remonstrate with asperity, or reproach the termination of a war which Russia had alone sustained. If Alexander had not yielded a final acquiescence to councils repugnant to his own feelings, —if, in that extremity, he had collected around him the wise, the patriotic, the loyal, and the brave, who were ready to support him, and were devoted to his interest—his dignity would have been preserved, and his

ministers would have been enabled to maintain a tone commanding terms so favourable, that the assurance of a prosperous continuation of the war could scarcely have offered equal advantages to Russia."

The proclamation of Alexander, on the conclusion of peace, was to the following effect:

"*We,* ALEXANDER *the First, by God's grace, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias.*

"The war between Russia and France, through the powerful assistance of the Most High, and the distinguished valour of our troops, has ended,—peace is happily restored.

"In the course of this war, Russia has experienced the magnitude of her resources, in the love and devotion of her sons, and which she may reckon upon finding on all occasions.

"The troops, in general, have exhibited an unexampled valour, the firmest intrepidity, and heroic actions; wherever they were called by the voice of honour, the sense of danger disappeared; their glorious deeds will remain beyond the power of oblivion in the annals of national honour, and a grateful country will consider them as standing examples for prosperity.

"The nobles of the civil class, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, have not only distinguished themselves by the sacrifices they have made of their property, but also by their perfect readiness to hazard their lives for the honour of their country.

"The merchants, and all other classes, neither sparing of their endeavours nor their property, have cheerfully borne the burthen of the war, and have shown themselves ready to make any sacrifice whatever.

"With such a general and intimate union of valour and patriotism, it has pleased the Most High, defending and strengthening our armies in the severest conflicts, finally to reward their intrepidity, by putting a happy period to a sanguinary war, and presenting us with a propitious peace, by a treaty between France and Russia, which was concluded and ratified on the 27th of June, in our presence, at Tilsit.

"According to the basis of this treaty, we have rejected all the plans for the enlargement of our frontiers at the expense of our allies, as inconsistent with justice and Russian dignity.

"Not willing to extend our spacious empire, we only made use of our arms to restore the violated tranquillity of the continent, and to avert the danger which threatened our own, and the states that were in alliance with us. Through the establishment of the present peace, Russia's ancient limits are not only secured in their complete inviolability, but rendered more complete, by the addition of a natural and advantageous line of frontier. Several countries and provinces have been given to our allies, which had been lost by the fortune of war, and subjugated by force of arms.

"Peace being concluded upon these principles, we are convinced that all our faithful subjects will join with us in offering up their prayers to the throne of the King of kings, that Russia may long enjoy its advantages, defended by the blessings of the supreme, and the unshaken and tried valour of her armies.

"Given at St. Petersburgh, August 9, 1807, and the seventh year of our reign.

"ALEXANDER."

Shortly after the peace of Tilsit, the amicable relations of Russia with England were interrupted; and the expedition against Copenhagen, under Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier, gave the highest offence to Alexander, who was, at this time, completely deceived and cajoled by the subtle Corsican. The errors of this policy, however, were amply expiated; and a twelvemonth did not elapse before the general ruin and misery which rapidly spread throughout Russia, in consequence of the total want of commerce, obliged the emperor to relax in a system which the intrigues of Buonaparte had induced him to adopt. This relaxation drew upon him the hostility of the ruler of the French nation, who immediately began to form arrangements for the destruction of the Russian empire.

It was in vain that Alexander represented the pressure of public suffering throughout Russia; that she could no longer exist as a nation without commerce; and that he was ready to make great sacrifices to secure even a portion of trade to his subjects: that he was contented to impose a new duty of twenty-five per cent. on all colonial produce and goods of British manufacture, and would allow France half the revenue to sanction the measure. To these proposals, the Corsican insultingly replied, that nothing short of the total exclusion of British shipping from the ports of Russia would satisfy him; and that any compromise on his part would be considered as a total abandonment of the continental system.

It was now sufficiently obvious to Alexander, that hostilities must re-commence; and that nothing but a fresh appeal to arms could preserve the independence and stability of the empire; yet, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, he procrastinated every indication of warlike measures, until he found that further delay would compromise his own dignity, or endanger the integrity of his empire.

"As early as the spring of the year 1811," says a contemporary historian, "the cabinet of Russia perceived that war was inevitable. The King of Saxony

had been recommended to concentrate the troops belonging to the duchy of Warsaw on the Vistula; the conscription throughout France had been considerably extended; and the designs of Buonaparte became every day more evident. The military preparations, therefore, in Russia, were made on the most extensive scale. Cannon were secretly sent from the arsenal towards the frontiers; the different battalions called "garrison regiments" were incorporated with the regular forces; and, by the end of February in that year, no less than two hundred thousand men were quartered in the western provinces of the empire; while many of the most intelligent generals, who commanded divisions of these troops, successively visited St. Petersburgh, under the pretext of arranging their private affairs, but, in reality, for the purpose of conferring with the minister at war on the state of their respective corps.

"These preparations were increased with redoubled activity, after the incorporation of the Hans Towns with the French empire, and the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburgh, (the integrity of which latter state was guaranteed by the twelfth and fifteenth articles of the treaty of Tilsit,) on the principle, that, by their continuing to trade with Great Britain, 'their commerce frustrated the salutary and decisive regulations of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, which alone were calculated effectually to resist the principles of the British orders in council.'

"Alexander was deeply affected by these aggressions, and perfectly aware of the tendency of Napoleon's ambitious designs. The time, however, was not yet arrived, when it was judged expedient to pursue that vigorous line of conduct which ought to have been sooner adopted. The situation of Russia with respect to Turkey was still unsettled: she had made great exertions in a destructive contest with that power, and her finances were considerably embarrassed. It was also uncertain what part the Crown Prince of Sweden might take in a contest between Russia and France; it being well known that every exertion had been made by Buonaparte to engage that prince to enter into his designs. No time, however, was lost in encouraging the manufacture of arms: five hundred thousand muskets, and two thousand pieces of ordnance, were rapidly finished, and ready for any disposable purpose; various fortifications were erected on the banks of the Dwina; and, upon the whole, the military preparations were much more formidable, and upon a larger scale, than those which preceded the wars of 1805 and 1807. The organization of the forces was also changed. The cavalry, which used to be attached to the different divisions of infantry, was separated from them. The infantry of the line consisted of twenty-eight divisions, of six regiments each; and every regiment contained three battalions of six hundred effective men; forming a total of three hundred and two thousand four hundred infantry. The cavalry were composed of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each; every squadron of one hundred and forty-two effective men, amounting, in the whole, to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty, besides fifty thousand cossacks, making together a force of three hundred and ninety-two thousand one hundred men. From this enumeration may be deducted nine divisions: two of which were to be employed against the Persians, five against the Turks, and two were to continue in Finland, by way of precaution. There then remained two hundred and ninety-four thousand nine hundred and sixty men, which Russia could, in the year 1811, have opposed to France, exclusively of the militia; and for arming this latter force there were a sufficient number of military depôts well provided, and conveniently situated for the distribution of arms and stores."

It will also be evident from the following document, which is the substance of an engagement entered into between the courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 24th of March, 1812, so far as the same are referred to in a subsequent treaty between his Britannic majesty, and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, on the 3d of March, 1813, that, for some time previous to the invasion of Russia by Buonaparte, the courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm had, from the movements of the French armies menacing the Russian empire, engaged to make a diversion in Germany against France and her allies with a force of between forty and fifty thousand men: but, as this diversion could not be securely made whilst Norway could be considered as the enemy of Sweden, Russia engaged, either by negotiation or military co-operation, to unite that kingdom to Sweden. The acquisition of Norway was to be considered as a preliminary operation to the diversion in Germany. An indemnity was to be offered to Denmark in Germany, if she would cede Norway; but, in case of refusal, she was to be considered as an enemy.

"The object of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden, in forming an alliance, is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally their states and possessions against the common enemy.

"The French government having, by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and, by the movements of its armies, having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes,

and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

"As the King of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause, consistently with the security of his own dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his majesty the Emperor of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages, moreover, to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish majesty.

"The two contracting parties engage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany; and the Emperor of Russia promises to place, for this object, at the disposal and under the immediate orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

"The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the King of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance; and will offer to his Danish majesty to procure, for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden.

"In case his Danish majesty refuses this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

"As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagements of his Swedish majesty to co-operate with his troops in Germany, in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until Norway shall have been acquired to Sweden, either by the cession of the King of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his majesty the King of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been obtained.

"His Britannic majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to, and to guarantee, the stipulation contained in the said treaty."

On the 23d of March, 1812, his imperial majesty published the following declaration for the recruiting of his forces:

"The present situation of Europe requires the adoption of firm and strong measures, as well as indefatigable vigilance and energetic exertions, so as to fortify our extensive empire in the most formidable manner against all hostile enterprises. Our bold and courageous Russians have been accustomed to live in peace and harmony with all the surrounding nations; but, when storms have threatened our empire, patriots of all ranks and stations were ready to unsheath the sword for the defence of their religion and laws.

"The most urgent necessity for the augmentation of our troops by a new levy now exists. Our strong forces are already at their posts, for the defence of the empire; their bravery and courage are known to all the world. The confidence of their emperor and government is with them. Their faith and love will render them irresistible against a far superior force. With the same paternal care have we adopted all defensive measures, to secure the safety and welfare of all and every one; and therefore order—1st, To raise in the whole empire, from each five hundred men, two recruits; 2dly, To commence in all governments two weeks after the receipt of the ukase, and to be finished in the course of a month; 3dly, To conform to the regulations laid down with respect to the levy of recruits by an ukase presented to the senate, and dated September 16, 1811; 4thly, The recruits to be kept in the garrison towns, with the garrison and interior battalions, on the same footing as the recruits for provisionary depôts are kept and brought up.

"The immediate fulfilment of this order for raising of recruits during the period fixed is entrusted to the senate."

The influence which Buonaparte possessed over the Austrian government, enabled him to obtain a treaty of alliance; by which the latter engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to act against Russia, on the understanding that, if she were attacked, she should receive an equal succour from France.

Previous to the commencement of hostilities, Alexander issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating the sacrifices which he had made, previous to taking that step, and exhorting them to the most strenuous exertions; and, after the passage of the Niemen, he published the following address:

"For a long time we have remarked the hostile conduct of the French emperor towards Russia; but we still hoped, through moderate and pacific measures, to avert hostilities. At length, notwithstanding all our wishes to maintain peace, we witnessed an incessant repetition of open outrages, which compelled us to arm and to assemble our troops; though still, while we could flatter ourselves with the hope of reconciliation, we remained within the confines of our empire, and, without violating peace, were prepared for defence. All these moderate and pacific measures, however, could not secure to us the tranquillity of which we were desirous. The French emperor, by an attack

upon our troops at Kowna, has already commenced war; consequently, nothing farther remains for us, but, while we invoke the aid of the Sovereign of the Universe, the Author and Defender of Truth, to place our force in opposition to the force of the enemy. It is unnecessary to remind our generals, our chiefs, and warriors, of their duty and their valour: the blood of the Sclavonians, so highly renowned of old for their victories, flows in their veins. Soldiers! you are the defenders of your religion, your country, and your independence. Your emperor is with you, and God is on your side."

On the 6th of June, Buonaparte arrived on the Vistula, and availed himself of his overwhelming force and imposing situation, to compel the King of Prussia to join him in a treaty of alliance. Shortly after, he passed the borders of the Russian empire; in consequence of which, Alexander issued the following proclamation:

"The French troops have passed the borders of our empire; a complete treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace, I have exhausted every possible means, consistently with the honour of my throne and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain. Napoleon has resolved in his own mind to effect the ruin of Russia. The most moderate proposals on our part have remained unanswered. This sudden irruption into our territories has shewn in an unequivocal manner the groundlessness of his pacific promises, which he lately repeated. There remains no alternative, therefore, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence, to repel force by force. I place the most implicit confidence in the zeal of my people, and the bravery of my troops. As they are menaced in the midst of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy; and Providence will crown our righteous cause with success. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled me to have recourse to arms; and I will never sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders."

In pursuance of the system of retreat and protracted warfare, which had been determined upon by the Emperor Alexander, the Russian armies gradually fell back and concentrated themselves. Buonaparte was therefore obliged to alter his first dispositions, which harassed his troops by useless marches. The head-quarters were at length established at a fortified camp at Drissa; and, on the Russian army breaking up from this position, the emperor issued the following proclamation:

"Beloved subjects!—In pursuance of the policy advised by our military council, the armies will, for the present, quit their positions, and retire farther into the interior, in order to unite with the greater facility. The enemy may possibly avail himself of this opportunity to advance; as he has announced that intention. Doubtless, in spite of his boast, he begins to feel all the difficulties of his menacing attempts to subjugate us, and is consequently anxious to engage: he is desperate, and would, therefore, put every thing upon the issue of a battle. The honour of our crown, and the interests of our subjects, however, prescribe a different policy: it is necessary that he should be made sensible of the madness of his attempt. If, urged by the desire of obtaining provisions and forage, or goaded by an insatiable thirst of plunder, he should be blind to the danger of farther committing himself at such an immense distance from his territories, it would become the duty of every loyal Russian, every true friend of his country, to co-operate cheerfully with us, in impeding equally his progress, or his retreat, by destroying his supplies, his means of conveyance, and every thing which can be serviceable to him. Such of our subjects, therefore, in the provinces of Vitepsk and Pskoy, as may have articles of subsistence, either for man or beast, beyond their immediate want, are hereby ordered to deliver them to officers authorised to receive them, and for which they shall be paid the full value out of the imperial treasury. The owners of growing crops within the distance of the line of the enemy's march, are commanded to destroy them, and their loss shall be reimbursed. The proprietors of magazines, either of provisions or clothing, are required to deliver them to the commissaries for the use of the army, and they will be liberally remunerated. In general, the spirit of this order is to be carried into execution in regard to all articles, whether of subsistence, of clothing, or of conveyance, which may be considered useful to the invaders; and all magistrates are made responsible for the due fulfilment of these our commands.

"ALEXANDER."

After the defeat of Davoust, by Prince Bagration, the following ukase was issued by Alexander:

"The enemy has entered our territories, and continues to carry his arms into the interior of Russia, hoping by his strength and his fury to disturb the tranquillity of this mighty empire. He has formed in his mind the base determination to destroy the glory and prosperity of our country. With subtlety in his heart, and deceit on his lips, he is bringing everlasting chains and fetters into it. We have called on the Almighty for assistance,

and have appealed to him for our defence. Our armies glow with valour to crush him, to defeat him, and to drive from the face of our country all those who may remain undestroyed. On their fortitude and strength we place our firmest reliance; but we cannot conceal from our loyal subjects, that the forces of the different nations he has assembled are great, and that his temerity demands our most valiant and resolute exertions. With all the hopes we place in our gallant army, we therefore deem it indispensably necessary to assemble new forces in the interior of the empire, which, striking the enemy anew with terror, will form a second barrier in support of the first, to defend the homes, the wives, and children, of all our subjects We have already called on our metropolis of Moscow, and we now call on our loyal subjects of all classes and ranks, both ecclesiastical and civil; earnestly recommending them, individually and generally, to rise and co-operate against all hostile designs and attempts. At every step shall the invader find the loyal sons of Russia combating him with all their strength and all their means, without attending to his wiles and deceit. In every nobleman shall he find a Pojarskoi; in every ecclesiastic, a Palitzin; in every citizen, a Miuin. Most eminent nobility of Russia! it is ye that at all times have been the saviours of your country. Most holy synod and clergy! ye have always, with your fervent prayers, called down blessings on the empire.

"Natives of Russia! ye valiant descendants of the brave Sclavonians, how often have ye dashed the teeth of lions and tigers that were rushing upon you. With the cross in your heart, and the sword in your hand, no martial force can vanquish you.

"For the first formation of the before-mentioned forces, it is proposed to the nobility, in all the governments, to assemble the men they intend for the defence of the country, choosing officers from among themselves, and sending an account of their numbers to Moscow, where a commander-in-chief will be appointed.

"*Camp, near Polotsk, July* 6, 1812."

This and other similar appeals to the loyalty of the people produced the happiest effect: all ranks throughout the Russian empire seemed to have imbibed an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism; and offers of assistance, in raising levies and money, were made to the emperor from every quarter of his dominions. The people of Moscow proposed to raise and equip eighty thousand men; the government of Smolensk, twenty thousand; and the government of Kaluga, twenty-three thousand men, cavalry and infantry: the emperor's sister also, the grand Princess Catherine Pawtowna, expressed her desire to raise a regiment on her own estates; as will appear from the following extract of one of her letters:

"At a time when every Russian subject is inspired with love for their native country, and devotion for its monarch,—at a time when, to repulse the enemy and preserve the general safety, it is necessary to make great sacrifices and use every exertion,—I have not been able to repel the feelings of my heart, in taking an active part in furnishing the means of supply for our warlike preparations. After having applied to his imperial majesty, my beloved lord and brother, for his approbation and permission, I have to turn to you, and through your assistance carry into effect a purpose I have conceived, from the most unbounded zeal for the honour and welfare of my beloved country, and for the most affectionate love for its monarch. It is my wish to raise, on my hereditary estates, twelve hundred warriors, to whom separate regulations will be given by me, and whom I will arm and maintain at my own expense. I have not the least doubt but that, according to the instructions you will cause to be given, this conscription will be performed with the greatest success; and that those who shall be selected for the defence of their religion and country, will, by their distinguished zeal, soon become equal to older warriors."

Notwithstanding some successes which were obtained by the Russian armies when they engaged the enemy, the system of protracted warfare was judged to be the most conducive to the final destruction of the invaders; as will appear from the following proclamation published in general orders, by the commander-in-chief, General Benningsen:

"Russians! the enemy has quitted the Dwina, and has announced his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he, then, have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Dinabourg and Mire; wherever, in short, it has been deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate counsels are alone compatible with the enterprise he has undertaken, and the perils of his situation: but shall we, therefore, be imprudent, and forego our own advantages? He would march to Moscow—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of thirty millions? At the distance of nearly eight hundred miles from his resources, he would not, even if victorious, escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction, rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcileable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat?

"Russians! rely on your emperor, and the commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosoms of his soldiers, at the boast of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle, that they grieve at its being deferred, and at the thought of retiring. This cruel necessity will not exist long. Even now the period of its duration lessens. Already are our allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader; while he, inveigled too far to retreat with impunity, will soon have to combat with the inclemency of winter, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians. Soldiers, when the period for offering battle arrives, your emperor will give the signal, and will personally witness your exploits, that he may reward your valour.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

At the commencement of the invasion of Russia, Buonaparte seemed inclined to make a push at once for St. Petersburgh, probably supposing that the capture or imminent danger of that metropolis would terminate the war. But the plan pursued by the Russian commanders, to draw the principal force of their antagonist towards the Dnieper, necessarily changed that of their invader, who now directed his attention to the possession of Moscow, the ancient capital of the empire.

Of the battle of Borodino, which immediately preceded the capture of Moscow by the French, the following correct account was circulated at St. Petersburgh:

"The Russian army retreated upon the village of Borodino, between Mojaisk and Irisk, on the high road to Moscow. It was here reinforced by thirteen thousand effective men, under General Miloradovitch, and twenty-one thousand militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under General Markoff. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to one hundred and five thousand effective men: the French army amounted to thirty-one thousand, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

"Buonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favourable moment for attacking the Russians on their march from Smolensk to repass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle, on the 5th of September. It is possible, that the recent appointment of Prince Kutusoff as commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, had baffled his hope of peace; and that he found himself now obliged to effect that by force, which he was in hopes to have obtained by the influence of fear on the Russian cabinet. Certain it is, that he regretted his former neglect, and that he said, 'I have lost a most brilliant opportunity.'

"Prince Bagration's army sustained the Russian left; but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns, on a hill, covered the advance of Prince Bagration's army, which may be called the second army

"The action was begun about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of September, and was furiously contested on both sides until nearly dark, when the enemy took possession of the hill and battery, and compelled the second army to retire, and take up its position in alignment with the first army, keeping some hills in its front, on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 7th, the French, with all their force, again fell upon Prince Bagration; after a desperate resistance, broke in upon him, obliged him to retreat in some disorder; and the reserves of the first army were under the necessity of moving to the left and front, to cover his works, and oppose the enemy, which service was effectually executed; and the second army being rallied again, advanced to battle, and, in its turn, supported the troops which had covered it. The Russian line, however, was obliged to throw back its left a little, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and right. At the salient point of this angle was a battery, which, if taken and kept by the enemy, would have commanded the whole Russian position, and obliged a retreat.

"Buonaparte, finding that the Russians remained steady, notwithstanding the constant and tremendous fire of artillery, resolved to have this work carried. Various attempts were made during the day by the cavalry and infantry; but they were always repulsed. Towards nine o'clock in the morning, however, General Bonami had lodged himself in the battery, in front of the Russian left; but General Gormouloff, seizing the command of a column, rushed upon the battery, re-carried it, and put every man in it to the bayonet, except General Bonami, who escaped with twenty wounds, one of which struck into his breast. Towards dusk the enemy's force retired, abandoning the battery, which he had again carried about four o'clock in the afternoon, and which had been taken and retaken three times during the day. He gradually withdrew upon some works in his rear, out of cannon-shot, and from thence fell back about two wersts and a half with his main body, giving orders for his heavy guns to retire upon Mojaisk. The Russian army remained upon the field until the next evening, whence Prince Kutusoff fell back three wersts with his main body, and left General Platoff with his cossacks to occupy the ground in front of Borodino.

"Thus terminated, in the field, the memorable battle of Borodino, and so far it resembled the battle of Eylau—but not in its consequences; for Eylau preserved Koningsberg, whereas Borodino accelerated the loss of Moscow. It may be said, however, Borodino, theoretically, was in the field a more decisive victory than Eylau, as the Russians there quitted the ground during the same night, whereas, at Borodino, it was the enemy who withdrew.

"In its progress, however, it greatly differed from Eylau: for Borodino was a battle on points; Eylau was a parade battle, general throughout the line, and covering every man in the field with its iron canopy. The Russians had more than six hundred guns in the field; but the fire was sustained by about two hundred and sixty-eight pieces.

"The loss at Borodino to the Russian army was certainly severe; as it now appears, that twenty-five thousand were killed or wounded, and above fifteen hundred officers, of whom three generals were killed and nine wounded.

"The loss of the enemy could not but be more considerable; calculation so far could not err: but it now appears, from their own correspondence, that they estimate their loss at twenty-six generals *hors de combat*, (of whom seven were killed,) and thirty-five thousand men."

The illustrious veteran Prince Kutusoff was now appointed field-marshal, with a grant of one hundred thousand rubles. The emperor also ordered five rubles to be given to every soldier who was engaged in this memorable battle.

The Russian general found it necessary to retire a short distance on the Moscow road, and designed to take up a position within two or three wersts of Moscow; but, as this appeared unfavourable, he continued his retreat to the distance of twenty miles beyond Moscow, leaving the French to enter the city, which they did on the 14th of October.

Previous, however, to the abandonment of Moscow by the Russians, all the most valuable property was removed from the city; the magazines, stores, &c. were set on fire; and that the latter object might be successfully accomplished, every fire-engine was removed or destroyed. The governor, Rastapchin, had concerted these measures with the commander-in-chief, and induced about forty thousand of the inhabitants to follow him to the army. The others fled in all directions, and but very few remained to witness the entry of the invaders.

The circumstances which compelled Prince Kutusoff to give up the ancient capital, are explained in the following report to the emperor:

"After the sanguinary, though victorious, battle fought by your majesty's troops on the 7th of September, I was obliged to leave my position near Borodino, for reasons which I have already stated to your majesty. After that battle, the armies were much weakened: under such circumstances we approached Moscow, having daily much fighting with the enemy's advanced guard. The reinforcements which I hoped to meet with had not yet arrived. The enemy formed two new columns, one on the Borosk, and the other on the Zwenigorod roads, with a view of acting against my reserve near Moscow. In consequence of this, I could not risk another battle, the issue of which would not only have been destructive to the army, but would have reduced Moscow to ashes. In this lamentable situation, and after consulting my generals, amongst whom there were some of a different opinion, I was compelled to let the enemy enter Moscow; out of which all the valuables, the stores in the arsenals, and almost all other property, imperial or private, were previously conveyed; and scarcely a single inhabitant remained in the town. I take the liberty most humbly to represent to your majesty, that the entrance of the enemy into Moscow is not to be considered as the annihilation of the empire. I am making a movement with my army towards the Toula road. This will enable me to keep open my communications with the neighbouring governments: any other measure would have prevented this, and also have separated me from the armies of Tormazoff and Tchichagoff. I must confess, that the abandonment of the capital is very painful; but, considering the advantages which may accrue to us from it, and particularly the preservation of our armies, it is no longer to be lamented: and I now proceed to occupy with my forces a line by which I shall command the roads leading to Toula and Kalouga, annoy the whole line of the enemy extending from Smolensk to Moscow, and be enabled to cut off all reinforcements marching to join him from the rear. By thus occupying the attention of the enemy, I hope to compel him to quit Moscow, and to change his whole line of operations.

"General Winzingerode has received orders from me to post himself on the Twer road, and to detach a regiment of cossacks on that to Yaroslaff, to protect the inhabitants from being molested by small bodies of the enemy. I am at no great distance from Moscow; and, as soon as I have collected my troops, I shall with confidence await the approach of the enemy. As long as the army of your imperial majesty is entire, and animated with its known courage and zeal, the loss of Moscow is not yet the loss of the empire. For the rest, your majesty may be assured, that this event is the necessary consequence of the loss of Smolensk."

On the 18th of October, Prince Kutusoff defeated the French under Murat, who was advancing towards the south with forty-five thousand men; and, on the next day Buonaparte quitted Moscow, which was re-entered by the Russians. On this occasion, the following proclamation was issued by Alexander:

"Russians! at length the enemy of our country, the foe of its independence and freedom, has experienced a portion of that terrible vengeance which his ambitious and unprincipled aggression had aroused. From the period of his march from Wilna, his armies, great in number, assured in valour and discipline, and elated at the remembrance of victories gained in other regions, threatened nothing less than the entire subjugation of Russia. The system which we had thought fit to adopt strengthened that confidence. The sanguinary battles fought on his route, and which gave him a temporary possession of Smolensk, flattered him with all the illusions of victory. He reached Moscow, and he believed himself invincible and invulnerable. He now exulted in the idea of reaping the fruit of his toils; of obtaining for his soldiers comfortable winter-quarters; and of sending out from thence, in the ensuing spring, fresh forces to ravage and burn our cities, make captives of our countrymen, overthrow our laws and holy religion, and subject every thing to his lawless will. Vain presumptuous hope! Insolent degrading menace! A population of forty millions, attached to their sovereign and country, and devoted to their religion and laws, cannot be conquered by a heterogeneous force, which he could muster, even were it treble its late amount.

"Scarcely had he reached Moscow, and attempted to repose amidst its burning ruins, when he found himself encircled by the bayonets of our troops. He then, too late, discovered, that the possession of Moscow was not the conquest of the empire; that his temerity had led him into a snare, and that he must choose between retreat or annihilation: he preferred the former, and the consequences are already visible.

"Russians! the Almighty has heard our wishes, and crowned our efforts with success. Every where the enemy is in motion: for disorderly movements betrayed his apprehensions: gladly would he compound for safety; but policy and justice alike demand the terrible infliction. The history of his daring invasion must not be related without the terrible catastrophe by which it was attended. An hundred thousand men sacrificed to his frantic presumption, attest your valour and devotion to your country, and must deter him from a repetition of his impracticable design. Much, however, yet remains to be done and that is in your power. Let the line of his retreat be rendered memorable by your honest indignation; destroy every thing which can be of service to him, and our commanders have orders to remunerate you; render your bridges, your roads, impassable; in fine, adopt and execute the suggestions of a brave, wise, and patriotic heart, and shew yourselves deserving the thanks of your country and your sovereign.

"Should the remains of the enemy's force escape to our imperial frontiers, and attempt to winter there, they must prepare to encounter all the rigours of the climate, and the valorous attacks of our troops. Thus, harassed, exhausted, and defeated, they shall for ever be prevented from renewing their presumptuous attempt."

The daily losses which the French now sustained, and the distress they suffered in their retreat, drove them completely to despair; so that numbers surrendered without resistance; whilst others, incapable of further exertion, laid down on the side of the roads, and perished with hunger, fatigue, and intense cold.

On the 15th of November, his imperial majesty issued the following proclamation:

"It is well known to the whole world in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No means that have been resorted to, by the punctual fulfilment of peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a sanguinary and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immoveable. With peaceful promises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length, having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wirtemburg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were the attendants on his march. The plundered property—the burning towns and villages—the smoking ruins of Moscow—the kremlin blown up into the air—the temples and altars of God destroyed—in a word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian empire, which possesses every thing in abundance awakened in the heart of the enemy emotions of envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred,

he revolved, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He also thought, by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady; and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagancies. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential tempest, into the heart of Russia.

"The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and, inwardly moved, thought they beheld, in the reflection of the flames of Moscow, the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But, great and mighty is the God of justice! the triumph of the enemy was of short duration.—Pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that, by his temerity, he had ventured too far, and that he could not, either by his valiant army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire the loyal and valiant Russians with fear, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he has seen his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he now, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight. He flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the rapidity of his flight. Thousands of fugitives daily fall to the earth, and expire. In such a manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praiseworthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most lively gratitude to the first cause of all good—the Almighty God; and, in the next place, we have to express our thanks in the name of our country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline; for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in this work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily-raised levies, and have shewn a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have, with the same force and intrepidity, penetrated the enemy's regiments, with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up the fields. In this manner, the troops of levies sent from St. Petersburgh and Novogorod, for the strengthening of the forces under Count Witgenstein, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotsk, and other places.

"We have, also, with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived, by the reports of the commander-in-chief of the armies, and from other generals, that, in several engagements, and particularly those in Moscow and Kalouga, the country people have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts at reducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them, with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprises and attacks against the enemy. Many villagers have secreted their families and infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hands and inconceivable courage, (under engagements on the Holy Gospel not to leave each other in danger,) have defended themselves, and whenever the enemy shewed himself have fallen upon him: so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women; and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.

"So high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well-founded hopes; whilst we, jointly with the true church and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God's assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God's temple and holiness, should not be totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, may bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.

"Meanwhile, we consider it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to express our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation; and thereby render it the tribute of due justice."

On the French being pursued across the Prussian frontier, the following declaration was issued by the Russian commander-in-chief:

"At the moment of my ordering the armies, under my command, to pass the Prussian frontier, the emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.

"Faithful to the principles which have, at all times, actuated his conduct, his imperial majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterised his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. These his majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is to Prussia, in particular, to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his imperial majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the monarchy of Frederick its *éclat* and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part which the wishes of his people, and the interests of his states, demand. Under this conviction, the emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders, to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which, for a short time, must result from their occupation.

(Signed) "The marshal commander-in-chief of the armies,

"Prince KUTUSOFF SMOLENSK."

This document was accompanied by the following proclamation:—

"When the Emperor of all the Russias was compelled by a war of aggression to take up arms for the defence of his states, his imperial majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations, was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs; and when the commander-in-chief, Prince Kutusoff Smolensk, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art (too much resorted to in modern wars) of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But, with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed, it is not easy to conceive that, in a campaign of only *four months*, one hundred and thirty thousand prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides nine hundred pieces of cannon, forty stand of colours, and all the waggon-train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the generals taken is hereunto annexed. From that list an estimate may be made of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken. It is sufficient to say, that out of three hundred thousand men, who penetrated into the interior of Russia, not thirty thousand of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which Napoleon repassed the Russian frontier can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have invariably formed the basis of his policy; for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression, and to throw off the yoke, which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their government whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Centuries may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself: it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

On the 2d of January, the following order of the day was issued, at Wilna, by the heroic Marshal Kutusoff:

"Brave and victorious troops! you are at last upon the frontier of the empire. All of you have been the preservers of your country: Russia has bestowed upon you this title. The rapid pursuit of the enemy, and the extraordinary difficulties that you have supported in this campaign, astonish all nations, and have acquired for you immortal glory. Such brilliant victories are altogether unexampled. During two whole months, your hands have daily punished the miscreants. The road that they have pursued is strewed with dead bodies. Their chief, in his flight, sought for his personal safety alone. Death has raged in their ranks: thousands fell together and perished. Thus has the wrath of the Almighty burst over them; and thus hath He protected his people.

"Not resting ourselves in the midst of our heroic actions, we must still proceed farther; we must pass our frontiers, and endeavour to accomplish the defeat of the enemy in the face of their allies. But we will not follow the example of their rage and frenzy, which disgrace the soldier. They have burnt our habitations, and violated our sanctuaries! but you have beheld in what manner the arm of the Almighty has punished their impiety. Let us be liberal, and distinguish between the enemy and peaceable inhabitants. Justice and clemency towards the latter will demonstrate that we do not seek to enslave them, nor aspire to a vain glory; but that our object is, to free from misery and destruction even those who have taken up arms against Russia.

"The constant desire of his imperial majesty is, that the tranquillity of the inhabitants be not disturbed, and that their property remain in perfect safety. At the same time that he makes known this desire, he confidently expects that each soldier will pay the utmost attention to it, and that no individual will dare to forget it: and I call upon the commanders of corps and divisions, in the name of his imperial majesty, in order that they may strictly adhere to this instruction."

The publication of this order was followed, four days afterwards, by the following proclamation:

"God and all the world are witnesses with what objects the enemy entered our beloved country. Nothing could avert his obstinate and malevolent intentions. Proudly calculating on his own force, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by desire of conquest and thirst for blood, he hastened to penetrate even into the heart of our great empire, to spread amongst us the horrors and miseries of a war of devastation, and to come upon us by surprise, but for which he had long been preparing. Having foreseen, by former proofs of his unbounded ambition and violent proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers with a fury which nothing could arrest, we have been compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart, in invoking the aid of God, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire, that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of bravery, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude, has not Russia shewn! The enemy, who penetrated into her bosom with all his characteristic rage and ferocity, has been unable to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted.

"It would seem, that with the blood which flowed, her spirit of bravery increased; that the burning villages animated her patriotism; and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the merchants, the people, in a word, all classes, all estates of the empire, breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love equally ardent for their God and for their country. This unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects, such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success, which entered our country; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. With this immense force, he penetrated into the heart of Russia, extended himself, and began to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him? Let us cite the words of the holy Psalmist—'I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree.'—'I went by, and, lo! he was gone: I sought him, but his place could no where be found.' *Psalm* xxxvii. 36, 37.

"This sublime sentence is literally and forcibly accomplished on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds drawn together by the wind? They are dispersed as rain. A great part, moistening the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the governments of Moscow, Kalouga, Smolensk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part, equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles, with many generals and commanders. In fine, after numerous sanguinary combats, whole regiments, imploring the magnanimity of their conquerors, have laid down their arms before them. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia with carcases, cannons, waggons, and baggage. So that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part of the soldiers, exhausted and without arms, can, with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their country; to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake those inconsiderate and rash men, who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of powerful Russia.

"We now inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes, and that what we announced at the commencement of this war is accomplished beyond all measure. There is no longer a single enemy on the face of our territory; or, rather, there they all remain; but in what state?—dead, wounded, and prisoners. Even their proud chief himself has with the utmost difficulty escaped, with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than one thousand pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands. The scene of the destruction of his armies surpasses all belief. One almost imagines that the eye is deceived. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the commander-in-chief of our armies, this distinguished general, who has rendered to his country services for ever memorable, and, without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commanders, or from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess, that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. Divine Providence, therefore, must be acknowledged in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne; and, evidently seeing his hand chastising pride and impiety, instead of glorying in our victories, let us learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will; to resemble not those impious violators of the temples of God, whose numerous carcases now serve as food for dogs and crows.

"God is mighty in his kindness and in his anger. Let us then be guided by the justness of our actions, and the purity of our sentiments, as the only path which leads to him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and, there, crowned with his hand, adore him for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; addressing to him our ardent supplications, that he will extend to us his favour, and put a termination to the war, granting us victory on victory, and the wished-for peace and tranquillity."

Another proclamation was issued, the same day, in which the emperor announced his design of erecting, in St. Petersburgh, a church, to be dedicated to the Lord Jesus Christ, in eternal remembrance of the unexampled zeal, of the fidelity, patriotism, and love of religion, by which the Russian nation distinguished itself in the time of calamity, and to testify his gratitude to Divine Providence for the preservation of his empire.

Early in February, the King of Prussia offered his mediation between France and Russia, and proposed a truce, on terms highly favourable to the former. These, however, were sullenly rejected by the discomfited Corsican; and, on the 22d of the same month, his Prussian majesty concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Emperor of Russia.

The following ukase to the Russian army was published by Alexander, on the 17th of February:

"Warriors! the glorious and memorable year has expired, in which, through your unheard-of exploits, the formidable enemy, who, in his arrogance, dared to press forward into the interior of our empire, has been punished and repulsed. This year of glory has fled, but your heroic deeds will remain for ever; time shall never sink them in oblivion—they will live in the recollection of posterity. At the expense of your blood, you have driven from your native land the princes and people who were combined against it. Your valorous efforts, your deeds, your perseverance, have procured for you the gratitude of Russia, and the esteem of foreign nations. You have shewn the world, by your valour and your constancy, that when the heart is penetrated with the truths of religion, and filled with piety, the assaults of the enemy, though like the stormy waves of the ocean, are dashed in pieces against this impregnable rock, and die away in murmuring foam.

"Warriors! to make known by a mark of distinction all such as have co-operated in these great deeds, we have ordered a silver medal to be struck. The memorable year 1812 will be engraven upon it; and, suspended from a blue riband, it will ornament the manly breast, that impenetrable shield of our native land. Every one of you is worthy of receiving this honourable badge, because all of you have undergone considerable hardships, and are all animated with the same spirit. Of this emblem of valour, you may be justly proud; as it will ever distinguish you as the faithful sons of your country. The enemy must tremble when he beholds this honourable badge: he will feel that, under this silver shield, glows unconquerable valour, not leading to avarice or impiety, but which rests its firmest grounds on the truths of religion, and on unmixed love of our country.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

Previous to the alliance between Russia and Prussia, the war had been carried on by the Russians in defence of their country, against their barbarous invaders; but it was now to be pursued for the deliverance of Europe from the chains of a gloomy and ferocious tyrant.

Prince Kutusoff, therefore, on the 25th of March, issued the following proclamation to the Germans, in the names of their majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia:

"While Russia's victorious warriors, united with those of Prussia, their allies, appear in Germany, his majesty the Emperor of Russia and his majesty the King of Prussia announce to the princes and people of Germany the return of freedom and independence. They come only with the design of aiding them to recover those lost but inalienable blessings of nations, and of affording powerful protection and permanent security to the regeneration of a venerable empire. It is this grand object alone, raised far above every selfish view, which dictates and directs the advance of their armies.

"These armies, under the eyes of both monarchs, and led on by their general, confide in the righteous Disposer of events, and hope to be able to accomplish for the whole world, and irrevocably for Germany, what they have already so gloriously begun for themselves—the destruction of the most ignominious yoke. Full of this spirit, they march forward. Their watch-word is honour and independence. Let every German, who would still be thought worthy of that name, cordially unite with them; let all, be they princes or nobles, or in the lower ranks of life, join heart and hand, with their lives and property, in the Russian and Prussian plans of deliverance. Such a disposition, and such zeal, their majesties trust, they are entitled to expect from every German, when they view the spirit which the victories of Russia have roused in an awakened world.

"They invite, therefore, the faithful co-operation of every German prince; and they would gladly anticipate, that none of them, by proving rebellious to the German commonweal, will expose themselves to merited destruction by the force of open hostilities.

"The confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful fetter which the general disturber threw around dismembered Germany, even to the annihilation of her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated; as being the work of foreign constraint, and the instrument of foreign influence. Their majesties are confident that they only comply with the universal wishes of the people, when they declare, that the dissolution of this confederation must be considered as one of their most settled determinations.

"Herewith, at the same time, is the relation declared in which his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias is desirous of standing with regard to renovated Germany, and to its internal constitution.

"As he wishes to see the annihilation of foreign influence, that relation can be nothing else than extending a protecting hand over a work, the full completion of which can only be accomplished by the princes and people of Germany. The more firmly the foundations and the superstructure of this work arise out of the national spirit of the German people, the more powerfully and the more unitedly will Germany shine forth among the nations of Europe.

"In fine, his majesty and his allies, between whom the most complete understanding prevails with regard to the herein-declared resolutions and views, are determined perseveringly to devote their strongest efforts to the glorious object of delivering Germany from a foreign yoke.

"Let France, who is beauteous and strong within herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting her internal welfare. No foreign power intends disturbing it; no hostile attempt shall be made upon her rightful frontiers. But, be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering permanent tranquillity for their subjects; and that they will not lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European state has been established and secured."

About this time, the Russian army lost its brave commander-in-chief, Prince Kutusoff Smolensk, who died at Buntzlau; and, in consequence of this event, the Emperor of Russia wrote the following letter to the widow:—

"Princess Catherine Ilinishina! The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Kutusoff Smolensk, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. This is a great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not *alone*—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe and the world will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swell with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such illustrious men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband; and remain your affectionate

"ALEXANDER."

The chief command of the army now devolved on General Witgenstein, who, a few days afterwards,

gained the battle of Gross-Gorschen, of which the following is the official account:

"On the 30th of April, information was received, at General Count Witgenstein's head-quarters, of the greater part of the army and the French guards having crossed the Saale, in the neighbourhood of Naumberg. It was at the same time reported, that the Emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. We observed that the Viceroy's army drew to the right. It was therefore evident, that the enemy endeavoured, by all means, to form a junction, and that it was most probably his intention to give a general battle. His majesty the Emperor Alexander, and his majesty the King of Prussia, therefore, went to their armies, to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But, the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with General Winzingerode's corps, from Leipsig, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received, of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this, a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May, with the said corps, by which we were convinced that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed that the Viceroy's position was between Leipsig and Halle, consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was sufficiently obvious. General Count Witgenstein resolved to obstruct him in his dispositions by a bold attack, and to restrain his offensive operations. It was necessary, in this attempt, to make it our main object immediately to fall on such part of his force as was on his side considered to be the best troops; in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of our flying corps, over whom the enemy had lately acquired a superiority. It was therefore requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against the rearmost troops. For this purpose, the main army broke up in the night between the 1st and 2d of May, from Notha and Borna, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. General Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation, to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army by the way of Zwenkau.

"About day-break, all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up, in order of battle, on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and the left to that of Gruna. By reconnoitring, we discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not attempt to interrupt our march, nor to get before us into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross-Gorschen and Starsiedel.

"About noon, General Blucher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported by part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross-Gorschen, which, though obstinately defended by the enemy, was taken by storm. General D'York marched with his corps to the right of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps. The enemy, at the same time, displayed a numerous artillery, and the fire of musketry in the villages was kept up, with great vivacity, for several hours. In this sanguinary battle, the villages of Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, and Gross-Gorschen, were taken at an early period, and with unexampled bravery kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned with considerable force, surrounded, and, in part, re-took these villages; but, on the attack being renewed, he was unable to retain possession of them. The Prussian guards moved forward, and, after a most obstinate conflict of an hour and a half, those villages were again retaken from the enemy, and remained in our possession. During this time, the corps of General Winzingerode on the left wing, and the corps of General D'York, with a part of the Russian troops under General Berg, had taken a share in the battle. We stood opposed to the enemy at the distance of one hundred paces, and this murderous battle became general.

"Our reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near seven o'clock in the evening. During its course, the villages on the left wing were several times taken and retaken by both parties. At seven o'clock, the enemy appeared with a new corps on the right wing before Gross and Klein Gorschen, made a brisk attack on us, and endeavoured to tear from us the advantages we had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserves was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of General D'York's corps, which was briskly attacked; and a most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery, during the whole remaining time, greatly distinguished itself) was now continued until night came on. The enemy had likewise again attacked our centre and the villages with great briskness, but we maintained our position.

"In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipsig during the battle. This obliged us to manœuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that

we were informed that, in consequence of the battle, he had again been forced to quit it; and had, by the same means, lost Halle, and fifteen thousand of his best troops; many of his cannon were dismounted, and a number of his powder-waggons blown up. Our light detachments are again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained. We have constantly kept the field of battle; the victory is our's, and the intended purpose is accomplished. Nearly fifty thousand of our best troops have not yet been engaged; we have not lost a single piece of cannon: and the enemy must have perceived what can be effected by united national feelings, between two firmly allied nations, in courage and resistance; and that the high hand of Providence protects the just cause of those powers, who have no object but to preserve their independence, and to found a durable peace on the freedom of all nations.

"Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions, did both Russians and Prussians fight for it; and their endeavours will not have been in vain. The loss we have sustained may amount to ten thousand men, but the most of them are only slightly wounded. Among the killed on the Prussian side, we have, among several other staff-officers, to lament the loss of the Prince of Hesse-Homberg. Our wounded are, on the Russian part, General Kanovnitzen; and, on the Prussian, Generals Blucher and Scharnhorst, slightly; and Hunerbein, dangerously. On the French side, according to the report of the prisoners, we learn, that Marshal Bessieres is killed, and Ney and Souham wounded. Upwards of one thousand prisoners are already brought in, ten pieces of artillery taken, and some thousand muskets captured at Halle. Our light troops are now occupied in pursuing the enemy.

"Although the numerous villages and canals lying near each other in this territory, together with the precaution taken by the enemy never to appear in the open plain, did not afford our cavalry an opportunity of charging in line, yet the Prussian body-guards, and the regiment of Brandenburg cuirassiers, cut down several masses of the enemy's infantry, even amidst the villages, and under his cross-fire, and thereby gained a share in the immortal honour which the Prussian warriors have again obtained in this sanguinary battle; and, in like manner, have the Russians proved that they can fight on the German soil, with the same sentiments which insured victory to them in their own country. These are the results of this day, up to the present. God blesses our arms. He visibly, and during the battle, protected both our beloved monarchs, who several times exposed themselves to danger, even in the villages where the battle raged the hottest. May he furthermore bless and preserve them to us!"

Passing over several battles of minor importance, we shall next lay before our readers the particulars of those which were fought on the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, of May, 1813; observing, that we are indebted for this information to the accounts published under the authority of his imperial majesty Alexander:

"The advices brought on the 18th uniformly confirmed what had been conjectured from previous reconnoissances, that the enemy had drawn together all his forces to attack the combined army, which was bivouacked between Bautzen and Veissenberg, and which was disposed in the following manner:—The advanced guard, under the orders of General Miloradovitch, occupied the town and the heights on the left; the corps of General Kleist, in a line with the advanced guard, occupied the heights on the right of the town; these two corps having the defile of the Spree immediately in their front. The corps of General Blucher was posted on the heights of Kreckwitz. The left wing, under the orders of Prince de Gortschakoff, rested on some woody heights. Detachments of cavalry were placed on the heights in the valleys, with which the mountains are intersected, and extended themselves to the frontiers of Bohemia. The Russian guard and the cavalry formed the reserve.

"The same day, it was ascertained that the corps of Lauriston had marched from Seftenberg to Hoyerswerda, and had been followed by another corps, which some said to be Victor's, others Sebastiani's. The force of Lauriston was calculated at fourteen thousand men, the other corps at twenty thousand men: they were supposed to be a day's march distant from each other.

"It was immediately decided to march to meet the first corps, and to attack it before it could form its junction near Bautzen. It was hoped that this corps would be beaten before it had time to join the other corps. Accordingly, the troops under the orders of Generals Barclay de Tolly and D'York were detached, in the night of the 18th and 19th, to attack the enemy, who had advanced on the side of Hoyerswerda. They had orders, as soon as the expedition was over, to return immediately to the principal army, to wait, with united forces, the attack of the enemy in the position chosen for this purpose. Lauriston, however, had already pushed his march towards Bautzen, and had brought up the corps which followed him, in such a manner that they were engaged with the enemy near Koningswarta and Weissig: that is to say, General Barclay near Koningswarta, with the corps of Lauriston; and General D'York, near Weissig, with a more considerable corps, which had drawn near to Lauriston. The

enemy was consequently superior in numbers, and particularly on the side of General D'York: they, however, immediately resolved to attack; and, at the same time that General Barclay attacked the corps of Lauriston, General D'York vigorously attacked that of Sebastiani, in order to support General Barclay de Tolly. The combat was warmly contested, and did not terminate till ten o'clock at night. The loss of the enemy is estimated at three thousand men killed and wounded; seven pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners taken, among whom are the general of division Peguerie, the generals of brigade Martelli, Beletier, and St. Andreas. With this success the expedition ended; and the two generals, conformably to their instructions, retired towards the position near Gottamelda.

"On the 20th, the two detached corps were scarcely returned to their position, when, about noon, the enemy advanced in columns on Bautzen, and attacked, under the protection of a brisk cannonade, the advanced guard, commanded by Generals Miloradovitch and Kleist. The determination of the latter obstinately to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a most animated combat. He had to fight an enemy, without exaggeration, four times as strong as himself, yet he did not fall back to the position until four o'clock in the afternoon, after the enemy had entirely turned his left, and after having resisted the most vigorous attacks on his right flank and front. The obstinacy with which the Prussian General Kleist, and the Russian Generals Rüdiger and Roth, and Colonel Markoff, defended those heights, and the conduct of the troops on the occasion, excited the admiration of the whole army.

"Whilst the attack was made on this point, the enemy was making another on the centre and left; but there also he was vigorously received by Count Miloradovitch and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and constantly repulsed. It being very late, his tirailleurs endeavoured, in the dark, to gain the woody mountains which commanded our extreme left, to alarm us with the fear of being turned on that side. The Prince of Wirtemberg sent some tirailleurs to drive them back: the emperor sent thither Colonel Michand, one of his aides-de-camp, to direct the movements; and the French were driven back as far as the defile of the mountains by which they made the attack.

"The engagement which the enemy had maintained on the points before mentioned, lasted until ten o'clock at night, with an uninterrupted fire of artillery and musketry. It must have cost him six thousand men, as he was obliged to force the defile of the Spree under the fire of our cannon and small arms. On the left wing, the corps of the Prince of Wirtemberg fought with the same perseverance and courage as that of General Kleist did on the right.

"On the 21st, at half-past four in the morning, the enemy commenced an attack on the left, seconded by a brisk fire of tirailleurs, which he had posted in the mountains, where he had also pushed forward some men to Cunevalde, to annoy us upon this flank. The Count de Miloradovitch and the Prince of Wirtemberg, nevertheless, repelled with intrepidity all the attacks on this side. They were renewed with the same vivacity at noon.

"Between six and seven o'clock, the attack had equally commenced by a brisk cannonade and a smart fire of musketry upon the right wing of the line, where the corps were posted under the orders of General Barclay de Tolly. The enemy was infinitely superior in numbers; and endeavoured, protected by the forest which covered him, to outflank this corps. The General Barclay de Tolly was posted on the heights, where there is a windmill, near Gleina: he extended his line during the battle towards the height, situated near Bareuth, named La Voigtshutte. General Kleist received orders to carry his troops to that point. He made an attack, equally brisk and well combined, and forced the enemy to renounce the advantages which his superiority of numbers gave him. General Blucher sustained this attack with his two brigades, and by this sudden movement the enemy was compelled to give up his project of turning the right wing, as he had been that of turning the left.

"During all these attacks, he kept up a continual fire of artillery and small arms, principally upon the centre, upon which, however, he made no positive attempt. Suddenly the attack began upon the heights of Krecknitz, which General Blucher's corps occupied. He took advantage of the moment when this general left this position with a part of his corps, to sustain that of General Barclay de Tolly, for the purpose of a vigorous attack. The enemy approached the heights from three sides at once, with the greatest part of his forces, which had formed into three columns for the attack; which established on this point a decided superiority. The tirailleurs posted themselves in the village of Krecknitz. General D'York arrived to their relief, and the village was retaken. The troops defended these heights with an obstinacy beyond example. Four battalions of the Russian guards advanced to sustain General Blucher. In the mean time, the left wing, under the orders of Count de Miloradovitch, had pushed forward, taken several pieces of cannon from the enemy, and destroyed some battalions.

"The instant was now arrived in which it was necessary to bring all our means into action, and risk all, or

put an end to the battle. We determined upon the latter. To expose all to the hazard of a single day, would have been to play the game of Napoleon; to preserve our forces, to reap advantages from a war more difficult to the enemy as it is prolonged, is the policy of the allies. We accordingly commenced a retreat, in full day-light, under the eyes of the enemy, at seven in the evening, as upon a parade, without his being able to gain a single trophy; whilst the combined army had taken from him, in these three memorable days, by the valour and constancy of the troops, twelve pieces of cannon, and three thousand prisoners; amongst whom are four generals, and many officers of distinction. The least exaggerated accounts state the loss of the French at fourteen thousand men; that of the allies does not exceed six thousand.

"Nothing could equal the courage and perseverance with which the army fought, but the coolness and order with which it retired.

"The spirit of the troops is the same as on the first day of the campaign."

The following particulars refer to the events of the 22d of May:

"The army had fallen back before night on Weissenberg; but the advanced corps continued to occupy the front in advance of Wurschen until morning, when they commenced their movement on Reichenbach. The enemy's army, commanded by Napoleon in person, then pushed forward, in the hope of cutting off Count Miloradovitch, with the victorious troops of the left wing, who had orders to march on Reichenbach by the road of Lobau. This enterprise was defeated by the activity and prudence of the chiefs. A part of our troops had taken up a position behind Reichenbach, whilst the advanced guards defended that place. The enemy endeavoured to dislodge them, by demonstrations of cavalry and the fire of artillery: the attempt continued without effect, till the moment when a strong column of infantry began to deploy; the troops then fell back behind the town, leaving only two battalions of chasseurs to defend the entrance of the defiles. These two battalions made such an obstinate resistance, that the enemy was obliged to advance in considerable strength; at length he thought his cavalry could act with considerable effect. He ordered a corps to charge, and to pass through Reichenbach: the attack was received by a body of cavalry destined to cover the chasseurs; and of that of the enemy which had entered Reichenbach, scarcely a man escaped the Russian charge and the fire of the infantry.

"This reverse irritated Napoleon: eight hundred men of the guard, with a regiment of lancers, supported by two or three thousand horse, attempted to turn and take in the rear a battery, which had been placed on an eminence on the left. General Colbert conducted this attack. Our cavalry was obliged to give way; but, an instant after, a regiment of hussars and a party of cossacks were on the flank of Napoleon's guards; other detachments threw themselves forward, and the enemy was completely routed, after having lost some hundreds of men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The following morning the rear-guard continued its march on Gorlitz, without the enemy daring to annoy it. And, in this manner, the combined armies have executed their movements from Bautzen, without having lost even the wheel of a gun-carriage."

On the 12th of June, the funeral of Prince Kutusoff was solemnized, at St. Petersburgh, with great pomp. The procession left the convent of St. Sergius, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The burgher corps of St. Petersburgh arrived at three o'clock at the limits of the city, near to the river Tarakanowka, to receive the venerable remains, of which the capital was to be the depôt. The nobles and clergy, accompanied by the metropolitan, and the great civil and military authorities, followed on foot. The capital had not for a long time beheld so imposing a sight as the funeral-procession, which was well worthy of the hero of the nation. The people drew the funeral-car to the door of the church of Notre Dame of Casan. The coffin was placed in a vault under the dome. It was covered by the French eagles and colours, accompanied by the Turkish trophies. A genius, with a laurel-crown in his hand, hovered in the air over the hero's corpse. The people went to render their last homages to the man of their affections. The offices for the dead, and interment of the corpse, took place on Friday, the 14th of June.

After the events which have been already detailed, an armistice was concluded between the belligerent powers: and, during the cessation of hostilities, every effort was made by the allies to procure the peace of Europe by negotiation. But it appeared that Buonaparte desired the armistice for no other purpose than that of training the force he had been able to accumulate. The Emperor of Austria, who had hitherto conceived that his son-in-law would pay some deference to his paternal councils, became now undeceived, and found himself compelled to unite his arms with those of the allied sovereigns in defence of himself and Europe.

In the manifesto issued at Vienna upon this occasion, the following passages are particularly worthy of notice:

Referring to the invasion of Russia by the unprincipled Corsican, it observes,—"The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an

undertaking supported by gigantic power, and conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature.

"This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states.

"In the beginning of December, steps had been taken to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to a peaceful policy.

"Eventual conditions, to which his self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare, in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of Napoleon not to make, to the repose of the world, even a single nominal sacrifice."

It then proceeds to state, "that, in the month of April, 1813, Buonaparte proposed to Austria the dismemberment of the Prussian states, as the price of Austria's joining him. Of the congress at Prague, the Emperor of Austria knew nothing but through the public prints. The armistice gave Austria another opportunity of negotiating for a peace, who proposed sending a messenger to the British government. Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be despatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the Emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed, of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions, at that particular period, afforded just reason to believe, that *a maritime peace* was the object of his most anxious solicitude. Russian, Prussian, and Austrian negotiators arrived at Prague; but Buonaparte shewed no serious anxiety to make peace. It was the 28th of July before his minister arrived; and nothing but formal and minute discussions took place. After an useless exchange of mere formal notes, the 14th of August arrived. Austria took up arms; and the congress was dissolved."

Upon the expiration of the armistice, the Emperor of Russia issued a proclamation, declaring that, "on the 16th of August, including the notification of six days stipulating for the resumption of hostilities, the armistice finished. This space of two months and twelve days having left little hopes of the conclusion of a just and honourable peace, the sanguinary contest, on which definitively depends the fate of Europe, is about to commence.

"The enemy, as might be expected, had rather in view, in demanding a suspension of arms, the assembling of new forces to enslave nations who are strangers to him, than that of restoring that calm which so many storms rendered so necessary and so precious. But such is the nature of the circumstances in which Europe has for such a length of time found herself! It is by blood the hydra Revolution had its birth, by blood she has been nourished, and by blood she must expire. It is without doubt humiliating to the human mind, that an age which is called the age of understanding and philosophy, should precisely be that in which the science of crime has been cultivated most profoundly, and with the greatest success: this it is which has afforded the most dreadful examples of human depravity.

"Providence, whose impenetrable decrees deride the vain reasoning of man, after having punished so much pride, will at last make the good cause triumph. Let us dare to hope, that nations, tried by so many misfortunes and calamities, will understand their real interests better.

"The spirit of revolt will no longer place arms in the hands of men to use against themselves, or against their sovereigns; they will now, on the contrary, offer the more pleasing spectacle of devotion towards their princes and their country. Animated by such generous notions, their resources will be as inexhaustible, as their resignation and perseverance will be indefatigable."

The first operations of the allies, who were now joined by the Crown Prince of Sweden, with thirty thousand men, were directed against Dresden, where the headquarters of the French were fixed. Their main army, under Buonaparte himself, was then in Silesia; but he hastened precipitately to save the capital of Saxony; and the battle, fought under the walls of that city, terminated in his favour, and frustrated the plan of the allies. In this battle, also, the celebrated General Moreau, who had been banished by Buonaparte from France, and who had lately returned from America, to assist the councils of the allies, received a wound, which proved mortal. The following is the letter he wrote to his wife after the fatal accident:

"My dear Love,

"At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had both my legs carried off by a cannon-ball. That scoundrel Buonaparte is always fortunate. The amputation

was performed as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrogade movement, it is not at all the consequence of defeat, but from a want of *ensemble*, and in order to get nearer to General Blucher.

"Excuse my scrawl. I love and embrace you with all my heart. Rapatel will finish.

"V. M."

The fatal result of this accident was communicated to Madame Moreau, by the Emperor Alexander, in the following feeling and affectionate letter:

"Madame,

"When the dreadful misfortune which befel General Moreau, close at my side, deprived me of the talents and experience of that great man, I indulged a hope that, by care, we might still be able to preserve him to his family and to my friendship. Providence, however, has ordered it otherwise. He died as he lived, in the full vigour of a strong and steady mind. There is but one remedy for the great miseries of life—that of seeing them participated. In Russia, madame, you will find these sentiments every where; and if it suit you to fix your residence there, I will do all in my power to render comfortable the existence of a personage, of whom I make it my sacred duty to be the consoler and the support. I entreat you, madame, to rely upon this irrevocably; never to let me be in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be of any use to you, and to write directly to me always. To meet your wishes will be a pleasure to me. The friendship I vowed to your husband exists beyond the grave; and I have now no other means of shewing it towards him, than by doing every thing in my power to insure the welfare of his family. In these sad and cruel circumstances, accept, madame, these marks of friendship, and the assurance of my sentiments.

"*Toplitz.* "ALEXANDER."

Although the battle of Dresden terminated in favour of Buonaparte, the primary object of the allies was attained. The Corsican's force was divided into three armies. The engagements of Jauer, Gross-beren, and Dennivitz, proved disastrous to the French generals; and Lusatia and the right bank of the Elbe were soon in the possession of the allies. Oudinot, Ney, Regnier, Bertrand, and Vandamme, were successively defeated; and the allies began to act every where offensively.

The perseverance of the allied monarchs, and the skill and bravery of their troops, under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg and General Blucher, had so effectually thwarted all Buonaparte's attempts to penetrate into Bohemia, or to Berlin, that to remain longer in Dresden must have involved his utter ruin. Indeed his retreat was now too late determined upon. He was obliged to commence it in the midst of an immense quadrangle, which the allies formed about him. He could not, however, yet resolve to abandon Dresden to his enemies. He therefore left behind him a considerable army, whilst he retired, on the 7th of October, taking with him the King of Saxony and his court. The following day the Bavarians joined the allies, signing a treaty with Austria, by which they were now to act offensively against the French.

On the 11th of October, the combined Swedish and Prussian armies crossed the river Saale, in order to get into the rear of Buonaparte; and General Blucher effected a most extraordinary march from his positions before Dresden, and was enabled to cross the Elbe much lower down, and thus unite in the movements of the Crown Prince.

The subsequent operations are described in the following despatches of the Honourable Sir C. Stewart:

"*Schenditz, October* 17, 1813.

"My Lord,

"The glorious army of Silesia has added another victory to its list, and the brow of its veteran leader is decorated with fresh laurel. Forty pieces of cannon, twelve thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, one eagle, and many caissons, have been the fruits of the victory of Radefeld and Lindenthal.

"To give your lordship the clearest idea in my power of this battle, I must revert to the position of the armies of Silesia and the north of Germany, on the 14th instant. When we received certain intelligence that the enemy was withdrawing from the right bank of the Elbe to collect in Leipsig, at this time the Prince Royal was at Cothen, and General Blucher at Halle. The former occupied with the advanced guards the left bank of the Mulda, and the latter Merseburg and Schenditz.

"General Blucher moved his head-quarters, on the 14th, to Gros Kugel, pushing his advance on the great road to Leipsig, and occupying the villages on each side of it. The enemy was in force in his front, still holding Deblitsch and Bitterfeld, with some troops along the Mulda. The Crown Prince of Sweden issued orders to march to Halle in the night of the 14th; but when his troops were in march, he took up his head-quarters at Sylbitz, and placed the Swedish army with its right at Wittin, and the left near the Petersberg. General Bulow occupied the centre of his line between Petersberg and Oppin, and the corps of Winzingerode was on the left at Zorbig.

"General Blucher found the enemy's forces, consisting of the fourth, sixth, and seventh corps of the

French army, and great part of the guard, under Marshals Marmont and Ney, and General Bertrand, occupying a line with their right at Freyroda, and their left at Lindenthal. The country is open, and very favourable for cavalry around these latter villages; but the enemy was strongly posted in front of a wood of some extent, near Radefeld; and behind it the ground is more intersected: generally speaking, however, it is open, and adapted to all arms.

"The disposition of attack of the Silesian army was as follows:—The corps of General Langeron was to attack and carry Freyroda, and then Radefeld, having the corps of General Sachen in reserve. The corps d'armée of General D'York was directed to move on the great chaussée, leading to Leipsig, until it reached the village of Sitzchein, when, turning to its left, it was to force the enemy at Lindenthal. The Russian guards and advanced-guard were to press on the main road to Leipsig. The corps of General St. Priest, arriving from Merseberg, was to follow the corps of General Langeron. The formation of the cavalry, and the different reserves, was made on the open ground between the villages. It was nearly mid-day before the troops were at their stations.

"The enemy, soon after the first onset, gave up the advanced villages, and retired some distance, but tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and the villages of Gros and Klein Wetteritz, as also the villages of Mockern and Mockau, on their left. At Mockern, a most sanguinary contest ensued; it was taken and retaken by the corps of D'York five times; the musketry-fire was most galling, and this was the hottest part of the field; many of the superior officers were either killed or wounded; at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the enemy beyond the Partha. In the plain there were many brilliant charges of cavalry. The Brandenburg regiment of hussars distinguished itself in a particular manner, and, supported by infantry, charged a battery of eight pieces, which they carried.

"The enemy made an obstinate resistance also on their right, in the villages of Great and Little Weteritz and Ilchausen, and in the woody ground around them; and, when they found we had forced their left, they brought an additional number of troops on Count Langeron, who was chiefly engaged with Marshal Ney's corps, which arrived from the neighbourhood of Duben. However, the Russians, equally with their brave allies in arms, made the most gallant efforts, and they were fully successful—night only put an end to the action. The Russian cavalry acted in a very brilliant manner. General Kolp's cavalry took a battery of thirteen guns, and the cossacks of General Emanuel, five. The enemy drew off towards Siegeritz and Pfosen, and passed the Partha river. General Sachen's corps, who supported General Langeron, very much distinguished itself in the presence of Buonaparte, who, it seems, according to the information of the prisoners, arrived from the other part of his army at five o'clock in the afternoon.

"The corps of General D'York, which so conspicuously distinguished itself, had many of its most gallant leaders killed or wounded; among the latter are Colonels Heinmitz, Kutzler, Bouch, Hiller, Lowenthal, and Laurentz; and Majors Schon and Bismarck. The momentary loss of these officers is serious, as they nearly all commanded brigades, from the reduced state of general officers in the Prussian army; and I have sincere regret in adding, that his serene highness the Prince of Mecklenberg Strelitz, who was distinguishing himself in a particular manner, having two horses shot under him, and whose gallant corps took five hundred prisoners and an eagle, received a severe, but, I trust, not a dangerous wound. Among the Russians are General Chinchin, and several officers of distinction, killed and wounded; and I average General Blucher's whole loss at between six and seven thousand men *hors de combat*.

"I can add little to the catalogue of the merits of this brave army, in endeavouring feebly, but I hope faithfully, to detail its proceedings. Your lordship will, I am persuaded, justly appreciate the enthusiasm and heroism by which its operations have been guided. It has fought twenty-one battles since hostilities recommenced. Your lordship is so well aware of the distinguished merit and very eminent services of General Gneisenau, that it is unnecessary for me, on this fresh occasion, to allude to them.

"I attached General Löwe to General Blucher in the field; and, being absent in the early part of the day with the Prince Royal, it is due to this very deserving officer to inform your lordship, I have derived every assistance from his reports.

"My aid-de-camp, Captain During, an officer of merit, has unfortunately, I fear, fallen into the enemy's hands.

"I shall now put your lordship in possession, as far as I am able, of the military movements of the grand army up to the 16th, and the disposition for the attack which was sent to the Prince Royal of Sweden and General Blucher, by Prince Schwartzenberg, and which was to be made this day. The corps of General Guilay, Prince Maurice Lichtenstein, Thieleman, and Platoff, were collected in the neighbourhood of Markrasted, and were to move forward on Leipsig; keeping up the communication on one side with General Blucher's

army; and, on the other, these corps were to detach to the right, to facilitate the attack of the corps of General Mereveldt, and the divisions Bianchi Weissenworf, on Zwackau and Connewitz, at which latter place the bridge across the Pleisse was to be carried. General Nostiltz's cavalry were to form on their right. In case of retreat, these corps were to retire towards Zeitz. The reserves of the Russian and Prussian guards were to pass the Pleisse, and form in columns on its right bank. The reserves of the Prince of Hesse Homberg, Generals Mereveldt and Witgenstein, were also to take post at this station. General Barclay de Tolly to command all the columns on the right bank of the Pleisse: Generals Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Kleinau, were to advance from their respective positions on Leipsig, the Russian guards forming their reserve. General Colloredo advanced from Borne, as reserve to General Kleinau. The retreat of these corps was to be on Chemnitz; Generals Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Kleinau's, on Altenberg and Penig. The army of General Benningsen from Colditz was to push on Grimma and Wurzen. The corps of Count Bubna had been relieved before Leipsig by General Tolstoy.

"A very heavy firing continued all the day of the 16th from the grand army. A report arrived late at night to General Blucher, that Buonaparte had attacked in person the whole line of the allies, and forming his cavalry in the centre, succeeded in making an opening in the combined army before all its cavalry could come up: he was, however, not able to profit by it, as it appears he retired in the evening, and the allies occupied their position as before the attack.

"Of the details of the above I am as yet wholly ignorant.

"On the 17th, all were ready to renew the attack on this side. The Prince Royal, who had his head-quarters at Landsberg, and his army behind it, marched at two o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Brittenfeld with General Winzingerode's and General Bulow's corps towards mid-day on General Blucher's left. General Winzingerode's cavalry and artillery had moved forward in the night, near the heights of Fancha.

"No cannonade being heard on the side of the grand army, (though General Blucher's corps was under arms,) and as it was also understood General Benningsen could not arrive until this day at Grimma, and part of the Prince Royal's army being still in the rear, it was deemed expedient to wait till the following day to renew the general attack. The enemy shewed himself in great force in a good position, on the left of the Partha, on a ridge of some extent, which runs parallel to the river. There was some cannonading in the morning, and the enemy made demonstrations, and the hussars of Mecklenberg charged his advanced parties into the suburbs of Leipsig, and took three cannon and some prisoners of the hulans of the guards.

"The state of our affairs is such, that the most sanguine expectations may be justly entertained, under the protection of Divine Providence, which has hitherto so conspicuously favoured us in the glorious cause in which we are engaged.

"CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen

"*Leipsig, October* 19, 1813

"My Lord,

"Europe at length approaches her deliverance, and England may triumphantly look forward to reap, in conjunction with her allies, that glory her unexampled and steady efforts in the common cause so justly entitle her to receive.

"I wish it had fallen to the lot of an abler pen to detail to your lordship the splendid events of these two last days; but in endeavouring to relate the main facts, to send them off without a moment's delay, I shall best do my duty, postponing more detailed accounts until a fresh opportunity.

"The victory of General Blucher, upon the 16th, has been followed, on the 18th, by that of the whole of the combined forces over the army of Buonaparte, in the neighbourhood of Leipsig.

"The collective loss of above a hundred pieces of cannon, sixty thousand men, an immense number of prisoners, the desertion of the whole of the Saxon army, also the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, many generals, among whom are Regnier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, are some of the first-fruits of this glorious day. The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipsig this morning, the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded, (the number of which exceed thirty thousand,) the narrow escape of Buonaparte, who fled from Leipsig at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete route of the French army, who are endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects of exultation.

"The further result your lordship can best arrive at from an account of our military position.

"It will be my endeavour to give you as succinct and clear an account as I am able, first, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the grand army; and, secondly, to describe what immediately came under my own observations, namely, the movements of the Prince Royal and General Blucher.

"My despatches up to the 17th have detailed the position of the allied armies up to that date. It being announced by Prince Schwartzenberg that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack on the 18th, and the armies of the North and Silesia being directed to co-operate, the following general disposition was made:

"I must here observe, that the attack on the 16th, by the grand army, occurred in the neighbourhood of Liebert Wolkowitz. The country being particularly adapted for cavalry, a very sanguinary and hard combat ensued with this arm, and an artillery, exceeding in number six hundred pieces, between the opposed armies. Two solitary buildings, which the enemy had occupied with several battalions of infantry, and which formed nearly the centre of the enemy's position, were attacked by the Russian infantry, and, after several repulses, carried with amazing carnage.

"The whole of the enemy's cavalry under Murat, were then brought forward: they made a very desperate push at the centre of the allied position, which, for a short period, they succeeded in forcing.

"To oppose this powerful cavalry, six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers charged in columns. Nothing could surpass either the skill or the desperate bravery of this movement: they overthrew all before them, destroying, I am told, whole regiments, and returned to their ground with many prisoners, having left seven hundred dragoons within the enemy's line.

"Many officers were killed and wounded. General Latour Maubourg, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, under Murat, lost his leg. Both armies remained nearly on the ground on which the contest commenced.

"While the grand army was to commence their attack on the morning of the 18th, from their different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated on the great roads leading to Leipsig, the armies of the North and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of the Saale, and upon the enemy's position along the Partha River. General Blucher gave to the Prince Royal of Sweden thirty thousand men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of his army, and with this formidable reinforcement the northern army was to attack from the heights of Faucha, while General Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsig, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other and concert further movements: that part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince Royal of Sweden and General Blucher, had taken up a very good position on the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsig. To force the enemy's right, and to obtain possession of the heights of Faucha, was the first operation of the Prince Royal's army. The corps of Russians under General Winzingerode, and the Prussians under General Bulow, were destined for this purpose, and the Swedish army were directed to force the passage of the river at Plosen and Mockau.

"The passage was effected without much opposition; General Winzingerode took about three thousand prisoners at Faucha, and some guns.

"General Blucher put his army in motion as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stollintz and Probestheyda, and the infantry of the Prince Royal's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain in line and column, towards Leipsig, occupying Somerfelt, Paunsdorff, and Schonfeldt, in strength, protecting their retreat.

"A very heavy cannonade and some brilliant performances of General Winzingerode's cavalry marked chiefly here the events of the day, except towards the close, when General Langeron, who had crossed the river and attacked the village of Schonfeldt, met with considerable resistance, and at first was not able to force his way. He, however, took it, but was driven back; when the most positive orders were sent him by General Blucher, to re-occupy it at the point of the bayonet; which he accomplished before dark. Some Prussian battalions of General Bulow's corps were warmly engaged also at Paunsdorf, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the Prince Royal directed the rocket-brigade, under Captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Prussian battery, and open upon the retiring columns. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarcely accomplished the point of paralysing a solid square of infantry, which, after one fire, delivered themselves up, as if panic-struck, when that gallant and deserving officer, Captain Bogue, alike an ornament to his profession and a loss to his friends and country, received a shot in the head, which deprived the army of his services. Lieutenant Strangeways, who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the Prince Royal's thanks for the services they rendered.

"During the action, twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery joined us from the enemy, and two Westphalian regiments of hussars and two battalions of Saxons: the former were opportunely made use of on the instant against the enemy, as our artillery and ammunition were not all forward; and the Prince Royal addressed the latter by an offer, that he would lead them

immediately against the enemy, which they to a man accepted.

"The communication being now established between the grand attacks and that of these two armies, the grand Duke Constantine, Generals Platoff, Milaradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the Prince Royal, communicating the events carrying on in that direction.

"It seems the most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probethede, Stelleritz, and Connevitz; but the different columns bearing on these points, as detailed in my former despatch, finally carried every thing before them. General Benningsen taking the villages upon the right bank of the Reutschove, having been joined by General Bubna from Dresden, General Tolstoy having come up and relieved the former in the blockade of that city, and General Guilay manœuvering with twenty-five thousand Austrians upon the left bank of the Elster, General Thielman and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river; and the result of the day was, that the enemy lost above forty thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, sixty-five pieces of artillery, and seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, which came over *en masse* during the action.

"The armies remained upon the ground, on which they had so bravely conquered, this night. The Prince Royal had his bivouac at Paunsdorff; General Blucher's remained at Witteritz, and the emperor's and the king's at Roda.

"About the close of the day, it was understood the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumburg; General Blucher received an order from the King of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the Prince Royal's army completely excluded the retreat on Wittenberg; that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them; the line of the Saale alone remains; and as their flanks and rear will be operated upon during their march, it is difficult to say with what portion of their army they may get to the Rhine.

"This morning the town of Leipsig was attacked and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of General Blucher, the Prince Royal, and General Benningsen, and the grand army. Marshals Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town: these, with Marshals Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped with a small escort.

"Their majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, each heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the Great Square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described.

"The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing justice to the firmness that has been displayed, the boldness of the conception of the commander-in-chief, Field-marshal the Prince Schwartzenberg, and of the other experienced leaders; together with the shortness of the time allowed me for making up this despatch, will plead, I hope, a sufficient excuse for my not sending a more accurate or perfect detail, which I hope, however, to do hereafter.

"I send this despatch by my aid-de-camp, Mr. James, who has been distinguished for his services, since he has been with this army: he has also been with me in all the late events, and will be able to give your lordship all further particulars.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CHARLES STEWART, lieut.-gen.

"P.S. On the field of battle this day, an officer arrived from General Tettenborn, bringing the information of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders, and the keys of the town, which were presented by the Prince Royal to the Emperor of Russia.

"C. S."

The following anecdote, relative to the memorable battle of Leipsig, is too interesting to be passed over in silence:—

The allied sovereigns were conversing together in one part of the field, when an aid-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia rode up to his imperial master with the gratifying intelligence that victory had evidently declared on the side of justice, and that the French were flying before the combined armies in all directions. Alexander immediately threw himself on his knees, exclaiming to the King of Prussia, "Brother, the Lord of Hosts is with us!" and each of the potentates kneeling by his side offered up their grateful thanks for the intervention of Heaven on their behalf.

Buonaparte's troops retired with such precipitation, that the advanced-guards of the allied armies could scarcely reach them; and the road by which they retired exhibited the most unequivocal marks of their confusion and dismay. Thousands of soldiers, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, were left behind; and the greater part expired, before they could be carried to an hospital. All the woods, for an extent of several miles on both sides of the route, were filled with fugitives, and sick and abandoned soldiers. The enemy buried his artillery, or threw it into the rivers: and, according to the declaration of the veterans who had fought in Russia, the road by which he retired presented the same aspect as that from Moscow to the Beresina.

On the 25th of October, the Corsican reached Erfurt, whence he continued his retreat towards France by way of Frankfort on the Maine. The Bavarian army under General Wrede, which had marched with all possible expedition to Hanau, a few miles in advance of Frankfort, attempted to arrest his progress; but, being unsupported, was not able to resist the masses brought forward by Napoleon, who, with the loss of between twenty and thirty thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, cut his way through. The following is an extract from the official report of this affair:—

"On the 30th of October, General Wrede made a reconnoissance; and having ascertained that Buonaparte, who was approaching, had still from sixty to eighty thousand men, while his own force, in consequence of having sent out large detachments, was only thirty thousand men in front of Hanau, he determined to impede the retreat which he could not wholly prevent. Having made the necessary dispositions, he was attacked by Buonaparte in person, who brought up one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, to compel him to give way. In this object Napoleon failed, as the combined army retained possession of the field of battle until night, when the left wing was withdrawn behind Hanau. The enemy then commenced his retreat, and, to cover it, attempted to carry Hanau by assault. To spare the town from bombardment, General Wrede withdrew the garrison on the morning of the 31st of October; but the French having, on their entrance, began a general pillage, the allied army recovered it by assault, but with the loss of its commander-in-chief, Wrede, who was supposed to be mortally wounded in the attack. This irreparable loss so incensed the Austro-Bavarian troops, that they put every Frenchman in the town to the sword. The loss of the allies was computed at seven thousand killed and wounded: that of the enemy at fifteen thousand in killed and wounded. The greatest part of the latter perished in the wood of Lamprier; the rapidity with which the enemy effected his retreat not having permitted him to carry them off. The road from Hanau to Frankfort was covered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dismounted ammunition-waggons. Fugitives were taken upon all the roads; and, besides those already enumerated, fifteen thousand had been brought in who were unable to keep up with the army. Among them were two generals and two hundred and eighty officers."

The grand army of the allies continued the march of its columns on Frankfort; and, on the 6th of November, the Emperor of Austria, and the illustrious subject of this biographical sketch, entered the city; as will appear from the following despatches of the Earl of Aberdeen, and Lord Cathcart:

"*Frankfort, Nov. 7.*

"My Lord,

"His imperial majesty made his public entry into Frankfort yesterday morning. He was met at some distance from the town by the Emperor Alexander and his attendants. His majesty received the keys of the city from the chief magistrates at the Hanau-gate, and afterwards proceeded on horseback through the principal streets to the cathedral-church, where *Te Deum* was performed. As I accompanied his imperial majesty on this occasion, I was a witness of the enthusiastic applause with which he was received. The streets, windows, and even the roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators, who appeared to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy: it was impossible to mistake the sincere and heart-felt emotion by which they were produced. The affectionate regard of the inhabitants was loudly testified at seeing the sovereign, who, twenty-one years ago, had been crowned within their walls, re-appear in the character of their deliverer. In the evening the two emperors went to the theatre, and were received with acclamations: every sentiment of the piece, which had reference to their exertions in the cause of Europe, was loudly applauded.

"Pleasing as it is to dwell on these circumstances, I am equally happy in being able to inform your lordship of the continued progress of the allies, and of the substantial acquisitions which have been recently made by the accession of different princes to the common cause. The states of Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden, have respectively addressed themselves to his imperial majesty. They have renounced the confederation of the Rhine, and, in imploring his majesty's mediation with the allied powers, have expressed their desire to join the alliance. Other states of less importance have followed the same course, and I may now venture to congratulate your lordship on the complete dissolution of that formidable confederacy, instituted by Buonaparte for the double purpose of proving either an impregnable bulwark to France, in the event of foreign invasion, or the instrument in his hands of the subjugation of the rest of Europe.

(Signed) "ABERDEEN."

"*To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.*"

EXTRACT OF A DESPATCH FROM VISCOUNT CATHCART, K.T.

"*Frankfort on the Maine, Nov* 8, 1813.

"The Emperor Alexander made his entry into the city of Frankfort on the Maine, at the head of the horse-artillery and about fifty squadrons of the cavalry

of the Russian imperial guard and reserve, and some squadrons of the Prussian guard, amidst the loudest acclamations of many thousand inhabitants.

"His imperial majesty stopped near the quarter prepared for him to see his cavalry pass, which they did in the most perfect parade order, after a march of one hundred English miles, (cantoning and assembling from cantonments included,) which they performed in forty-eight hours; viz. from Schwinfurth, by Wurtzburg and Aschaffenbourg, to this place.

"The Emperor of Russia met his imperial and royal majesty the Emperor of Austria at some distance from Frankfort, and both sovereigns proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and *Te Deum* was sung.

"Napoleon has escaped from the cossacks and his other pursuers, and has carried the remains of his guard, and some other corps, to the left bank of the Rhine, leaving but few troops here.

"The possession of a fortress at Erfurth has been the great instrument by which this retreat has been effected. It was thought possible he would make some stand behind this post, while, on the contrary, he redoubled his speed; and, having possession of the best road, while the cross-roads by which the allies endeavoured to intercept him were scarcely passable, he gained several marches.

"General Count Wrede gallantly arrested his progress for two days at Hanau; on the first of which, particularly, the French fought with great obstinacy, and the loss has been considerable on both sides. There is one small spot, where an officer of rank, who saw it, assures me, that the carnage of men and horses was most extraordinary.

"The efforts of this Austrian and Bavarian army, though they stopped the enemy for two days, could not prevent his arrival at Mayence before the columns under the orders of the field-marshal Prince Schwartzenberg could overtake him.

"There are different accounts of the enemy's force; but, considering the numbers left on the field of battle at Leipsig, and in that city, the number of prisoners sent to the rear during the retreat by all the corps which came up with the enemy, and the losses inseparable from all retreats of so difficult and so protracted a nature, it seems impossible that he can have carried fifty thousand men with him, though there are persons who estimate the force still higher.

"Buonaparte was present in the battle of Hanau, and his officers are said to have displayed more military talents on that occasion than they have lately shown.

"The main army is assembling here, and will immediately be ready for ulterior operations.

"Field-marshal Blucher's army is moving to the Rhine, in the direction of Ehrenbreitstein. His head-quarters are this day at Limbourg.

"The King of Prussia has been at Berlin and Breslau since the battle of Leipsig. His majesty is expected here immediately."

"*Frankfort on the Maine, Nov.* 10, 1813.

"My Lord,

"The enemy had retained a position at Hockheim, and was employed in restoring the old lines, which passed from the tête-de-pont at Cassel round that position, and back to the Rhine.

"Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg determined to put a stop to this work, and to occupy the position himself. With this view an attack was made yesterday, in which the lines were carried by assault, and the enemy was driven into the works of Cassel, with the loss of several hundred prisoners and four pieces of cannon.

"I have the honour to inclose herewith the report I have this moment received of this gallant affair from Major-general Sir Robert Wilson. It has been the constant practice of the major-general, throughout this and the last campaign, to accompany every attack of consequence that has taken place within his reach, and, on this occasion, he was with one of the storming parties.

"In adverting to this circumstance, it is but justice to this officer to state, that the zeal, activity, and intrepidity, which he has displayed on every occasion, have conciliated for him the esteem of all officers of every rank and nation who have been witnesses of them, and have certainly done great credit to his majesty's service.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CATHCART."

The Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Alexander remained but a short time at Frankfort, whence he proceeded, by way of Darmstadt and Raastadt, to Freybourg, in Brisgau, where he arrived on the 22d of December. Here his imperial majesty was received by the Emperor of Austria; and this being the birth-day of the former, it was celebrated by Divine worship, and a dinner at the imperial head-quarters, at which the Emperor Francis was present.

The Austrian forces, about this time, crossed the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, Basle, and other places, proceeding on their march towards the French frontiers other armies, at the same time, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorff and Coblentz: the whole force amounting, at least, to three hundred thousand men. Alexander,

with the last of his reserves, crossed the Rhine at Basle on the 13th of January, the anniversary of his crossing the Niemen, in pursuit of the French who had presumed to invade him. On this occasion, the Russian troops were forcibly reminded, that the two events were interwoven together by the hands of Providence: the formal passage of the river was not effected until the auspicious day; and an appeal to the God of hosts preceded the undertaking. Heaven itself seemed thus to the Russians to have opened the way to national revenge; and the same enthusiasm which saved their country, continued to excite their bravery in the cause of Europe at a distance of fifteen hundred miles from their native land.

The following address was now issued by the Emperor to his army:

"Soldiers! your courage and your discipline have brought you from the Oka to the Rhine; and the same qualities shall still lead you onward. Having now passed the Rhine, we have entered on a country against which we are to wage an obstinate war. Already have we delivered our native country, and restored to freedom the greatest part of subjugated Europe; what yet remains to perfect that which we have undertaken, is the acquisition of peace. Our desire is, that tranquillity may be regained by every nation, and that each state may be re-established in its former happy government; that, in all countries, the general welfare of the people and the service of God may be promoted; and that arts, manufactures, and commerce, may again flourish. This is our wish, and to attain it, we have prolonged the war. When the enemy invaded our territories, his crimes occasioned to us much misery; but the wrath of God has visited him. Do not let us imitate his example; but let us forget the sufferings we have endured from his enmity, and extend towards him the hand of friendship and the olive of peace. The effulgence of Russian glory will be conspicuous in such a conquest over ourselves as well as our enemy. The religion that we cherish commands us to forgive our enemies, and to do good to them that persecute us.

"Soldiers! I am firmly persuaded that, by your proper behaviour in an enemy's country, you will succeed in conciliating the affection of those whom you conquer by your valour. Remember that, by temperance, discipline, and Christian love, you will best promote the end we have in view, which is, universal peace. I am satisfied that you will dutifully obey all the regulations that shall be made for the direction of your conduct, since you must be convinced that they have for their motive both the general good and your own happiness."

On entering Switzerland, Prince Schwartzenberg issued the following order of the day to the troops under his command:

"Soldiers! we set foot on the Swiss territory; it is as friends, as deliverers, that we appear in this country. Your conduct will be conformable to this principle. Prove to the brave Swiss, that the Austrian warriors are as well acquainted with the duties which they have to fulfil in passing through a friendly country, and the respect due to the inhabitants, as with the qualities which in a day of battle lead to glory and victory. If the direction of the war render it necessary to expose you to painful marches in this rigorous season, do not forget, soldiers, that the question now is to terminate gloriously what you have begun with so much honour; and that greater difficulties, greater dangers, than what you now meet with, have been already vanquished; in short, that it is from your valour, and from your perseverance, that your country and the whole world expect a glorious and a permanent peace."

The following particulars are extracted from a despatch of the Hon. Sir C. Stewart, dated Basle, January 22, 1814:

"The details which your lordship will receive from the advance of the grand army, will be more satisfactory than any I could relate. The entry of the Emperor of Russia into Vesoul with the Russian and Prussian reserves, the abandonment of Langres and the positions around it by the enemy, the advance of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg to Chaumont, are all subjects of congratulation. The movements of so powerful a force as the allies now possess in all directions, upon any central point, render any position the enemy takes up so precarious, that I was satisfied they would not hold out at Langres. Marshal Blucher's last reports are of the 17th, from Nancy. He sent the keys of this town to the grand head-quarters: the Emperor of Russia met the officer bearing them, as he was on his march to Vesoul; he immediately sent two of the keys to the King of Prussia, reserving two for himself, with an appropriate message; which shews the anxious attention and consideration that exists between the allied sovereigns on every occasion. Marshal Blucher is in communication with General Wrede's corps, and thus with the grand army. This animated veteran gives a vigour and life to all his proceedings, that affords an invaluable example to every professional man. It is with satisfaction I announce to your lordship another brilliant achievement of the Prussian arms. His Prussian majesty is again master of Wittenberg, and by no other means but the valour of his brave soldiers. The siege was begun on the 28th of December, and the

place was in our possession on the 12th of January. No impediment of the season arrested the spirited exertions of the besiegers; the enemy made a valiant resistance. A breach was made on the 11th, and it was practicable on the 12th, when a proposal to surrender was made and refused. At midnight the assault was determined upon in four columns: the gallant Prussians overcame every obstacle, and, in less than half an hour, they were masters of the place. All the garrison that did not throw down their arms were put to the sword. The governor had entrenched the castle and the Hotel de Ville; the latter was carried by the troops, and the governor, who was in it, surrendered at discretion with the rest of the garrison. This capture would add much to the fame of that distinguished officer, General Tauentzien, were it capable of addition; but his exploits in this war are too well known ever to be obliterated from the records of posterity. The siege has cost about three hundred men killed and wounded, and the assault above one hundred, and seven officers wounded. The Prussians found ninety-six pieces of artillery here, and made two thousand prisoners. In Torgau they had already obtained possession of three hundred and sixteen pieces. In these fortresses the Prussians have found considerable magazines of corn and gunpowder. General Tauentzein will now proceed to Magdeburg. It is not to be overlooked here, that every fortress that now falls by the admirable dispositions that have been made, augments very materially the force advancing against the enemy. We have thus reinforcements in three lines of reserve, as it were, on the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, from which we constantly derive aid. The head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia will be transferred this day to Vesoul."

On the 1st of February, an engagement took place, which has been designated the battle of La Rothiere, and of which the particulars will appear in the following despatches from Sir Charles Stewart and Lord Burghersh:

EXTRACT OF A DESPATCH FROM THE HONOURABLE SIR C. W. STEWART.

"*Chateau de Brienne, Feb.* 2.

"I am gratified in being enabled to send your lordship a far better report of the details of the battle of La Rothiere, than if I had been so fortunate as to have been myself in the field. Colonel Lowe's detail is so satisfactory, and so accurate, from his having had the advantage of being with Marshal Blucher in the advance during the whole day, that there is little in the official reports that have come in, which Colonel Lowe has not already noticed. If Marshal Blucher was not long since immortalized, this day would have crowned him in the annals of Fame; for, whatever were the apprehensions entertained by many for the result of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg's attack on the right, your lordship will see by Colonel Lowe's report, the marshal steadily pursued the combination upon which the result of the day depended; this foresight, judgment, and decision, is done justice to by all the allied army. The Russian artillery are spoken of in the highest terms of praise; the ground was so covered with snow, and so deep, that they were obliged to leave half their guns in the rear; and, by harnessing double teams to the other half, they contrived to bring them forward, and get a sufficient number into action. The allies had about seventy or eighty thousand men in the battle; the other corps of the army, which are not enumerated in the report, were not up. The enemy are supposed to have had the same strength. The enemy's last attack on the village of La Rothiere, was at two o'clock this morning; immediately after they seemed to have commenced their retreat, passing the Aube River; they took up a very strong rear-guard position at Lesmont with their right, and extending behind the Loire. Dispositions were made to attack it with the corps of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, and Generals Wrede and Guilay, and there was a sharp fire all this morning on this spot, but the day was so very unfavourable, and the fall of snow so excessive, the troops could make no progress. In the mean time, Field-marshal Prince Schwartzenberg has made his arrangements for the pursuit of the enemy, who have retired on Vitry, Troyes, and Arcis."

MILITARY REPORT FROM COLONEL LOWE TO THE HON. SIR C. W. STEWART.

"*Head-Quarters, Army of Silesia, Trannes, Feb.* 1.

"Sir,—My report of last night will have informed you of the state of preparation in which both armies stood for a general battle on this day. The confidence of the allied sovereigns, and of the commanders of their armies, having placed at Field-marshal Blucher's disposal the Austrian corps of General Count Giulay, and of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, in addition to the forces under his own immediate command, he, after a reconnoissance this morning, made the following disposition for an attack:—The corps of General Baron Sacken was ordered to move forward in two columns from Trannes, one directing itself upon Brienne, by the road of Dienville, and the second on the village of La Rothiere; the corps of General Count Giulay forming the reserve of the first column, and that of

General Alsuflef of the second. The Russian guards and cuirassiers, it was announced, would arrive and form a reserve for the whole on the heights between Trannes and Eclance. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg was directed to march from Eclance upon Chaumenil, leaving a small wood in front of the right of our position, occupied by the enemy, to his left, and thus turning it, and opening his communication with General Count Wrede, who, it was announced, was advancing also upon Chaumenil from Doulevent. The attack commenced precisely at twelve o'clock. The enemy was in position at Dienville and La Rothiere, and having his left at the small village of La Gibrie. His cavalry, as well as that of the allied forces, was drawn out in the plain between the two positions; his infantry disposed in large masses on the flanks of and within the villages, which were lined with artillery.

"Skirmishing and cannonading in the plain were the preludes to the attack, but the attention was soon directed from this to a very heavy cannonading and musketry from the small wood on the right, and the village of La Gibrie. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg drove the enemy from the village; but they returned in force, and again expelled him. A brigade of grenadiers was ordered to his support; but his own zeal and activity rendered this aid unnecessary. He attacked again, and remained master of both the wood and village. The movements in this quarter occupied nearly three hours. The enemy's demonstration menaced the flank of the position of the allies; but Field-marshal Blucher was not to be diverted from his object by them. The effect of the combination of General Wrede's movement was foreseen with the most accurate judgment; and before the village of La Gibrie was in the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg's possession, every requisite order was given for the execution of the movements just directed. The enemy having moved a corps to his left, General Baron Sachen drew all his force to the attack of La Rothiere, which formed the key of the enemy's position. General Count Giulay attacked the town of Dienville, but met with very considerable opposition.

"The contest was protracted to a very late hour, and it was not until after midnight, that it was announced to the marshal that the enemy was expelled, leaving two hundred and eighty prisoners in Count Giulay's possession. The most obstinate resistance, however, was made at La Rothiere; Baron Sachen expelled the enemy, but he returned with heavy columns of infantry and batteries of artillery, and renewed the attack with great vigour, gaining possession of the church and some of the houses, whilst the Russians occupied the others. Buonaparte, in person, it is reported by the prisoners, led on the attack himself, at the head of the young guard, and had a horse shot under him. The fire with which they were received, rendered the attempt of no avail, and, about ten o'clock at night, the whole village was ceded to the more obstinate valour of the Russian troops. On the right of the village, General Sachen took upwards of twenty pieces of cannon; near a thousand prisoners were also taken; the loss in killed and wounded was very great. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg advanced upon Chaumenil, and formed his junction with General Count Wrede. The former took six pieces of cannon, and the latter seventeen. Thus was the victory complete in every quarter.

"Immediately after the battle commenced, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Field-marshal Prince Schwartzenburg, came on the ground. Field-marshal Blucher immediately afterwards proceeded to the front, to carry into effect the dispositions he had made. He was among the foremost in the attack of the village of La Rothiere, and in supporting the troops who were attacked in it. A cossack, orderly, of General Gniesenau, was shot by his side. Reserves were moved forward by the orders of his Imperial Majesty and Prince Schwartzenburg, but only three battalions were employed. There are prisoners taken of the third, fourth, and sixth corps, and of the guards. Buonaparte is supposed to have had the great body of his army collected. There are many details which time does not admit my giving at present; but, in proportion as they become known, the battle of La Rothiere, in the numbers engaged, in the losses on the part of the enemy, and in its consequences, will perhaps be found one of the most important of the war.

"H. Lowe, Colonel.

"P.S. The reports state sixty pieces of cannon taken."

DESPATCH FROM LORD BURGHERSH.

"*Bar-sur-Aube, Feb.* 1.

"My Lord,—I have the satisfaction of announcing to your lordship, that the enemy, commanded by Buonaparte, have this day been defeated. Thirty-six pieces of cannon, and three thousand prisoners, are already in the hands of the allies. Buonaparte had placed his army in two lines, extending across the plain from the front of Dienville, on the right, by the village of La Rothiere, towards Tremilly, on the left. In front of the left, he occupied the village of La Gibrie, and the woods by which it was surrounded. In reserve, General Marmont was placed in the village of Morvilliers. The heights also about the town of Brienne were occupied. Your lordship has been informed that the corps

of Marshal Blucher, consisting only of General Sachen's division, and part of General Langeron's division, had yesterday taken up a position near Trannes. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg was in communication with the right of General Blucher, and in position at Maison. General Giulay removed from Bar-sur-Aube to support General Blucher: his corps was formed on the great road between Trannes and Dienville. I reported to your lordship that General Wrede was to co-operate with General Wittgenstein, in his attack on Vassy. The enemy having, however, abandoned that position, General Wrede marched upon Doulevent, whence he was directed to advance upon the road by Tremilly to Chaumenil Two divisions of Russian grenadiers, and a division of cuirassiers, amounting to about six thousand men, and forming a part of the reserve under the orders of General Barclay de Tolly, formed the support of the different corps, and were engaged in the action of this day. General Blucher began his attack about twelve o'clock, by advancing the corps of General Giulay towards Dienville, and by forming the divisions of his own corps in front of La Rothiere. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg advanced, about the same time, from Maison upon La Gibrie; he was strongly opposed in the woods about that place, but at last succeeded in forcing the enemy to retire, and in carrying the village. The enemy made an attempt to retake this position, but was received most gallantly by the troops of the Prince Royal, and totally repulsed. During the latter part of this attack, the corps of General Wrede arrived upon the right of the Prince Royal, and immediately advanced upon Tremilly. The ulans of Prince Schwartzenburg made a most successful charge in front of that village, and took six pieces of cannon. General Wrede possessed himself of the place. General Sachen, finding that his right was secured by the successes which had attended the attack of the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg and General Wrede, determined to attack the centre of the enemy's position at La Rothiere. While his infantry were engaged in the attack of the village, General Blucher directed a charge of cavalry upon the right of it, which was attended with complete success; twenty pieces of cannon were captured, and a considerable number of cavalry of Buonaparte's guard were killed or taken. The enemy was driven from La Rothiere, and, notwithstanding several attempts to retake it, was finally baffled in his object. General Giulay, late in the evening, advanced upon Dienville.

"I left the ground with Prince Schwartzenburg before this movement had been completed; but the report has since arrived, that he succeeded in taking the part of the village on the right of the Aube, the enemy having retired to the other side of that river, and having destroyed the bridge. So ended, my lord, the affair of this day; the enemy still held the ground beyond La Rothiere, and was still in possession, at dark, of the height of Brienne. The Russian and Prussian guards have already arrived near Trannes, and to-morrow will be in position to support the attack of the enemy's remaining positions. The corps of General Colleredo arrived this day at Vendœuvres, and will arrive to-morrow morning at Dienville. The corps of Generals Wittgenstein and D'York are marching upon Vitry. It appears that the three corps of Marshals Marmont, Mortier, and Victor, were present in the action of this day. Generals Colbert and Grouchy were also present. I have not been able to ascertain the remaining corps which formed part of the enemy's force. I beg to congratulate your lordship upon this first success, in a general affair, on the territory of France.

"BURGHERSH."

DESPATCH FROM LORD BURGHERSH.

"*Bar-sur-Aube, Feb.* 2.

"My Lord,

"In continuation of my report of yesterday, I have this day to announce to your lordship the retreat of the enemy from all his positions about Brienne, with the loss of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and about four thousand prisoners. Buonaparte continued the action of yesterday with considerable obstinacy till towards twelve at night: his principal efforts were directed to the re-occupation of the village of La Rothiere; he directed himself the attack of the young guards upon that place, but was repulsed with considerable loss. General Blucher was present at the defence of this village, and contributed materially, by his exertions, to the repulse of the enemy. General Giulay was engaged till near twelve o'clock in the attack of Dienville: the vigorous opposition he met with was only overcome by the skill and ability he displayed, and by the gallantry of his troops. The place, after several hours of the most severe conflict, remained in his undisputed possession. Baffled in the different attempts to regain the advantages he had lost, Buonaparte, at last, decided upon a retreat: his columns appear to have begun their movement to the rear about one in the morning; his rear-guard was, however, in occupation of the position of Brienne at day-light. General Giulay moved along the Aube upon the enemy's right, the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg marched upon Brienne, General Wrede advanced upon the right of the Prince Royal. The enemy retreated in two columns, the right upon Les-

mont, the left upon Lassicourt and Rouay. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg made a most brilliant charge upon the cavalry which covered the enemy's retreat near St. Christophe. General Wrede dislodged a corps of infantry from a strong position upon the Voire, near Lassicourt. General Giulay, assisted by the infantry of the Prince Royal, took Lesmont by assault.

"It is due to the character of Prince Schwartzenburg, to call your lordship's attention to the skill and talent he has displayed in bringing the troops under his orders to the brilliant situation in which they at present stand. From the frontiers of Switzerland, after traversing all the great defences on this side of France, he has formed a junction with the army of Blucher; and, in conjunction with it, has baffled the enemy's attempts to fall with superior numbers on a separate corps, and has achieved a most glorious victory. Prince Schwartzenburg has received a sword from the Emperor Alexander, in token of the high sense he entertains of his merit. General Wrede and the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg have been decorated on the field of battle with the second class of the order of St. George. The distinguished gallantry and enterprise of Field-marshal Blucher was never more conspicuous than in the battles of La Rothiere. Generals Giulay and Frenelle have particularly distinguished themselves. The troops of the allies have universally fought with the most distinguished gallantry: they merit the gratitude and admiration of the world."

The next document of importance is the following despatch from Lord Burghersh:

"*Troyes, March* 4.

"My Lord,

"Troyes is again occupied by the allies. The defeat of the enemy yesterday, and the rapidity with which he was driven from all the positions defending the approach of this town, secured us the possession of the place. I stated to your lordship, in my last despatch, that, after several successful affairs with the rear-guard of the French army, General Frimont had established his head-quarters at Vandœuvre. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg pursued the advantages he had obtained over the corps of Marshal Macdonald, at La Ferte and Clairvaux, on the 28th ult., took possession of Bar-sur-Seine on the 1st instant, and followed the retreat of the enemy to La Maison Blanche, on the 2d.

"By a reconnoissance made on that day, it was ascertained that the French army was in position along the Barce, on the right of the Seine, and at La Maison Blanche, on the left of it. Prince Schwartzenburg determined to attack on the 3d. The corps of General Wittgenstein was directed by Piney to turn the left of the enemy at the village of Laubrussel, and to threaten his communication with Troyes, by marching in the direction of St. Parre. General Wrede was to wait the movement of General Wittgenstein, was then to attack the bridge of La Guillotiere, and to move upon the enemy's front. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg was, at the same time, to attack the enemy's position at La Maison Blanche. The circuitous road by which the corps of General Wittgenstein was directed, prevented its arrival on the flank of the enemy till near three o'clock in the afternoon. The Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg (who commands one of its divisions) immediately commenced the attack, by moving along the heights towards Laubrussel, driving the enemy before him, and, at last, by storming and carrying the village. General Wittgenstein supported this attack by all the artillery of his corps. Count Pahlen, upon the right, began already to threaten the enemy's rear. At this moment Prince Schwartzenburg directed five battalions of Bavarians to pass the Barce near Courteranges, establish themselves in the wood on the right of that river, and place themselves in communication with the Russians at Laubrussel. This movement was immediately carried into execution. General Wrede then stormed the bridge of La Guillotiere, drove the enemy from it with loss, and thus carried the whole of his position. Threatened on every side, Marshal Oudinot retired his army along the road towards Troyes. Several successful charges were made upon him in his retreat, by the cavalry of General Wittgenstein. Ten pieces of cannon, fifty-four officers, and three thousand prisoners, are the results of the action. The enemy was driven to the village of St. Parre; his rear-guard only remained there, the rest of his force defiled during the night through this town.

"At nine o'clock this morning, General Wrede advanced upon the enemy, who retired, and, upon being summoned to surrender this place, capitulated on being allowed half an hour to evacuate it. Prince Schwartzenburg, as soon as the stipulated time was passed, directed all the cavalry to pursue upon the road towards Nogent. The cossacks and Bavarians made several most gallant charges; Prince Schwartzenburg himself conducted their advance, which was done with great spirit and activity. Several prisoners were the result of the affairs; the enemy was driven beyond Les Greys. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg carried the position of La Maison Blanche, with little opposition. His corps is already in the neighbourhood of this place; his cavalry is upon the road to Sens. It is most gratifying to me to have to report to your lordship the successes of the troops under the orders of Prince Schwart-

zenburg. Although struggling with the privations necessarily attendant on an army, where, from the rapidity of its movements, the establishment of magazines has been impossible, yet the exertions and enterprise both of officers and men are unabated. In the actions of these last days, the Prince Marshal has expressed his warmest approbation of the conduct of his army. General Wittgenstein and General Wrede have particularly received his thanks. To the Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg, not only for his conduct on these late occasions, but for his gallantry and enterprise in every action in which he has seen him engaged against the enemy, Prince Schwartzenburg has returned his warmest acknowledgements, and the most cordial tribute of his admiration. Your lordship is already informed, that the head-quarters of Marshal Blucher were at La Ferte on the 28th of February; no advices have since been received from him. To keep up the communication with that officer, and to threaten the rear of Buonaparte now marching against him, Prince Schwartzenburg has directed Count Platoff to move upon Sezanne. In his progress to that place, he has already captured the town of Arcis, with the French garrison which occupied it.

"BURGHERSH."

Despatch addressed to Earl Bathurst, by Colonel Lowe, dated Head-Quarters of the Combined Army, under Field-Marshal Blucher, Laon, March 11.

"My Lord,

"As some delay attends my communication at the present moment with Lieutenant-general the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, I do myself the honour to enclose to your lordship a duplicate of my report to him of the events which have taken place in this vicinity within these three days. It may be necessary, at the same time, to give your lordship the following outline of the movements that preceded them, in the event of my former reports not having been yet received.

"The army of Silesia having effected its junction with the corps of Generals Winzingerode and Bulow, at Soissons, on the evening of the 3d instant, and, on the following day, Field-marshal Blucher (to whom the command of the whole had been intrusted) took up a position on an extensive plateau, to the left and in the rear of the town of Soissons, with his right close to the village of Laffaux, and his left near Craone. Buonaparte, with the whole of his guards, with the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and with a considerable body of cavalry, had followed the army of Silesia in its march from the Marne to the Aisne. On the 5th, he resolved on an attempt to regain possession of the town of Soissons; ten thousand Russian infantry, of the corps of General Count Langeron, under the orders of General Rudzewich, defended it. The town, which lies on the opposite side of the Aisne to that on which the army was in position, is surrounded by a broken wall and ditch passable in many parts. The enemy attacked soon after day-light, gained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and twice attacked the town itself, on opposite sides, with heavy columns, supposed to be the separate divisions of Marmont and Mortier. He was both times repulsed with slaughter and loss: but still retained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, unroofed the houses, and kept up a constant fire from them upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put an end to the contest. The Russian infantry equally maintained themselves in another part of the suburbs, and a few houses only divided the combatants during the night. The Russians lost more than one thousand men in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy, however, must have been greater, as his troops were more exposed. In the morning of the 6th, the enemy had given up the contest, and retired.

"While this was passing in the town of Soissons, Buonaparte himself was ascertained to be moving to the right; and, in the forenoon of the 6th, he effected the passage of his army across the Aisne at Bery-le-Bac, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by the field-marshal's army, near Craone. Strong columns were observed to be marching at the same time towards Laon, by the way of Corbeny. Field-marshal Blucher immediately made the following dispositions: he directed a corps of ten thousand cavalry, under the orders of General Winzingerode, to march by the way of Chevrigny and Presle, and throw itself in the line of the enemy's communication, across the road from Corbeny to Laon. General Bulow, with twenty thousand men, was directed to march and occupy Laon. The corps of Generals D'York, Kleist, and Sachen, were ordered to incline towards the infantry of General Winzingerode, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martin and Craone. The enemy approached under cover of the wood of Corbeny, and sent forward large bodies of skirmishers, supported by artillery, but was repulsed, and the firing ceased with the night.

"On the morning of the 7th, it was ascertained that the enemy had desisted from his march upon Laon: in other respects, his position was not clearly discovered. To be prepared for whatever might occur, Field-marshal Blucher directed the corps of Generals D'York and Kleist to move across the river Delette, in the direction

of Presle and Leuilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under General Winzingerode, and, together with the corps of General Bulow, make an attack on the enemy's right, should he push forward against the point occupied by the infantry of General Winzingerode, near Craone. General Baron Sachen was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn the enemy's left, should he make his attack on the other side. If pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road towards Laon, and draw in the garrison of Soissons.

"At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy began the attack with his whole force, calculated at more than sixty thousand men, against the point where General Winzingerode's infantry was posted. Field-marshal Blucher immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but unexpected difficulties had opposed the march of the cavalry during the night, and it was found to have advanced no further than Presle. The infantry of General Kleist, which had marched in the morning, reached Feticcia; but the advanced guard of the cavalry alone had come up, and it became impossible to undertake with effect the movement which the field-marshal had projected against the enemy's right. In the mean time, the corps posted near Craone was exposed to a most severe and powerful attack. General Count Strogonoff commanded in General Winzingerode's absence. General Count Woronzoff had the infantry. The cannonading was most tremendous, but the enemy was resisted at every point with a spirit and determination beyond all praise. The pressure, however, was so great, that General Baron Sachen, to whom the support and direction of the whole had been entrusted, finally found it necessary to execute that part of the disposition which had provided for the retreat of the troops engaged towards Laon. It was executed with admirable order. Though fourteen pieces of artillery had been dismounted by the enemy's fire, not a single gun or carriage was left behind. The prisoners taken were not more than fifty or sixty; but the killed and wounded are stated at about two thousand. General Count Strogonoff had his son, a lieutenant-general, killed early in the action. Three other Russian generals were wounded. General Count Woronzoff had five officers of his personal staff killed or wounded. The enemy had four generals wounded, Victor, Grouchy, La Salle, and Charpentras. His loss from the fire of the most admirably-served artillery must have been very great. The troops effected their junction, during the night and on the following morning, with the rest of the army; and the operations that have since ensued form the subject of the annexed report.

"For forty-two days past this army, which appears to have been peculiarly the object of the enemy's disquietude and attacks, has been constantly marching or fighting; for, exclusive of the general actions, only two days have elapsed in which the advance or rear of it has not been seriously engaged. Buonaparte is now in retreat before it, but whether to take up a fresh position, or to proceed in some other direction where his presence may be found wanting, is not yet ascertained. Scarcely any information has been received here of the movements of the grand allied army since he quitted the observation of it.

"H. Lowe, Colonel."

The only remaining despatch which we shall lay before the reader, is the following from Lord Burghersh:

"*Fere Champenoise, March 26.*

"My Lord,

"In considerable doubt whether this despatch will reach you, I still am anxious to seize the first opportunity of informing you of the events which have taken place since my last letters, and which, up to the present moment, have been attended with the most brilliant successes. In the morning of the 23d, the different corps of this army were assembled in positions, from whence the whole were directed upon Vitry. The Russian light division of cavalry of the guard, under General Count Angerowsky, advanced from Metiercelin to Sommepuis, where they attacked a considerable body of infantry, killed and made prisoners a great number of them, and took twenty pieces of cannon. This attack was conducted with so much talent and rapidity, that the loss on the part of the Russians was inconsiderable. The enemy immediately after began to defile from all their positions near Arcis, directing themselves upon Vitry. Count Wrede endeavoured to intercept their march, but was unable to do so. The Prince Royal of Wirtemburg followed them, and did them considerable mischief. By a French courier taken at the charge of the Russian cavalry at Sommepuis, it was ascertained that the corps of Marshals Ney and Macdonald were in our front, filing to join Buonaparte, who was already at St. Dizier. The commandant of Vitry had been summoned by Marshal Ney, and threatened with the massacre of the whole garrison, if he did not surrender: he had, however, refused; and Vitry remained in our possession.

"By an intercepted letter of Buonaparte's, the objects of his movements were discovered. Prince Schwartzenburg, in consequence, halted his army on the Marne during the night of the 23d, the French having entirely passed to the other bank of that river.

Buonaparte having placed himself upon our line of communication with the rear, and our junction with the army of Marshal Blucher being formed by the arrival of General Winzingerode from Chalons at Vitry, it was determined that the whole of the two great allied armies should march upon Paris. With this object, the whole army broke up yesterday, and had advanced in one column upon this place. The corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier appear to have received orders to join Buonaparte: they arrived within two leagues of Vitry on the night of the 24th. The advanced guard of the Prince Royal of Wirtemburg fell in with them soon after he had commenced his march in this direction. The enemy, perceiving a considerable force advancing upon him, retired; the cavalry of the fourth and sixth corps pursued. The light cavalry division of Russian guards again distinguished itself; it charged first the enemy's cuirassiers, next his masses of infantry: in both it succeeded; a great number of killed and wounded were left on the field of battle, ten pieces of cannon taken, and nearly one thousand prisoners. Several other charges were made by the Austrian cuirassiers and the Wirtemburg cavalry: the enemy suffered from them considerably, and was pursued, with the loss of above thirty pieces of cannon, to Sezanne. The results of these affairs are not yet completely known; I will transmit them to your lordship by the first opportunity.

"Upon the arrival of Prince Schwartzenburg at Fere Champenoise, a cannonade was observed upon our right; soon after, a body of infantry was seen moving upon the head-quarters. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia immediately directed a train of artillery which belonged to the sixth corps, and which was passing at the time, to place itself in position against this corps. The cavalry which was in rear of this body was soon after discovered to belong to the army of Marshal Blucher, which had been pursuing it during the greater part of the day. Prince Schwartzenburg immediately brought up a considerable portion of cavalry from the corps that were pursuing Marshals Marmont and Mortier. The Emperor of Russia directed the advance of the Russian guns: the whole body of French infantry was surrounded; they were charged on all sides, under the immediate directions of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenburg. After a resistance, which does honour to the enemy's troops, the whole of his two masses, amounting to four thousand eight hundred infantry, with twelve pieces of cannon, were taken. Such have been, my lord, the triumphant results of yesterday. The troops are already in advance this morning; the cavalry will arrive to-day at La Ferte Gaucher. General Winzingerode, with ten thousand cavalry, is in observation of Buonaparte's army, on the side of St. Dizier: its direction is not as yet known.

"It is with the greatest regret I have to announce to your lordship, that Colonel Campbell was yesterday most severely wounded by a Cossack. Colonel Campbell, continuing that gallant distinguished course which has ever marked his military career, had charged with the first cavalry which penetrated the French masses; the Cossacks who came to support this cavalry mistook him for a French officer, and struck him to the ground. From the appearances this morning, I am, however, in considerable hope of his recovery. Colonel Rapatel, late aid-de-camp of General Moreau, was unfortunately killed.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BURGHERSH."

After some skirmishing with the allies, Mortier and Marmont withdrew to Paris; the garrison of which consisted of part of General Girard's corps, under General Companes, and a force of about eight thousand regulars, and thirty thousand national guards, under General Hulin, the commandant of the city. With this force the French, under the nominal command of Joseph Buonaparte, took up a position on the heights of Belleville. The attacks of the allies, however, proved irresistible. the heights of Belleville were soon carried by the Prussian guards; and Marshal Blucher had no sooner commenced his attack upon Montmartre, then Marmont sent out a flag of truce, proposing an armistice for four hours, in order to the drawing up articles of capitulation. This offer was accepted; and, shortly afterwards, the capital of France surrendered to the allied sovereigns.

Immediately upon his arrival at Paris, the Emperor of Russia rode on horseback to the Thuilleries, examined every thing, and praised the taste with which it was adorned. "I have found France very fine," said he, "but I shall leave it in a much more flourishing condition." Being shewn the saloon of peace, he asked, "What use could Buonaparte make of this saloon?" When he came to the great gallery of the Museum, he said, "ten days are necessary to see this fine collection." Observing that some pictures were removed, he said, "his character must have been quite misunderstood, if any fear had been entertained for the Museum." The monument of the Place Vendome was taken under the protection of the high allied powers; the statue of Buonaparte, at the top of it, was to be replaced by that of Peace. As Alexander rode by it, he said, "I should be afraid of becoming giddy, if I stood so high."

The abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons, which immediately took place, formed the termination of those glorious events, which we have rapidly sketched in the preceding pages.

England was now to be honoured by the presence of the illustrious subject of this memoir; and accordingly, on the 6th of June, at half-past six in the afternoon, the Emperor Alexander, accompanied by the King of Prussia, landed from the Impregnable and Jason on the British shores at Dover.

The Duchess of Oldenburg, the sister of the emperor, had previously arrived; and had already become universally known and respected, by making herself acquainted with our customs and institutions, and finding out the proper character of the nation through the domestic results of its knowledge and public spirit. Her object in visiting England was said to be the restoration of her health, which had been severely affected by the death of the duke her husband. The cause of that event was the duke's constant attendance upon sick and wounded prisoners, which brought on a malignant fever; and, during the last four days of his life, his affectionate consort would suffer nobody to approach him but herself. The immediate consequence of her loss was a succession of fainting fits, followed by a settled melancholy, which (by the advice of her physicians, and chiefly by the tenderness and anxiety of her imperial brother) she was persuaded to relieve by change of scene and climate. Her nerves are said to have been so weakened, that, for a long period, she could bear neither music nor perfumes; no flowers were allowed to be introduced into her apartments; and, at the Carlton-House concert, she was so affected, that she burst into a flood of tears.

At the time of her arrival in England, the grand-duchess was about twenty-six years of age, and had been a widow about eighteen months. Her person is of the middle size, her features are handsome, and her eye remarkably expressive.

The illustrious foreigners had been expected some days, and thousands were anxiously waiting to catch the first glance of them. The roads from Dover to London were thronged with people on foot and on horseback, and vehicles of all sorts decorated with ribands, flags, and laurels. Their majesties left Dover on Tuesday morning at nine, in their plain travelling-carriage; and when, at three o'clock, Sir C. Stewart announced at Welling that the monarchs had gone to town in a private manner two hours before, considerable disappointment was expressed.

The Emperor Alexander having thus avoided the multitude, entered London about half-past two o'clock, in a carriage and four; and, driving to Pulteney Hotel, Piccadilly, had ascended the first flight of stairs before his arrival was announced. The grand-duchess met and embraced him on the stairs; and the shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" soon brought his majesty to the balcony, where he continued for some time to gratify the people with a sight of his person, occasionally bowing in the most condescending manner, in answer to their acclamations. At half-past four, the emperor, accompanied by Count Lieven, went to see the Prince Regent at Carlton-House, where he was received in a very private manner, but with the most cordial welcome.

The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the grand-duchess, afforded evident proofs of laudable curiosity and good taste, with a perfect indifference of show and parade.

Such was his activity, that those who wished to see him were obliged to rise as early as himself. In the morning he breakfasted by eight o'clock; and, on the 8th of June, walked in Kensington Gardens with his sister; at ten, proceeded to Westminster Hall and the Abbey, to view the tombs of the illustrious dead. His sister and himself next visited the British Museum. At one o'clock he held a levee at Cumberland-House, which he used as his state-apartments, and was visited by the Prince Regent; and, between five and six the same day, attended the court of her majesty, held expressly for their introduction, at the Queen's Palace; and afterwards dined with the Prince Regent at Carlton-House.

On the morning of the 9th, his imperial majesty rode through various parts of the metropolis, passing the Royal Exchange, and making nearly a circuit of the east and western quarters of London; after which, he returned to the Pulteney Hotel to breakfast. The emperor, with the duchess, and a party of distinction, then left the hotel in their carriages, without military escort, and proceeded through the Strand and the city to the London Docks.

On the 10th, the allied sovereigns, after viewing Richmond Terrace, with which they were particularly delighted, and Hampton Court, attended Ascot races: from the races, they accompanied the Queen to Frogmore, and partook of a sumptuous entertainment which had been provided for one hundred persons.

On the 11th, the emperor and his sister visited the Bank of England. The governor, deputy-governor, and directors, conducted their august visitors through the different departments of that extensive building. Alexander listened with great attention to the explanations which were given of the several offices, and expressed much admiration at the systematic manner in which the business was conducted. He added, with

much affability, that he felt extremely obliged for the polite attentions shewn to him and his sister; and that he was convinced, from what he had heard and seen, that the character acquired by the people of England, for their extensive commerce, their wealth, and their liberality, was not greater than they deserved.

This remark brings to our recollection some interesting anecdotes related by Sir John Carr, in his "Northern Summer," as illustrative of Alexander's good-nature and partiality towards the English:—

"One day," says this interesting traveller, "whilst I was at St. Petersburgh, as the emperor was returning from Cronstadt, when the weather was most oppressively hot, he halted at a little village about twenty wersts from the Residence, in consequence of the relay of horses not being immediately ready. An English merchant, who had a country-house adjoining, with that warmth of heart which forgets and surpasses all etiquette, ran out, and presented to the emperor, who appeared to be in a great heat and covered with dust, a glass of excellent Burton ale, which his majesty, with his usual affability, accepted, with thanks to his attentive host. Both the emperor and the merchant forgot that the beverage was *prohibited*. A German, who was present, and was struck with the cordial avidity with which the emperor emptied the glass, observed, 'that had a *Frenchman* offered it, his majesty would have made one of his horses taste it first.'

"Upon another occasion, the emperor exhibited the native goodness of his heart. Some British bottled porter (which was also prohibited) was shipped for an Englishman, whose lady was very much indisposed, and to whom it was recommended by her physicians. Scarcely had it reached St. Petersburgh from Cronstadt, before it was seized by a custom-house officer: upon the emperor hearing of it, he sent to the customs, declaring it to be his own, (for such, in truth, the law of confiscation made it,) and immediately forwarded it, with some very kind expressions, to the fair invalid."

But to resume our narrative.—On his return from the Bank, the emperor was waited on by the lord-mayor, recorder, sheriffs, aldermen, and common-council, in their civic robes, at his state-apartments, St. James's, with their address of congratulation. His imperial majesty, with great courtesy, returned his thanks for the honour conferred on him, in a short speech in English, which was very gracefully delivered. At the Opera, in the evening, a hymn, in honour of the august visitors, was sung in an admirable style, and received with rapture. The delight of the spectators was inexpressible. Owing to the immense crowd, the interior doors of the Opera-house were broken to pieces, and nearly two thousand persons gained admission without payment.

On Sunday, the 12th, the allied monarchs appeared in Hyde Park on horseback, to gratify the curiosity of the public. The emperor left the Pulteney Hotel about two o'clock, mounted on a most beautiful horse, dressed in an English scarlet uniform, with a large collection of feathers in his hat. He proceeded to St. James's Palace, and called at Clarence-House for the King of Prussia to accompany him; but his saddle-horses not being ready, Alexander proceeded towards the Park, and his majesty followed. They were received with the most enthusiastic applauses, of which they appeared truly sensible.

On the 13th, the Emperor and his sister, with the Prince Regent, and the King of Prussia, went, by water, to Woolwich; where they inspected the store-houses, the model-room, the new saw-mill, and the royal repository; and were entertained, on the rocket-ground, with an interesting exhibition of the nature and effect of the celebrated Congreve rockets.

The next day was devoted to a visit to Oxford, where Alexander and his royal companions were much gratified by viewing the superb buildings of the university. They also partook of a most splendid banquet at the Radcliff Library, and attended a convocation in the theatre, where several appropriate orations were delivered; and diplomas were granted to the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to Prince Blucher, Prince Metternich, and Count Lieven.

The emperor and his sister returned to London, on the morning of the 16th: they travelled all night in an open carriage, and experienced the inconvenience of a fall of rain and a thunder-storm on their way. The emperor, however, notwithstanding the fatigues of his journey, and the hour of the morning, merely stopped at the Pulteney Hotel to change his dress, and repaired with great expedition to the Countess of Jersey's ball, where he remained till six. He then retired to rest till ten; and, at half-past eleven, attended by Lord Yarmouth, proceeded to St. Paul's cathedral. Here his majesty witnessed the annual assemblage of upwards of six thousand of the charity children belonging to the different parishes of the metropolis—an interesting sight, which does so much honour to British benevolence, and which cannot fail to make the most affecting impression on every beholder. His Prussian majesty, and the princes his sons, were also present. At three o'clock the emperor, accompanied by the grand-duchess, proceeded to view the New Mint, where they were received and attended by the deputy-warden and other officers of that establishment. After seeing the various machinery and the different processes through which the coin passes, they partook of a cold collation pro-

vided on the occasion. His imperial majesty was presented with a gold medal, of the same impression as the one presented to the grand-duchess, his sister, of his imperial majesty's likeness, on her former visit.

In the evening their imperial and royal majesties dined with Lord Castlereagh in St. James's Square. There also were present the princes of Prussia, the princes of Orange, Wirtemburg, Metternich, Hardenberg, the Duchess of York, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, Saxe-Weimar, and Orleans, the Count and Countess of Lieven, &c. &c. After dinner their majesties honoured Drury-lane theatre with their presence. The house was crowded to excess. At twenty-five minutes before eleven, the two monarchs entered, amidst the general shouts of the audience. The curtain then drew up, and about two hundred of the performers appeared, and sang "God save the king." The emperor joined most cordially in the chorus; and his imperial majesty and the King of Prussia clapped heartily at the conclusion. They remained till the performance ceased, and then went to a grand entertainment at the Marchioness of Hertford's, where his imperial majesty stayed till half-past five o'clock, engaged in the festive dance: at six he retired to his hotel.

At eleven, the next morning, the emperor set out on a visit to the Military Asylum and Chelsea Hospital. He was accompanied by the Duchess of Oldenburg, and attended by Lord Yarmouth and his suite. At the military asylum his imperial majesty was joined by the King of Prussia; and the royal party was received by the Duke of York as governor, and the other officers of this noble institution. After inspecting its various departments, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by his sister, proceeded to Greenwich Hospital, and then returned to the Pulteney Hotel. Soon after eight o'clock the same evening, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Duchess of Oldenburg, &c. went to Merchant Tailors' Hall, and partook of a splendid dinner given by the merchants and bankers of London. The Duke of York was in the chair, the Emperor of Russia on his left hand, and the King of Prussia on his right. Next to the emperor sat the Duchess of Oldenburg; the rest of the table was filled with princes, ministers, and ambassadors, all in the most splendid dresses, and chiefly military. The toasts given were chiefly complimentary to the illustrious visitors. At eleven they left the hall, and repaired to Covent-Garden Theatre, where they remained till the close of the entertainment, and then retired amid loud and universal plaudits.

The 18th was marked by the city *fête* given in honour of the allied sovereigns, and which, in costly splendour and magnificence, was never exceeded in England. The Prince Regent, to give effect to the scene, went in state, with the full splendour of his court. The streets east of Temple-Bar were lined with nearly eight thousand troops. The houses were filled and covered with thousands of spectators; and windows, in certain situations to view the procession, were disposed of from twenty to thirty guineas each.

At four o'clock the cavalcade departed from Carlton-House; and, on its arrival at Temple-Bar, the carriage of the Prince Regent drew up, when the lord-mayor aldermen, and sheriffs, advanced; and, after a short conference, took the lead of his royal highness's carriage, in the following order:—A number of sheriffs officers, the city-marshals, the lord-mayor's footmen, the band of the London militia playing God save the King. Sixteen aldermen in their robes, bare-headed. The common-crier bearing the city mace, and the sword-bearer. The lord-mayor, also bare-headed, carrying the sword of state, and dressed in a rich velvet robe, which cost one hundred and fifty guineas. He was followed immediately by the carriage of the Prince Regent. In this order the procession advanced, cheered as it went by the admiring spectators.

On the procession arriving at Guildhall, the Prince Regent and the royal visitors were ushered into the council-chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The regent being seated on the throne, the recorder delivered an address of the lord-mayor, &c. upon his royal highness's visit to the city, which was most graciously received. Here the royal and noble visitors promenaded for some time in familiar conversation; and the Prince Regent expressed his intention of bestowing a baronetcy on the chief magistrate, and condescendedly wished him health to enjoy that honour.

Dinner was then announced, and the regent with his royal guests and attendants proceeded to the hall; the Regent, Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, taking their seats under a grand state-canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated twenty-one personages of the blood royal, including the grand Duchess of Oldenburg. The dinner, which consisted of every delicacy, whether in or out of season, was served up on gold and silver plate, and the wines and dessert were of the most choice and costly kind. The appearance of the hall was beautiful beyond description. The Prince Regent left the hall at half-past eleven; but the whole of the company were not able to depart till three the next morning.

On Sunday, the 19th, the Emperor of Russia and the Duchess of Oldenburg went to the Russian private chapel in Welbeck Street, and thence proceeded to the

meeting of the Society of Friends in St. Martin's Lane; returned to Pulteney Hotel, and, at three o'clock, visited the Princess Charlotte at Warwick-House. They next went to Chiswick, on a visit to the Duke of Devonshire, got back at a quarter before seven to the Pulteney Hotel; and received a deputation from the Royal Humane Society, of which his Imperial Majesty is a member, in consequence of having restored the Polish peasant, whose history has been already related. This deputation consisted of Lord Brownlow; Sir Abraham Hume, Bart.; Sir William Garrow, Attorney-general; Samuel Whitbread, Esquire, M.P.; Mr. Alderman Wood; Dr. Lettsom, the treasurer; the Rev. J. Pridden, F.S.A.; the Rev. R. Yates, F.S.A.; J. J. Angerstein, Esquire; J. Blackburn, Esquire; I. H. Browne, Esquire; W. Watson, Esquire, F.R.S.; J. Blades, Esquire; J. Nichols, Esquire, F.S.A.; J. B. Nichols, Esquire, F.L.S.; T. J. Pettigrew, Esquire, F.L.S., the Secretary; and about twenty other governors. They were introduced to his Imperial Majesty, and were most graciously received.

The following is the address presented:

"May it please your imperial majesty; the vice-patron, president, vice-presidents, directors, and governors of the Royal Humane Society, instituted for the recovery of the apparently drowned or dead, humbly approach your imperial majesty, to offer their respectful and cordial welcome to your imperial majesty, on your happy arrival in Great Britain. In common with all their fellow-subjects, they feel that lively interest and high exultation, so naturally the consequence of the mighty efforts and glorious victories of the brave armies of your imperial majesty and your illustrious allies; victories by which nations, oppressed by a most hateful tyranny, have been emancipated, and by which the latent spark of liberty has been fanned into the flame which now re-animates the world. But the Royal Humane Society, which the beloved sovereign of Great Britain has so long patronized, feels, in its approach to your imperial majesty, peculiar emotions, in the remembrance that it addresses a monarch, whose powerful arm maintained the cause of freedom against confederated hosts, has yet deigned his own assiduous exertions in rescuing a subject (though of the meanest class) from premature death;—a monarch who can adopt, with eminent propriety, and whose generous tears on a successful result, confirmed a right to the claim of the worthy sage of antiquity, '*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*' The Royal Humane Society is impressed with the most sincere gratitude for the condescension with which your imperial majesty has been pleased to accept the medal of the society, the highest token of admiration and respect in its power to offer; and for the gracious manner in which your imperial majesty has been pleased to consent to be an honorary member of the Royal Humane Society. The vice-patron, president, vice-presidents, directors, and governors, in order further to testify their respectful veneration for your imperial majesty, humbly beg leave to present, personally, to your imperial majesty's acceptance, the diploma by which the Royal Humane Society has had the honour to enroll your imperial majesty among its members. That your imperial majesty may long reign over a brave, united, and unconquered people, and be gratified with the effects of a peace so gloriously achieved in the effusions of emancipated millions, is the fervent prayer of, sir, your imperial majesty's most obedient humble servants, the members of the Royal Humane Society."

In the course of the same day, the emperor received deputations from the "Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress." "Bible Society," with Lord Gambier at their head; and Mr. Soane had the honour of laying before him the drawings of the Bank and other buildings, which his imperial majesty desired to examine, and which he was pleased to accept.

At an early hour on the 20th, persons of every description were making preparations to go to Hyde Park, for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, not only in seeing the royal visitors, but also for the purpose of seeing a review of almost the whole of the military of London and its environs. At nine o'clock, the different corps were on the ground, and the entire of Hyde Park from Tyburn to Hyde Park gate was covered with soldiers, equipped in their best regimentals. It was near eleven before the numerous corps were properly arranged, when a spectacle was presented to the public which has not been surpassed for a series of years. After the lines were arranged, the different bands belonging to the infantry and cavalry continued to play many martial airs. The crowd became so excessive, that it was deemed expedient to send a detachment of cavalry to clear them to the extremities of the Park. Every beholder by this time appeared to fix his eyes on Hyde Park gate, where the illustrious personages were to make their grand *entree*. Every tree in the Park was heavily laden with persons of various descriptions, and the balconies, windows, and roofs of the houses fronting the Park, were crowded with a great assemblage of beauty and fashion.

At half-past eleven, a royal salute of twenty-one cannon announced that the royal party were on their way; and soon after another discharge of twenty-one guns gave intimation of their arrival at Hyde Park gate. A detachment of the Greys proceeded to meet the great potentates, accompanied by the Hetman Platoff, and a

small detachment of Cossacks. They were received with the loudest shouts by the populace. The Prince Regent, who was accompanied on one side by the King of Prussia, and on the other by the Emperor of Russia, kept his hat off, and bowed respectfully to the populace. He was followed by Blucher, and a most magnificent staff, superbly attired. The different lines were soon arranged, and the royal party passed, while they preserved the greatest order and decorum, and the bands played "God save the King." After this the numerous regiments passed in review; and then fired a *feu-de-joie*. The illustrious visitors were pleased to express the greatest satisfaction at their discipline; and about half-past three the different corps marched from the ground, highly gratified with the honour paid them by the great generals.

The next night, about twelve o'clock, the illustrious strangers attended White's grand fête at Burlington House. This entertainment, next to that at Guildhall, was the most splendid given to these royal personages. A temporary scaffolding, in front of the principal house entrance, was covered with lamps in devices, the prince's feathers in the centre. The chief rooms for the fête were temporary, and covered with canvas; but never were decorations more richly or tastefully disposed. As the company passed to the different apartments, a strong feeling of surprise was excited by the expedition and skill with which so much splendour had been produced. The principal rooms were four. The ball-room was divided into three grand walks, by two rows of pillars reaching to the roof, and covered with white muslin in large flutings; the ceiling was *à la marquée*, in strong folds, varied with rosettes of white, from which were suspended chandeliers, and light drapery borders. Fifty-four immense white curtains hung from the ceiling, fastened with pink rosettes. The pillars, from their length and lightness, gave the entire hall a peculiar impression of elegance. A small recess for the musicians was hollowed out at the end opposite the principal; and, at the extremity, a *glory* was formed. The whole roof and sides were covered with white muslin. The floor was chalked in large compartments: that at the head covered with the British and allied arms; the border and intermediate spaces deep yellow: the elevated plateaux on either side were covered with scarlet cloth. The promenade room was the next source of attraction. It was lined throughout with rose-coloured muslin in flutes; its roof grained, and covered with white and rose colour. The beauty and effect of this scene, filled with a multitude of the finest women in England, richly attired, cannot be adequately described.

The company began to dance at half-past twelve o'clock, led off with waltzes by the Emperor of Russia and the Countess of Jersey. The young Prussian princes were likewise among the first who danced. There were waltzing parties at the upper end of the ball-room, and country-dances below. In the centre sat the Prince Regent, in a chair of state, to which he was conducted by the Dukes of Richmond, Beaufort, and Grafton. On the right and left were six other chairs of state, covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with burnished gold: the one on the right was empty; that on the left was occupied by the King of Prussia. At half-past one, the pink drapery curtains, in the centre of the promenade room, disappeared, as if by enchantment, and presented to view the royal supper-rooms, elevated on a platform, covered with scarlet cloth. The sovereigns, and the illustrious branches of their families, then took their seats. Below, were two other tables; the first for the foreign ministers and their suites, the next for English dukes and marquisses. The sight now presented was truly superb: sideboards, with tiers of gold plate, extending from the roof to the floor; tables decorated with urns, cups, epergnes, and candelabras, of gold; the company in richly embroidered uniforms, wearing a profusion of stars and garters; the magnificently-proportioned chandeliers, of the richest paste-glass, suspended above;—all contributed to astonish and confound the senses.

On Tuesday, after his imperial majesty had breakfasted, a deputation from the Society of Friends (Quakers) was introduced, to offer to the emperor an address, and some books explanatory of their religious tenets.

On Wednesday morning, at nine o'clock, the emperor, the grand-duchess, her son, and the Prince of Wirtemburg, departed from London, in an open carriage of the Prince Regent's. As they were getting in, a woman presented a book to Alexander, which he handed to a page on the steps; another woman presented him with a very fine rose, which the emperor gave to his sister, and she placed it in her bosom. The carriage then drove off, amidst the loud huzzas of the populace.

After witnessing a *naval review* at Portsmouth, which seemed to afford him peculiar pleasure, Alexander embarked at Dover, on the 27th of June, and immediately set sail for Calais, followed by the blessings and prayers of all who had assembled to witness his departure.

"The impressions," says a respectable writer, "which the personal qualities of the Emperor Alexander, separated from his exalted rank and distinguished services, left behind him, no lapse of time will efface. Had fortune placed him in a lowly situation, his private virtues, as well as mental endowments, would have procured him esteem and attachment. On his first landing

at Dover, he said, 'God be praised! I have set my foot upon that land which has saved us all!' and, in fact, he does not seem to breathe a wish, that is not, in some measure, connected with the good of mankind. Fortunately the events of his reign have contributed to assist his natural disposition. The success of his arms and negotiations, and that in so hallowed a cause, has been so gloriously conspicuous, that the native benevolence of his heart must be wonderfully quickened by the contemplation that his endeavours have had a signal share in restoring peace and freedom to long-distracted Europe. The homage he received in England was directed more to the man than to the sovereign, and his discriminating mind felt the tribute; whilst his heart, perhaps, acknowledged it as one of the most grateful rewards to which his services for the human race are entitled. Alexander has other claims to the esteem of his contemporaries, exclusive of the memorable share he has had in the deliverance of the continent. The first days of the young sovereign's reign were signalized by judicious efforts to ameliorate the condition of his vast empire; and we derive no small satisfaction in thinking, that his visit to England will tend to promote this generous design, which he has, since that time, unremittingly pursued."

When Buonaparte rekindled the torch of war by his second usurpation, Alexander put all the resources of his mighty empire in requisition with a promptitude and celerity truly astonishing, when we consider its immense extent, and the great deficiency which exists in it with respect to mutual communication.

From the confines of the wall of China troops were drawn: the cossacks, who had been so exceedingly useful in the Russian campaign, and who, during the invasion of France in 1814, had inspired such terror, were again called forth. The emperor again took the field in person; and, as he is extremely popular with all the tribes of his empire, his presence excited a confident expectation that the Russians would worthily act their part in the great drama which was about to be performed.

This expectation was not deceived. The arms of our imperial hero were crowned with complete success; the inhabitants of Paris, a second time, received him as a *conqueror*, and the legitimate sovereign of France was, a second time, restored to the throne of his ancestors by the wise councils and decisive conduct of this sovereign, in concert with those of the other august allies, and the memorable achievements of the heroes of Waterloo.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD HILL, K. B.

THIS gallant officer, whose fame is so closely united with that of the Duke of Wellington, is the second son of Sir John Hill, Bart. of Hawkstone, in Shropshire, who married Mary, one of the daughters of John Chambre, Esq. of Pitton, in the same county; by whom he had sixteen children, thirteen of whom have survived their mother.

It is particularly worthy of notice, that all the brothers of this brave warrior have devoted their services to their country. John, the elder brother, arrived at the rank of a field-officer in the army; and, on his retiring from the regular service after his marriage, he raised a regiment of volunteer cavalry in his native county. Lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Hill served in several of the campaigns in Spain, and commanded the Royal regiment of Horse-Guards Blue. Sir Francis Hill was sent out as secretary of legation to the court of the Brazils, and was invested by the Prince Regent of Portugal with the order of the Tower and Sword, in the year 1810. Major Clement Hill, brigade-major in the army, captain in the blues, and aid-de-camp to his brother, Lord Hill, served during the whole of the eventful war in the Peninsula. Colonel Thomas Noel Hill commanded the first Portuguese infantry, in which he ranked as colonel, and was honoured with the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword: and Edward, the youngest brother, holds a commission in the blues.

Rowland, the subject of this memoir, was but sixteen years of age when he entered the army; but the mildness of his disposition, the suavity of his manners, his

unremitting attention to his professional duties, and his uniform conduct as a gentleman and a soldier, have not only procured for him the friendship of the commanders under whom he has served through many active campaigns, but have also endeared him to the other officers and privates; the last of whom not only honour and revere him as their superior, but gratefully esteem him as a friend and benefactor.

His first commission was an ensigncy in the thirty-eighth regiment; and, having obtained leave of absence, in order to improve his military knowledge, he was placed at an academy at Strasburg, where he remained about twelve months, and then made a tour through Germany, France, and Holland, in company with his elder brother, and his uncle, the late Sir Richard Hill.

Our hero appears to have commenced his military duties at Edinburgh, where he had the advantage of the best society, and received from many of the nobility and gentry particular marks of attention. His removal from Scotland took place in consequence of an offer he received of a lieutenantcy, in Captain Broughton's independent company, on his raising the usual quota of men: this he soon accomplished, and then removed as lieutenant to the twenty-seventh. His friends being anxious for his early promotion, obtained permission for him to raise an independent company, which gave him the rank of captain in the army, in the year 1792.

In the interval of his being attached to any particular corps, he accompanied his friend, Francis Drake, Esq. who went out as minister on a diplomatic mission to Genoa; whence Captain Hill, through the recommendation of his friend, proceeded to Toulon, and was employed as aid-de-camp to the Generals Lord Mulgrave, O'Hara, and Sir David Dundas, who successively commanded there. At this time, he had not attained his twenty-first year; but he had the satisfaction of receiving, from *each* of his commanders, decisive proofs of their approbation. At the time General O'Hara was taken prisoner, he was slightly wounded in his right hand, and narrowly escaped with his life: it being undetermined for some minutes, between himself and his brother aid-de-camp, Captain Snow, which should ascend a tree, for the purpose of making observations respecting the enemy; the latter went up, and received a mortal wound, whilst Captain Hill, standing immediately beneath, was providentially preserved unhurt.

His next appointment was to a company in the fifty-third, with which regiment he was on duty in Scotland and Ireland. His conduct at Toulon recommended him to the notice and friendship of Sir Thomas Graham, (now Lord Lyndoch,) who made him an offer of purchasing a majority in the ninetieth: this proposal he immediately embraced; and he was soon afterwards promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the same regiment. He went through a great deal of arduous duty with the ninetieth at Gibraltar, and other places, and had a considerable share in the memorable Egyptian campaign. In the action of the 13th of March, 1801, Major-general Craddock's brigade formed the front, with the ninetieth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Hill, as its advanced guard. Sir Robert Wilson states the conduct of the ninetieth, on this occasion, to have been most honourable and praiseworthy, and that nothing could exceed the firmness and intrepidity with which they charged the enemy.

In this affair our hero received a wound in the right temple, from a musket-ball, the force of which was partly broken by a strong brass binding in front of his helmet; the blow, however, was so severe, that he was removed from the field in a state of insensibility. When his situation was made known to Lord Keith, he immediately sent for him on board the Foudroyant, and treated him with an attentive kindness, which, no doubt, accelerated his recovery, and enabled him to join his regiment, and continue on duty the whole of the campaign. Whilst he was on board the Foudroyant, he was frequently noticed by the Captain Pacha, who, with many good wishes for his welfare, presented him with a valuable gold box, a sword, and a rich shawl.

Shortly after the return of the troops from Egypt, the ninetieth was ordered to proceed through Scotland to Ireland; and Colonel Hill continued to perform his regimental duty, till he was appointed brigadier-general on the Irish staff. His principal stations in that country were Cork, Galway, and Fernoy; and the inhabitants of each of these places manifested their approbation of his conduct by public addresses, which they caused to be inserted in the Dublin papers. On leaving Cork, he was presented with the freedom of that city.

On the 30th of October, 1805, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and attended Lord Cathcart in his expedition to Hanover; which, however, proved unsuccessful. He then returned to Ireland, and, in the summer of 1808, he embarked with his brigade at Cove, to join the army of England destined to act in the Peninsula. In the battles of Roleia and Vimiera he was actively employed, and gained the approbation and thanks of his comrades by his own conduct and that of his brigade.

During the whole of Sir John Moore's advance and retreat, the exertions of our hero were unremitting; and he was appointed, with a corps de reserve, to guard the embarkation of the army at Corunna. His humanity and attention to the suffering troops on their landing at Plymouth, excited the admiration of the humane and

benevolent inhabitants of that place; and he was presented by the mayor and corporation with an address, expressive of their cordial approbation of his conduct; and, as a proof that his proceedings were not obliterated from their recollection, the body corporate convened a meeting in 1811, and unanimously voted him the freedom of the borough, in terms of glowing praise, as stated in the Plymouth papers. On his arrival in England, in the beginning of the year 1809, he found himself appointed colonel of the third garrison battalion; and, about the same time, he became possessed of a handsome estate (Hoodwich Grange) and property, left to him by his uncle, the late Sir Richard Hill, Bart.

The general had not been many days in the metropolis, before he received orders to hold himself in readiness for further service; and, as soon as his instructions were completed, he proceeded through England (passing five days with his friends in Shropshire) to take the command of the troops ordered from Ireland for the second expedition to the Peninsula.

In the passage of the Douro, on the 12th of May, 1809, when Lieutenant-general Sir E. Paget received a wound that unfortunately deprived him of his arm, our hero took his place as first in command, and conducted the enterprise with complete success.

At the battle of Talavera, in which Lord Hill received a slight wound on the head; his firmness in repelling the successive attacks of the French upon his position, contributed materially to the success of the day. When the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the British army for this victory, Mr. Perceval, in noticing his exertions, observed, "that the manner in which General Hill had repulsed the enemy at the point of the bayonet was fresh in every one's memory." For his services on this occasion, the colonelcy of the ninety-fourth regiment was conferred upon him without any solicitation.

The generalship of our hero, in surprising and capturing a French corps in Spanish Estremadura, is particularly entitled to the notice of our readers. The following is his own account of the affair, in a letter addressed to Lord Wellington:

"*Merida, October* 30, 1811.

"My Lord,

"In pursuance of the instructions which I received from your lordship, I put a portion of the troops under my orders in motion, on the 22d instant, from their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Portalegre, and advanced with them towards the Spanish frontier."

The general proceeds to state that, on the 23d, the head of the column reached Albuquerque; on the 24th, Aliseda; on the 25th, the Conde de Penne Villamur made a reconnoissance with his cavalry, and drove the enemy from Arroyo del Puerco; on the 26th, the troops arrived at Malpartida, which place the enemy had left for Caceres, followed by the second hussars, who skirmished with his rear-guard. On the 27th, General Hill learning on his march to Torre Mocha, that the enemy had quitted that place, and halted his main body at Arroyo del Molino, leaving a rear guard at Albala, being quite ignorant of the near approach of the allies, he made a forced march to Alcuesca, where the troops were placed, so as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. The general had previously determined to surprise or to bring him to action. The account then proceeds:

"The troops moved from their bivouac near Alcuesca, about two o'clock in the morning of the 28th, in one column right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molino.

"As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced in the direction and in the order which had been pointed out to them. The left column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, marched direct upon the town; the seventy-first, one company of the sixtieth, and the ninety-second regiment at quarter distance; and the fiftieth in close column, somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve. The right column, under Major-general Howard, having the thirty-ninth regiment as a reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and, having gained about the distance of a cannon-shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent on the mountain above mentioned. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Sir W. Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require. The advance of our columns was unperceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment he was filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of his column, some of his cavalry, and part of his baggage, being still in it; one brigade of his infantry had marched for Medillin an hour before day-light. The seventy-first and ninety-second regiments charged into the town with cheers, and drove the enemy every where at the point of the bayonet, having a few of their men cut down by the enemy's cavalry. The enemy's infantry which had got out of the town had, by the time these regiments got to the extremity of it, formed into two squares, with the cavalry on their left; the whole were posted between the Merida and Meddelin roads, fronting Alcuesca; the right square being formed within half musket-shot of the town, the garden-walls of which were promptly lined by the seventy-first light infantry, while the ninety-second regiment filed out

and formed line on their right, perpendicular to the enemy's right flank, which was much annoyed by the well-directed fire of the seventy-first. In the mean time, one wing of the fiftieth regiment occupied the town, and secured the prisoners; and the other wing, along with the three six-pounders, skirted the outside of it; the artillery, as soon as within range, firing with great effect upon the squares.

"Whilst the enemy was thus occupied on his right, Major-general Howard's column continued moving round his left; and our cavalry advancing, and crossing the head of their column, cut off the enemy's cavalry from his infantry, charged it repeatedly, and put it to the rout. The thirteenth light-dragoons, at the same time, took possession of the enemy's artillery. One of the charges made by the two squadrons of the second hussars, and one of the ninth light-dragoons, were particularly gallant; the latter commanded by Captain Gore, the whole under Major Bussche, of the hussars. I ought previously to have mentioned, that the British cavalry having, through the darkness of the night, and the badness of the road, been somewhat delayed, the Spanish cavalry, under the Count de Penne Villamur, was, on this occasion, the first to form upon the plain, and engaged the enemy until the British were enabled to come up. The enemy was now in full retreat; but Major-general Howard's column having gained the point to which it was directed, and the left column gaining fast upon him, he had no resource but to surrender, or disperse and ascend the mountain. He preferred the latter, and ascending near the eastern extremity of the ascent, and which might have been deemed inaccessible, was followed closely by the twenty-eighth and thirty-fourth regiments; whilst the thirty-ninth regiment and Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese infantry, followed rornd the foot of the mountain, by the Truxillo road, to take him again in flank. At the same time, Brigadier-general Morillo's infantry ascended to the left with the same view.

"The enemy's troops were by this time in the utmost panic; his cavalry was flying in every direction, the infantry threw away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under Major-general Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners, and leave the further pursuit to the Spanish infantry under General Morillo; who, from the direction in which they had ascended, had now become the most advanced; the force General Girard had with him at the commencement, which consisted of two thousand five hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry, being at this time totally dispersed. In the course of these operations, Brigadier-general Campbell's brigade of Portuguese infantry, (the fourth and tenth regiments,) and the eighteenth Portuguese infantry, joined from Casa de Don Antonio, where they had halted for the preceding night; and, as soon as I judged they could no longer be required at the scene of action, I detached them with the brigade, consisting of the fiftieth, seventy-first, and ninety-second regiments, and Major-general Long's brigade of cavalry, towards Merida. They reached St. Pedro that night, and entered Merida this morning; the enemy having, in the course of the night, retreated from hence in great alarm to Almendralego. The Count de Penne Villamur formed the advanced guard with his cavalry, and had entered the town previous to the arrival of the British.

"The ultimate consequences of these operations I need not point out to your lordship; their immediate result is the capture of one general of cavalry, (Brune,) one colonel of cavalry, (the Prince D'Aremberg,) one lieutenant-colonel, (chief of the état-major,) one aid-de-camp of General Girard, two lieutenant-colonels, one commissaire de guerre, thirty captains and inferior officers, and upwards of one thousand non-commissioned officers and soldiers, already sent off under an escort to Portalegre: the whole of the enemy's artillery, baggage, and commissariat, some magazines of corn, which he had collected at Caceres and Merida, and the contribution of money which he had levied on the former town, besides the total dispersion of General Girard's corps.

"The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, must have been very severe, while that on our side was comparatively trifling, as appears by the accompanying return, in which your lordship will lament to see the name of Lieutenant Strenuwitz, aid-de-camp of Lieutenant-general Sir W. Erskine, whose extreme gallantry led him into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, and occasioned his being taken prisoner.

"R. Hill.

"P. S. Since writing the above report, a good many more prisoners have been made; and I doubt not but the whole will amount to thirteen or fourteen hundred. Brigadier-general Morillo has just returned from the pursuit of the dispersed, whom he followed for eight leagues. He reports, that, besides those killed in the plain, upwards of six hundred dead were found in the woods and mountains. General Girard escaped in the direction of Serena, with two or three hundred men, mostly without arms, and is stated by his own aid-de-camp to be wounded."

In the speech of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, delivered by commission, at the opening of the British parliament in 1812, this affair is thus noticed:—"The successful and brilliant enterprise in Spanish Estremadura, of the destruction of a French corps by a detachment of the allied army under Lieutenant-general Hill, is highly creditable to that distinguished officer, and the troops under his command, and has contributed materially to obstruct the designs of the enemy in that part of the Peninsula." In addition to this gratifying declaration, his Royal Highness conferred on our hero the order of the Bath, and appointed him governor of Blackness Castle.

Our hero was now entrusted with a separate command in the Peninsula, for the purpose of observing and counteracting the operations of Marshal Soult, whilst the Duke of Wellington was pursuing his ulterior measures against the enemy. In this separate command, he displayed the greatest skill and judgement; but, as most of his proceedings have been already detailed in our account of the Duke of Wellington, it would be superfluous to notice them again. In the battle of Vittoria he bore a conspicuous part, and might be considered the right hand of the illustrious Wellington on that memorable occasion. In all the subsequent battles, which led to the final termination of hostilities, we find our hero entrusted with the most important part of the operations; and in all the public despatches the warmest encomiums are bestowed upon him by the commander-in-chief. As a reward for his eminent services, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to raise him to the British peerage, by the style and title of Baron Hill of Almarez, and of Hawkestone, in the county of Salop. Parliament also voted an annuity of two thousand pounds per annum to him and his two next surviving heirs; and, on the 11th of June, 1814, the chamberlain of the city of London delivered to him, with the usual formalities, the freedom of the city, and a valuable sword, accompanied with the following remarks:

"Lord Hill,—*I give you joy!* and, in the name of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, give you their thanks, for the skill, bravery, and exertion, which you so eminently displayed upon the 21st day of June last, when the French army was completely defeated near Vittoria, by the allied forces under the command of the Duke of Wellington. It is with peculiar satisfaction that I carry into effect their unanimous resolution, by admitting you into the freedom of the metropolis of the British empire; and I have likewise the honour to present to your lordship this sword.

"My Lord! The great events upon the peninsula of Europe, in which your lordship makes so conspicuous and brilliant a figure, are so deeply rooted in our memories, as to render an enumeration of them unnecessary; and I will not offend your lordship's delicacy by dwelling upon a subject which has attracted the notice and admiration of the world: But I am irresistibly impelled to say, that the action at *Almarez* would alone have transmitted the name of *Hill* to the latest posterity.

"To a citizen of London, it must be matter of pride and exultation, to examine the state of the British peerage: he will there find that many of those noble characters, who now adorn the upper house of Parliament, have numbered among their ancestors some who have done honour to the civic chair of this great metropolis. And I am happy in this opportunity of declaring, in the presence of the noble lord whom I have had the honour to address, that the chair, which is now so ably filled by the present excellent chief magistrate, was, nearly three centuries ago, graced by an ancestor of the noble lord, Sir Rowland Hill, who was the first *Protestant* lord-mayor of this city; a man who was not only eminently useful as a citizen of London, but who has left lasting monuments of his piety and munificence, by his extensive and liberal endowments in his native county."

Lord Hill made a short but handsome reply; declaring it to be the proudest day of his life, when he received this honourable distinction from the citizens of this great metropolis; and declaring his readiness to employ the sword thus bestowed on him by their liberality, whenever he should receive his sovereign's commands to resume his military duties, for the defence and honour of his country.

In the glorious battle of Waterloo, the subject of this memoir bore a distinguished part; and, in noticing his services on that occasion, the Duke of Wellington says—"I am particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance upon this as upon all former occasions."

The following particulars relative to the column erecting by the county of Salop, in honour of Lord Hill, are extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine:

"The dimensions are as follow:

	Feet	In.
Height of the pedestal	13	6
Of the shaft and capital	90	0
Of the pedestal to the statue	11	6
Of the statue	16	0
Whole height	131	0
The diameter of the column at the plinth	15	0
Diameter at the capital	11	6

"To judge of the magnitude of this memorial, the best mode will be to compare it with some of the most remarkable structures of a similar kind.

"The Monument in London is fifteen feet in diameter, Lord Nelson's column at Dublin thirteen feet, and the height of the shaft and capital about seventy-seven feet. The column erected by Buonaparte at Paris is fourteen feet in diameter, and one hundred and twenty in height; so that Lord Hill's column will be equal in diameter to the Monument, two feet more than Lord Nelson's, and, exclusive of the pedestal, thirteen feet higher; and exceed the diameter of the Paris column one foot; and will, it is presumed, be the largest doric column ever erected. The site is an elevated spot at the entrance of Shrewsbury from the London and Bath roads. The estimated expense, five thousand five hundred pounds.

"The original design is by Mr. Haycock, junior, an ingenious young architect of Shrewsbury, corrected by Mr. Harrison of Chester."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

THIS accomplished nobleman, who, in consequence of his meritorious conduct at the battle of Waterloo, was elevated to the rank of a Marquis, having before succeeded to the earldom of Uxbridge by the death of his father, was born the 17th of May, 1768, and received the first rudiments of his education at Westminster; whence he was subsequently removed to Christ Church, Oxford.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1793, he appeared anxious to embrace the military profession, and raised a fine body of young men, called the Staffordshire volunteers, principally on his father's estates. On six hundred men being raised, our hero, then Lord Paget, was presented with a lieutenant-colonelcy in the army; and, on four hundred more being added, he was offered a colonelcy, which, however, he refused on the ground of his not having then seen any foreign service. At this time, the admirable regulations which have been since adopted by the commander-in-chief, were not in force; and Lord Paget's nomination to the permanent rank of field-officer did not militate against any existing rule of promotion.

Three months after the letter of service, our hero embarked, with his regiment, for Guernsey; and from thence, in 1794, he joined his Royal Highness the Duke of York in Flanders. In the retreat of that expedition, his lordship, being senior field-officer, was entrusted with the command of Lord Cathcart's brigade; the latter officer having a separate corps, which necessarily occupied his attention.

On his removal to the seventh regiment of light dragoons, he accompanied the Duke of York on the expedition to Holland; and, in the general attack made on the 2d of October, 1799, his lordship was attached to the division under the command of the Russian General de Hermann, and posted on the sand-hills, where he had an opportunity of contributing materially to the brilliant victory which was gained by the British troops, under the most discouraging circumstances. Late in the evening of that day, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the British horse-artillery, were charged by the cavalry under our hero, and driven, with considerable loss, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee. In the retreat of that army, Lord Paget with his cavalry protected the rear; and some skirmishing having taken place, by which several pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy, his lordship, with one squadron, made a gallant attack upon the very superior force of General Simon, totally repulsed them, and not only recovered the British cannon, but actually took several pieces belonging to the enemy.

Upon the return of the army from Holland, our hero devoted himself with the greatest assiduity to the discharge of his regimental duties; and, by his unremitting attention, the seventh light dragoons has become one of the first regiments of cavalry in the service.

His lordship, with two brigades of cavalry, consisting of the seventh, tenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth regiments of hussars, followed the division sent under the command of Sir David Baird to co-operate with Sir John Moore in the Peninsula. Lord Paget disembarked his forces at Corunna, amidst innumerable difficulties occasioned by the want of forage, the apathy of the in-

habitants, and the tardy supplies they afforded, and proceeded in the route Sir David Baird's division was directed to take.

On the 10th of December, he arrived at Zamora; and, after a wearisome march, his troops being exposed to numerous privations and distresses, but which were very considerably alleviated by his lordship's attention to their comfort, and by his anxiety in procuring forage and accommodation for their horses, our hero was enabled to bring into the field a well-equipped body of cavalry; and, on the 24th of November, his division effected a junction with Sir John Moore. At this period the critical state of affairs, occasioned principally by the lukewarm conduct of the Spaniards, and the ridiculous confidence that many of them entertained of their own exertions to resist any attacks of the French, had determined the British commander to fall back upon Portugal. Circumstances, however, caused this movement to be suspended; and a junction was resolved upon with the division under Sir David Baird, which was effected on the 20th of December.

Lord Paget was now stationed with his division of cavalry about twelve miles from Sahagun, at which place a body of French cavalry, amounting to seven hundred, had been posted; which his lordship proposed, by a rapid movement, to cut off from the main body of the enemy's army. Accordingly, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, Major-general Slade was despatched by a different route than that his lordship proposed taking, with the tenth light dragoons, whilst Lord Paget, with the fifteenth light dragoons, moved with great celerity in a different direction, reached Sahagun, and surprised a picquet of the enemy. Some of the men unfortunately escaped, and gave the alarm, which afforded the French an opportunity of forming on the outskirts of the town. The strength of their position was particularly favourable, from a hollow, which opposed any regular charge of the British cavalry; and it was therefore necessary to manœuvre in such a manner as to gain the advantage of ground for the intended operations. Here the abilities of our hero were exercised with effect; and, having succeeded in improving his position, a charge was made upon the enemy drawn up in line. The French were unable to resist the impetuosity with which the British cavalry rushed on to the attack; their line was immediately broken, and their whole force dispersed with considerable slaughter. Two lieutenant-colonels, and upwards of one hundred and ninety other prisoners, were the fruits of this well-planned operation. The loss of the British did not exceed eight men killed, and twenty wounded.

In the disastrous retreat of Sir John Moore, Lord Paget brought up the rear with his cavalry; and his lordship's ardour repeatedly exposed him to imminent danger. Skirmishes took place every day; and it has been justly observed, that the masterly dispositions of his lordship, and the alacrity he at all times evinced, enabled the British troops to reach Corunna with a much less loss than could have been expected, when all circumstances were taken into consideration. At Majorga, a well-concerted attack was executed on a considerable force of the enemy, by the tenth hussars, under Colonel Leigh, in which the British were successful, and one hundred of the French were taken prisoners. At Benevente, on the 29th of December, our hero's division was attacked by the chasseurs of Buonaparte's imperial guard. The picquets which were along the Esla river having been driven in, his lordship reinforced them with the in-lying picquets, amounting to two hundred and fifty men: these, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonels Otway of the eighteenth, and Quintin of the tenth hussars, with a part of the German hussars, gallantly kept in check six squadrons of the imperial guard. Lord Paget, having arrived on the spot, found them engaged in a severe skirmish: he immediately sent for the tenth hussars, and directed Major-general the Honourable Charles Stewart, to attack with the picquets the instant he had formed the tenth hussars in a second line. This attack was so bravely conducted, that the imperial guards were overthrown, with the loss of General Lefebvre, several officers, and about one hundred and thirty privates, who were made prisoners, and many killed, wounded, and drowned. By this fresh proof of British valour, the ardour of the French was manifestly damped; for they continued their pursuit at such a respectful distance, that the rear of the army which had been engaged with them reached Baneza that night unmolested.

The disastrous retreat, in which our hero had the charge of bringing up and protecting the rear, is so memorable, that the following particulars respecting it, for which we are indebted to a contemporary historian, will, no doubt, be interesting to the reader:

"It had been necessary to assure the troops at Benevente, that they were not falling back upon Corunna, but that their march was only to secure a more favourable position. It was hardly possible, however, to make them believe this: and when Sir John Moore reached Astorga, and issued his orders, it was too manifest that they were not merely retreating, but even flying before the enemy. Ammunition-waggons were burnt, and an entire depôt of entrenching tools abandoned; so that the army was deprived of a most important mean of impeding the enemy's progress. A position at Villa Franca, which the commander-in-chief had mentioned in his despatches, was no longer thought of. Two

brigades, under General Crawford, were detached by way of Orense to Vigo, to which place Sir John Moore had ordered empty transports to be sent, supposing it to be the best point of embarkation. General Frazer and his divisions were immediately sent forward, with orders to proceed to Lugo: he was followed by General Hope and Sir David Baird; and their instructions were, to proceed by forced marches to the coast.

"Sir John Moore does not seem to have been well informed of the nature of the country through which he had to retreat. Westward of Astorga, two great ranges of mountains extend from north to south: Puerto del Rabanal, Crus de Ferro, and Fonchebadon, are those of the eastern branch: those of the western are the Puerto del Cebrero, Puerto del Coural, and Puerto del Aguiar; they met on the south, with the Sierra de Sanabria, the Sierra de Cabrera, and the Montes Aguisnas. The track which these mountains enclose is called the Bierzo; from summit to summit it is about sixteen leagues from north to south, and about fourteen from east to west. The whole waters of this amphitheatre have but one opening: they are collected into the river Sil, and pass, through a narrow gorge, into the Val de Oras, in Gallicia. The centre is a plain of about four square leagues. There is scarcely in Europe a more lovely tract of country, certainly no where a more defensible one. There is no other pass for an army than the main road which traverses it; and this leads along such defiles, that one thousand men might stop the march of twenty thousand. Sir David Baird's army had travelled this road: they supposed that it could not certainly be intended to fall back beyond Villa Franca. But the commander of the forces saw no security till he should reach the coast: there he hoped to find transports ready, or, if not, to take up some defensible position till they arrived. The same difficulties which affected him must affect his pursuers. It was not probable, that all the numbers which were now marching against him, would follow him the whole way; and, once on the coast, it was his determination not to be molested by any thing like an equal force: 'It is only while retreating,' said he, 'that we are vulnerable.' His sole object now was to save the army: to effect this he had already destroyed great part of the ammunition and military stores, and had now left behind many of the sick.

"The summits of the mountains were covered with heavy clouds, and the roads were knee-deep in snow. Provisions, in a country where the natives are not rich enough at any time to lay by a store, can never be abundant; and what there was, had already been exhausted, by the repeated march of English and Spanish troops. The little order with which such food as could be found was issued out, occasioned such waste as greatly increased the evil. The men, half-famished, half-frozen, and in a state of desperation, were no longer under discipline;—they forced their way into the houses where their rations should have been served, seized it by force, frequently spilling the wine, and destroying more than they could carry away. This was not all: pillage could not be prevented; and it was scarcely possible to prevent them from committing the worst excesses that could have been perpetrated by an enemy.

"The Corsican did not pursue in person any farther than Astorga; but charged Marshal Soult with what he insolently called 'the glorious mission of destroying the English army—of pursuing them to their point of embarkation—and driving them into the sea.' Soult's was an easy task: he had only to pursue the English just close enough to keep them at the pace at which they set out, and not come near enough to make them turn and stand at bay: fatigue would do his work more surely than the sword. From Astorga to Villa Franca del Bierzo is fifteen leagues, about sixty English miles: the road, for the first four leagues, is up the mountain, but through an open country. Having reached the summit of Fonchebadon, you enter into some of the strongest passes in Europe: it would scarcely be possible for an invading army to force their way here against a body of determined men. These passes continue between two and three leagues, nearly to the village of Torre; from thence through Benvibre and Ponferada, nothing can be finer than the country and the circle of mountains which binds it in: but never, in the most melancholy ages of Spanish history, had a more miserable scene been represented than was now to be witnessed here. The cavalry of the retreating army began to fail, and this, in a great measure, for want of shoes: there was no want of iron to hammer new ones; there are iron-works near Villa Franca, and enough might have been procured had there been time. As soon as these animals foundered, they were shot, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. A great loss of cavalry was occasioned, in the first instance, by the imprudent mode of debarking them at Corunna. The horses, hot as they were, when just out of the hold, were dropt into the sea to swim on shore, for want of proper arrangements for landing them; many never recovered the shock, but fell lame, and were shot by the way, instead of being given to the Spaniards.

"The rain fell in torrents; the baggage was to be dragged, and the men were to wade through half-melted snows; the feet of the men, as well as of the beasts, began to fail; more waggons were left behind;

more ammunition destroyed along the way; and when the troops arrived at Villa Franca, on the 2d of January, they were in such a state, that several experienced officers predicted, if this march were persevered in, a fourth of the army would be left in the ditches before it could be accomplished. More magazines and carriages were now destroyed. Some of the men, abandoning themselves here, as knowing that, if they proceeded, they must die of cold, hunger, and weariness, got into the wine-cellars, and, abandoning themselves to desperate excess, were found dead when the French entered the town. When the general marched with the reserve from Benvibre, he left a detachment to cover the town, while parties were sent to warn the stragglers of their danger, and drive them out of the houses—for the place was filled with them; near a thousand men of the preceding divisions having remained there, abandoned to despair, and most of them intoxicated. A few were persuaded to move on; but the greater numbers were deaf to threats, and insensible of danger, till the rear-guard was compelled to march. A small detachment of cavalry still covered them, and did not quit the town till the enemy approached, and then the road was completely thronged with stragglers—Spanish and British, armed and unarmed—mules, carts, women, and children. Four or five squadrons of French cavalry compelled the detachment in the rear to retire, and pursued them closely for several miles, till Lord Paget, with the reserve, repulsed them. As the French dragoons galloped through the long line of these wretched stragglers, they cut them with their swords on the right and left; the men being so inebriated, that they neither attempted to resist nor get out of the road. Some of these men having found their way to the army, mangled as they were, were exhibited in the ranks, to convince their comrades of the consequences of drunkenness at such a time.

"The Spaniards at Villa Franca would not believe that the French were advancing through such a country and at such a season; they thought it was impossible. Sir John Moore, however, well knew that he was pursued; and he did not think proper to halt there, lest the enemy should get in his rear, and intercept him at Lugo. The troops, therefore, were hurried on: already so many of them had been crippled upon this dreadful march, that, by the French account, two thousand prisoners were picked up between Astorga and this town: that account is, no doubt, exaggerated, but the loss had certainly been very great. Some of those who were reserved for farther sufferings proceeded on the 2d: the artillery and head-quarters went foremost Genera Baird's column, and the cavalry under Lord Paget, were left to cover the rear. The advanced guard of the enemy, under General Colbert, were close at their heels; Merle's division joined them on the 3d; and, in the afternoon of that day, they ventured to attack the rear-guard at Carcabalos.

"According to the French bulletins, we had five thousand infantry and six hundred horse posted very advantageously upon the heights. General Merle made his dispositions; his infantry advanced, beat the charge, and the British were completely routed. It is added, that the difficulty of the ground did not permit the cavalry to charge, and only two hundred prisoners were taken. The fact, however, is, that cavalry can act there, and that the dragoons and riflemen repulsed the enemy. General Colbert received a ball in his forehead, and died within a quarter of an hour. Having thus once more shewn the enemy what they could do in battle, the rear of the army reluctantly and almost broken-hearted, resumed their retreat.

"From Villa Franca to Castro is one continued ascent up Monte del Cebrero, through one of the wildest and most defensible countries in Europe: the distance is fifteen miles, and the road a royal one, cut with great labour and expense, in the side of the mountain, and following all its windings; for some part of the way it overhangs the river Valvarco, a rapid mountain-stream, which falls into the Burbia near the town, and afterwards joins the Sil, to pass through the single outlet in the gorge of the Bierzo. Oaks, alders, poplars, hazels, and chesnuts, grow in the bottom, and far up the side of the hills; the apple, pear, cherry, and mulberry, are wild in this country; the wild-olive also is found here; and here are the first vineyards which the traveller meets on his way from Corunna to the interior of Spain. The mountains are cultivated in some parts even to their summits, and trenches are cut along the sides to collect and preserve the rain, for the purpose of irrigating them; the mountain-rills are diverted also to the same use. At the time of this disastrous retreat, however, the mountains were completely covered with snow; there was neither provision to sustain nature, nor shelter from the weather, nor fuel to keep the vital heat from total extinction, nor place where the weary and exhausted could rest for a single hour in safety. All that had hitherto been suffered was but the prelude to this consummate scene of horror. It was still attempted to carry on some of the sick and wounded: but the beasts which drew them failed at every step, and they were left in the waggons to perish amid the snows. 'I looked round,' says an officer, 'when we had hardly gained the highest point of those slippery precipices, and saw the rear of the army winding along the narrow road; I saw their way marked by the

wretched people who lay on all sides expiring from fatigue and the severity of the cold: their bodies reddened in spots the white surface of the ground.'

"The soldiers were now desperate: excessive fatigue and the feeling of the disgrace there was in thus retreating, or, as they considered it, running away from the enemy, excited in them a spirit which was almost mutinous: a few hours' pause was what they unanimously wished for; an opportunity of facing the French—the chance of an honourable and speedy death. A Portuguese bullock-driver, who had faithfully served the English from the first day of their march, was seen on his knees amid the snow, with his hands clasped, dying in the act of prayer: he had at least the consolations of his religion in this trying hour. But the soldiers, who threw themselves down to perish by the way-side, gave utterance to very different feelings with their dying breath: their last sentiments were those of shame and indignation, and their groans mingled with imprecations upon the Spaniards, by whom they considered themselves betrayed, and upon the general, who let them die like beasts, instead of permitting them to take their chance in the field of battle.

"That no horror might be wanting, women and children accompanied this wretched army. Some were frozen to death in the baggage-waggons, which were broken down, or left upon the road for want of cattle; some died of fatigue and cold, while their infants were pulling at the empty breast. One woman was taken in labour upon the mountain; she lay down at the turning of an angle, rather more sheltered than the rest of the way from the icy sleet which drifted along; there she was found dead, and two babes which she had brought forth struggling in the snow. A blanket was thrown over her to hide her from sight—the only burial that could be afforded; and the infants were given in charge to a woman who came up in one of the bullock-carts, little likely, as it was, that they could survive through such a journey.

"It had once been intended to plant some guns on the heights which commanded the passes along the road, and mules had actually been purchased at Lugo for the purpose of carrying light artillery there. Why this measure was abandoned, when it would have been so advantageous, has not been explained; for it is certain, that a few sharp-shooters, and some field-pieces, thus posted, might have checked very superior numbers. It is scarcely possible to imagine a stronger country; and if any attempt had been made to defend it, the peasantry, who were now flying from both armies, would probably have rallied round their allies.

"While the reserve were on this part of the road, they met between thirty and forty waggons filled with arms, ammunition, shoes, and clothing, from England, for Romana's army: that army had been left destitute of every thing, and these supplies were now travelling on to meet the French. This, however, is rather a proof of gross neglect than of treason: for the rapid retreat of the British could not have been foreseen; and had they attempted to defend Gallicia, these stores would have reached their destination. There was no means of carrying them back; such things as could be made use of were distributed to the soldiers as they passed, and the rest were destroyed. Indeed, the baggage that was with the army could not be carried on; nearly a hundred waggons, laden with shoes and clothes, were abandoned upon this account. Even the dollars could no longer be dragged along: had the resolution of sacrificing them been adopted sooner, they might have been distributed among the men: in this manner great part might have been saved from the enemy, and they who escaped would have had some little compensation for the hardships which they had undergone: they were now cast over the side of a precipice, in hopes that the snow might conceal them from the French. Many men are supposed to have been lost, in consequence of having dropped behind, in hopes of recovering some of this money. Dreadful as this march was to those who could behold the wreck of the army strewing its line of road, it was perhaps still more so to those who traversed it in a dark and stormy night, wading through mud and snow, stumbling over the bodies of beasts and men, and hearing, whenever the wind abated, the groans of their dying comrades.

"From the summit of this mountain to Lugo is nearly twelve leagues. There are several bridges upon the way over glens, which might have impeded the pursuit, had they been destroyed. One, in particular, between Lugares and Mutillas, is the most remarkable work of art between Corunna and Madrid. This bridge, which is called Puente del Corzul, crosses a deep ravine, and, from its exceeding height, the narrowness of its tall arcades, and its straight form, might, at a little distance, be mistaken for an aqueduct. Several of those officers who knew the road, relied much upon the strength of this ravine, and the impossibility that the French could bring their guns over, if the bridge were destroyed. Its destruction was, therefore, attempted; but whether the pioneers, in their terror, performed their office too hastily, or because the materials had been abandoned on the way, the attempt was unsuccessful.

"The different divisions had been ordered to halt and collect at Lugo. Sir John Moore was now sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo; the distance was double that to Corunna, and the road was said to be

impracticable for artillery, and offered no advantages for embarking in the face of an enemy. The brigades of Generals Crawford and Alten, however, had marched in that direction; and General Frazer, with his division, was ordered to take this route, and join them. A despatch was now sent to stop him: but the dragoon who was entrusted with it got intoxicated on the way, and lost the letter; and these troops, in consequence, had proceeded a full day's journey on their way towards Vigo before the counter-order reached them, and they were marched back. Thus, instead of having two days' rest at Lugo, as had been designed, they returned to that place excessively harassed, and lost many men from fatigue. When the horses entered Lugo, many of them fell dead in the streets, and others were obliged to be shot: above four hundred carcases were lying in the streets and market-places: there were none of the army who had strength to bury them; and the towns-people were under too painful a suspense to think of performing a work which it seemed hopeless to begin while fresh slaughter was every moment expected; there, therefore, the bodies lay, swelling with the rain, putrifying, and affecting the atmosphere. Here the retreating army might have rested, had the destruction of the bridges been effected: but this had been so imperfectly executed, that the French came in sight on the 5th of January, and, collecting in considerable strength, took up a position opposite the British rear-guard, a valley dividing them.

"On the following day, they attacked the out-posts, opening upon them with two Spanish pieces of ordnance, which they had taken on their march. The assault was made with great spirit: but it was received with a steadiness which was truly astonishing; for, at the sight of the enemy, and the sound of battle, the hearts of the British suddenly revived, and they derived from their characteristic and invincible courage, a strength which soon made them victorious. On the 7th, another attack was made, and, in like manner, repelled. The prisoners reported that Marshal Soult was come up with three divisions. Sir John Moore, therefore, expecting a more formidable attack, recalled General Frazer's division from the road to Vigo, and drew up his whole force on the morning of the 8th. He was now desirous of bringing the enemy to action; as he had perfect confidence in the valour of his troops, and was aware that, unless he crippled his pursuers, there was no hope of retreating or embarking unmolested. Discipline was immediately restored by this resolution to fight, and the men seemed at once to have recovered from all their sufferings. The French were not equally eager for battle: the trial which they had made of their enemies on the two preceding days had by no means encouraged them; and Soult was waiting for reinforcements. The country was intersected, and his position was thought too strong to be attacked by an inferior force: but, in reality, the French, at this time, were less numerous than the English. Another reason assigned for not attacking the enemy was, that the commissariat had only provisions for two days; delay, therefore, was judged as disadvantageous as retreat. It has, however, since been known, that the French expected to be attacked; that they had no confidence in the strength of their position; and that their ablest officers apprehended that their advanced guard would have been cut off. They frequently spoke of this to those English who were left in their power at Lugo, and exulted that Sir John Moore had contented himself with offering battle, instead of forcing them to an engagement. After waiting till the afternoon, during a stormy and tempestuous day, Sir John Moore ordered large fires to be lighted along the line, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, and continued his retreat during the night.

"Among the various anecdotes which have been related of this memorable retreat, the following is particularly deserving of notice:—An officer, who found himself unable to proceed further without rest, turned aside to some trees at a little distance from the road, thinking that, under their shelter, he might possibly escape the French: he found a woman there, lying on the ground, with an infant beside her: she was at the point of death, having only strength enough to say, when he attempted to assist her, 'God bless you! It is all over!' He took the infant, fastened it in his mother's handkerchief to his back, and in that manner, as soon as he had recovered strength to move on, proceeded towards Vigo, obtaining food and shelter as he could upon the way, for himself and his little charge. Fortunately he reached Vigo in safety, and found a transport in the bay, on board of which he effected his escape. The child, whom he thus preserved, continues with him; and he has declared, that, be his fortunes what they may, they shall be shared by this boy, who seems to have been bequeathed by Providence to his protection.

"Before the reserve quitted Lugo, the general once more endeavoured to repress the irregularity of the march. He warned the soldiers that their safety depended entirely on their keeping their divisions, and marching with their regiments; and that those who stopped in villages, or straggled on the way, would inevitably be cut off by the French cavalry, who had hitherto shewn little mercy even to the feeble and infirm who had fallen into their hands. He reminded them that the army had still eleven leagues to march,

and observed that the soldiers must make an exertion to accomplish them. 'The rear-guard,' said he, '*cannot* stop; and those who fall behind must take their fate.' These representations, however, proved ineffectual: in fact, it was impossible to obey them; many of the men were exhausted and foot-sore, and could not keep their ranks; others, who had totally broken all discipline as soon as the route began, left them, in order to obtain liquor.

"The partial actions at Lugo, and the risk to which he had been exposed of a general one, checked Soult in his pursuit; and he was too sensible of the danger he had escaped, to trust himself again so near the British without a superior force. The British army, therefore, gained twelve hours upon him, and, on the 11th of January, reached Corunna, with little further molestation. Here, if the British had been numerous enough to have occupied a range of hills four miles from the town, they could have defended themselves against very superior numbers: but these heights required a larger force than the English army, of which not less than a fourth part had foundered in the way. Both flanks would have been liable to have been turned: it was therefore necessary to relinquish them to the enemy, and to be content with occupying a second and lower range."

On this position, arrangements were made for that memorable battle which covered the British army with laurels, and enabled them to embark with perfect safety, though their gallant leader fell in the contest.

From this time, our hero does not appear to have engaged the public attention, until the brilliant battle of Waterloo, in which he bore a conspicuous part, having the command of the cavalry on that memorable occasion. After distinguishing himself by repeated feats of valour, at the close of the day he received a wound, by almost the last shot fired; and, had it not been for this circumstance, it has been confidently affirmed, that Buonaparte would have been his prisoner. The amputation of his leg, in consequence of this wound, obliged him to return as soon as possible to England; and the Prince Regent, in consideration of his eminent services, thought proper to confer on him the dignity of a marquis, by the style and title of Marquis of Anglesea.

On his way to his family-seat, the marquis was received with triumphal honours at the city of Litchfield. The corporation addressed him in suitable terms of eulogy; and the recorder, with appropriate congratulations, presented a sword voted to him. His lordship made a grateful and modest reply, of which the following is the most interesting passage:—

"In respect to that great, illustrious, and beloved commander, under whom I have the honour to serve, I am quite unable to speak of him in any thing like due terms of praise. If I were to attempt it, I feel conscious that I should be obliged to abandon such an intention. In that arduous contest which has led to such important results, our troops, under any other commander, must, I conceive, have failed. With any other troops under that great chieftain, the struggle must have been unsuccessful. It required, and tried equally, the skill and the valour of our resources. For myself, gentlemen, I had little more than a plain duty to fulfil. With such zeal in my officers, and devotion in my soldiers, I had only to lead them into combat. Gentlemen, I shall ever regard this token of your esteem and approbation with the proudest feelings of grateful remembrance; and shall gird this sword on my side with just emotions of pride. Though, in future, I cannot look forward to the hope of that activity and vigour which I have formerly enjoyed, but must, in a degree, calculate on an impaired state of bodily health, and an occasional languor and feebleness of mind consequent upon such indisposition; yet, when I feel this sword by my side, I shall derive new strength and vigour from the recollections it will excite.

"Gentlemen, I can add no more than that I shall ever remember, with the liveliest emotions of pleasure, the honour which your kindness has conferred upon me."

On the 18th of June, 1816, the anniversary of the victory of Waterloo, the first stone of a column to the memory of our hero was laid, with great ceremony, on the summit of an eminence called Craigy Dinas, on the banks of the river Menai, and commanding an extensive and picturesque prospect. Immense crowds from the circumjacent country assembled on this gratifying occasion; and the strongest marks of respect to the gallant general were universally exhibited.

The inscription on the stone is as follows:—"This stone was laid on the 18th of June, 1816, being the first of a column to be erected in commemoration of the consummate skill and undaunted bravery displayed in the sanguinary field of Waterloo, by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Uxbridge, who commanded the cavalry on that memorable day. His distinguished services were rewarded by his prince with the title of Marquis of Anglesea, and his grateful countrymen are anxious to perpetuate them, by this tribute of their admiration."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR THOMAS PICTON, G. C. B.

THIS gallant officer entered the army, in the year 1771, as an ensign in the twelfth regiment of foot. From the year 1773 to 1778, he served in Gibraltar under Generals Sir Robert Boyd and Lord Heathfield. He got his company in the seventy-fifth regiment, and remained a captain for the long period of sixteen years. In 1783 he commanded the seventy-fifth regiment, then quartered at Bristol; and, by his intrepid conduct and resolution, quelled a mutiny which broke out in that regiment, and which, from the complexion it had assumed, threatened the most serious consequences. For this example of a true military spirit, he received his sovereign's approbation, through the then commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Conway.

From the reduction of his regiment in 1783, he remained on half-pay until 1794, and resided chiefly in Pembrokeshire, where his ancestors, an ancient and highly respectable family, had long lived in the esteem and affections of a numerous circle of friends.

In 1794, our hero embarked for the West-Indies, trusting to his fortune and his conduct for that promotion, to which a period of sixteen years, with the rank of only captain, certainly entitled him. Here he was soon distinguished by his mental endowments: and Sir John Vaughan, who then commanded in chief in the West-Indies, gave him a majority in the 68th regiment. He also made him his aid-de-camp; and having now a better opportunity of remarking his activity of mind, and talents for public business, he appointed him deputy quarter-master-general, by which situation he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and in which department he acquitted himself with the greatest credit.

On the appointment of General Knox to the head of the quarter-master-general department, the subject of this biographical sketch intended to return to Europe, but was requested by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who arrived in the West-Indies in the year 1796, to remain; hoping, as that distinguished officer himself expressed, that he might have an opportunity of returning in a way more agreeable to him, if he would remain the campaign. This invitation was too flattering to be rejected, and he embarked with him on the expedition against St. Lucia, where the general signified in public orders, "that all orders coming through Lieutenant-colonel Picton should be considered as the orders of the commander-in-chief." On the capture of this island, the general, without any solicitation, recommended him for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the sixty-eighth regiment. From St. Lucia, Colonel Picton sailed with Sir Ralph on the expedition to St. Vincent's, which was taken by storm; and, upon the conclusion of this short but brilliant campaign, he went to Martinique, and thence to England.

Colonel Picton again sailed with Sir Ralph Abercrombie for the West-Indies, and arrived at Martinique in the month of January, 1797. The expedition against Trinidad being at this time resolved on, the armament sailed for that island in the ensuing month; and, the conquest of the colony being completed, Colonel Picton was, without any recommendation, appointed governor. When he waited on Sir Ralph to return his acknowledgments, that gallant officer replied, "Colonel Picton, if I knew any officer, who, in my opinion, could discharge the duties annexed to this situation better than you, to him I would have given it: therefore, no thanks are due to me for it."

From this time till the year 1802, when the government of Trinidad was put in commission, Colonel Picton discharged the duties of governor and captain-general, to the entire satisfaction of his majesty's ministers, and received the thanks of the different commanders-in-chief on the station.

The subsequent transactions, in consequence of the appointment of the commission, are sufficiently known; the characters of our hero's accusers have also been recorded; and we cannot better express our feelings, than by adopting the following remarks of the Anti-Jacobin Review, illustrative of the conduct of this brave officer. "In the important operations of the siege of Badajoz, and its subsequent capture by storm, the whole of the officers and men employed conducted themselves with such consummate skill and bravery, that it would be highly presumptuous in a public writer

SIR THOMAS PICTON.

London Published by Thomas Tegg, [illegible]

to raise any distinction between them. But our readers will readily pardon us for indulging a feeling of self-gratulation, in contemplating the conduct of an officer, whom we, from a pure regard for justice and for truth, contributed to rescue from the impetuous current of public prejudice which was let loose against him, and from the destructive effects of popular clamour, to which he had been most unjustly consigned. We opposed, to the polluted but furious torrent, a firm rampart of truth: we met the senseless, but outrageous clamour, with the commanding voice of justice. The law, at length, in tardy reparation of his injuries, proclaimed the innocence, and vindicated the honour, which, from the beginning of the contest, we had plainly described, and boldly defended. We had descried, even in the representation of his enemies, and in the conduct which formed the ground of their charges against him, indisputable proofs of that manly, honourable, and resolute spirit, which has since been unequivocally displayed in the field of glory, to his own honour, and to the advantage of his country."

The following facts relative to the prosecution instituted against him by the malignancy of his enemies are not generally known. The tardy process of the law was well calculated to exhaust the resources of an officer who was known not to possess any income beyond his pay. This consideration operated so forcibly on the mind of the late Duke of Queensbury, (who, notwithstanding his frailties, had many virtues,) that he requested General Este, whom he knew to be the friend of General Picton, to make him an offer of ten thousand pounds, in any way least offensive to the feelings of General Picton, to defray the expenses of the long-protracted suit. The offer was gratefully acknowledged, but politely rejected, on the reason assigned, that the liberality of an opulent uncle had prevented the general from feeling any effects from the frequent calls which the law had made upon his purse.

Of the disinterestedness of this gallant officer, some idea may be formed from the following facts:—The inhabitants of Trinidad voted the sum of five thousand pounds to Lieutenant-colonel Picton, after he had resigned their government, as a small testimony of their gratitude for his conduct whilst governor of that settlement. Our hero, more inclined to confer favours than to receive them, was extremely unwilling to accept of this present; and only did so under the conviction that it was an honourable testimony to that character which had been so wantonly assailed: but, on the capital of Trinidad being destroyed by fire, and a subscription set on foot for the relief of the sufferers, he nobly came forward and devoted the whole of that sum to so benevolent a purpose.

On the 1st of January, 1803, our hero received the rank of colonel; and, on the 25th of April, 1808, that of major-general.

In 1809, Major-general Picton commanded a brigade employed at the siege of Flushing, of which fortress he was subsequently appointed governor; and in this situation his humane exertions contributed to the relief of the sick soldiers, and considerably alleviated the miseries of the inhabitants. From that scene of sickness and calamity he returned home to England, labouring under an attack of fever and ague; and his health was scarcely re-established before he was placed on the staff of the army in the Peninsula. He was soon appointed by Lord Wellington to the command of the third division, which was always selected upon any occasion of actual service; "not, (as a distinguished officer has well observed,) because the troops of the third division were better, but because the general was so good."

On the 14th of October, 1811, the colonelcy of the twelfth regiment became vacant by the death of the late General Picton; in consequence of which the Duke of York recommended our hero to the Regent's attention, and he was gazetted colonel of the seventy-seventh regiment of foot, *vice* Sir C. Hastings, appointed to the twelfth regiment. The death of his uncle put Major-general Picton in possession of a considerable sum of money, with which he purchased an estate in his native country, Wales. The produce of this estate, as well as the profits arising from one which he had bought in Trinidad, he distributed among his family, reserving only his military pay for his own support.

Our hero continued to serve in the Peninsula during the greater part of the war: and, from the circumstance of his being present in every action that took place with the army under the commander-in-chief, excepting the battle of Salamanca, he obtained the appellation of *the right hand of Wellington*. To his presence of mind, in converting a feint into a real attack, the capture of Badajoz is justly attributed, as, by this able manœuvre, the British obtained possession of a castle which commanded the tower.

On the 4th of June, 1813, he received the rank of lieutenant-general; and, in the same year, his services were rewarded with the order of the Bath.

When, in consequence of the second usurpation of Buonaparte, an English army was sent into the Netherlands, government offered him the command of a division; but, apprehending the Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, would leave the British force to some officer in whom he could not repose the same confidence, he declined the offer, adding, however, if the duke should personally require his services, he would

instantly repair to the army. This requisition was made; and the general left town on June the 11th, and, on the 18th, terminated his honourable career in the field of glory! He had made his will before his departure: he did not expect to return, but observed to a friend, that when he heard of his death, he would hear of a bloody day. Alas! his prediction was too literally verified! He received his death-wound in the daring enterprise of leading a charge of infantry against a solid square of French cavalry; an enterprise scarcely before attempted, except by Picton himself, who had more than once successfully executed it in Spain.

His remains were landed at Deal, June the 25th. Minute-guns were fired from all the ships in the Downs while the body was conveyed to the beach, where all the naval and military forces were drawn up to receive it. The body reached Canterbury the same evening, and was deposited in the custody of a guard of honour, in the same room at the Fountain Inn, where, on that day fortnight, the general had dined, on his way to embark. At six, on the 26th, the body proceeded, accompanied to the extremity of the city by the fifty-second regiment, with reversed arms, the band playing the Dead March in Saul.

On the 3d of July, the remains of this distinguished officer were deposited in the family-vault, in the burial-ground of St. George's, Hanover-square, on the Uxbridge-road, attended by his brother, the Rev. Edward Picton, and many officers and gentlemen of distinction. A great concourse of people assembled to witness the impressive scene. On the coffin was inscribed:

"*Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, G. C. B.*
Aged 57,
Who, at the great and decisive battle of Waterloo, in Flanders, on the 18*th of June,* 1815, *between the French army, commanded by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the English army, commanded by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, fell, according to the Gazette account, and in the words of the illustrious chief, 'gloriously leading the division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.'* "

The services of this officer were not under-rated, but were most inadequately rewarded. That "*stern and manly virtue,*" which Lord Bathurst truly ascribed to him, that inflexible adherence to opinions deliberately formed, and that undeviating pursuit of the straight path of duty, which unfitted him for a parasite or a courtier, were probably the means of preventing his elevation to merited rank. He knew not how to flatter his superiors, would never disguise his opinions when called upon to give them, and would never sacrifice truth or principle to interest or promotion. In a word, he was the very soul of honour. The pupil of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, he never disgraced his general and his friend. In private life he was kind, humane, benevolent, and charitable. He discharged, with strictness, all the social and relative duties; and, in the midst of a severe persecution, never lost that equanimity of temper which conscious integrity alone can impart.

On the 29th of June, an address to the Prince Regent was voted by the House of Commons, for a national monument to be erected in honour of the brilliant victory of Waterloo, to commemorate the names of the officers and men of the British army, who fell upon the 16th and 18th of June, "*and particularly Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton:*" and also for erecting a funeral-monument to this officer in St. Paul's Cathedral.

FREDERICK WILLIAM III.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

FREDERICK WILLIAM the Third ascended the throne of Prussia in 1797, with all possible advantages. Austria was greatly weakened. England and Russia courted his alliance; while France, by promises, intrigues, and presents, solicited his neutrality. All Europe seemed to wait with anxiety for his determination: loyalty, religion, and good order, anticipated every thing from his youth, from his rank, and from the sentiments which he had avowed previous to his elevation to the throne. Unfortunately, however, he listened to the suggestions of a treacherous ministry, and espoused the cause of the French regicides, who, after murdering their own sovereign, swore eternal hatred to royalty, and avowedly plotted the subversion of all legitimate authority.

The policy thus adopted was persevered in, though the king had an excellent opportunity of humbling the French in the year 1799, by joining his forces with those of England and Russia in Holland, when the arms of the allies were victorious in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, and France was distracted by the efforts of contending factions. At this time he might have restored his near relative, the Prince of Orange, and would have been justly considered the saviour of the liberties of Europe: but he blindly suffered the glorious opportunity to pass away. The day on which Prussia forsook the coalition against France by the treaty of Basle, which was negotiated under the reign of the king's father, she inclosed herself in a circle of dangers.

From that period the policy of Prussia had been to maintain peace with all her neighbours, to cultivate her alliance with France, and to extend her influence and dominions in Germany. Her weight and influence in the empire were much increased during her connexion with France. By her means, one half of the states of the empire were detached from the Emperor of Germany, and united in a formal confederation under the protection of Prussia. Her influence in the Electoral College was so much greater than that of Austria, that she might reasonably aspire, on the first vacancy of the empire, to place her sovereign on the throne of the Cæsars. Her dominions were rich and prosperous, and flourished in peace, while other states were exposed to the desolations, or exhausted by the expenses attendant upon war.

But, notwithstanding these advantages, it was sufficiently obvious that the King of Prussia had not acted upon it in a manner conducive to his *permanent* advantage, or with due regard to the peculiar circumstances of his situation. To a military power like Prussia, whose very existence depended on her army, the long continuance of peace, while all her neighbours were engaged in war, could not but in the end be dangerous and destructive. The numbers and appearance of her army might be maintained in peace; but its strength and spirit could only be preserved in actual service. Accordingly, when Prussia was *obliged* to appeal to the sword against the aggressions of France, her troops were altogether unable to contend with the veterans led on by Buonaparte.

It was not, however, only in the decline of her military system, that Prussia had prepared, in peace, the causes of her degradation in war. Her influence abroad, and her administration at home, had been equally impaired during this interval. Frederick William, with excellent intentions, and with no bad passions to mislead him, was diffident of his own abilities, incapable of acting from himself, and surrounded by ministers unworthy of his confidence. The greater part of them had been clerks of office under Frederick the Great, and were not only incapable of advising any bold or magnanimous measures, but even were destitute of capacity for the most ordinary business. To such counsellors it was owing, that the consideration which Prussia had formerly gained as a state of the empire was now lost throughout Europe: her policy had been narrow and ambiguous; her ambition had appeared mean, sordid, and unprincipled: she had offended the French by the coldness of her friendship, the allies by her desertion of their cause; and she was at last obliged to go to war without an attainable object, or adequate preparation, by the universal contempt into which she had fallen.

It has been justly remarked by a respectable historian, that "the ill-advised and disastrous coalition of 1805 was a touch-stone to try the capacity, conduct, and decision, of Frederick-William and his cabinet. It was clearly the interest of Prussia to have preserved, if possible, the peace of the continent; and such was the idea entertained of her military power, that an early and unequivocal declaration from her might have prevented the revival of hostilities. But that opportunity being neglected, when the designs of Austria and Russia to risk their last stake against France could no longer be doubted, it became a matter of serious import to the King of Prussia to adopt some determinate system in the approaching war, and to adhere to it stedfastly. It suited, however, his indecision, and the incapacity of his ministers, to prefer a system of neutrality, because it led to procrastination, and called for no immediate exertions; while it sufficiently gratified their self-importance to emit threats and declarations against any power that should dare to violate the integrity of the Prussian territory. It may be questioned, whether, supposing it possible for Prussia to have maintained her neutrality, it was her interest to have remained neutral when so great a contest was impending, the event of which must determine who were to be in future masters of the continent, the French or the allies; for, which ever party prevailed, it was easy to foresee that Prussia would be soon reduced to the necessity of fighting with, or receiving laws from, the conqueror. But, having resolved on neutrality, the greatest error that Frederick William could commit was, to be afterwards diverted from his resolution. If it were impolitic to quarrel with France before the violation of Anspach, it was still more impolitic after the surrender of Ulm. Yet, such importance did the court of Berlin annex to the inviolability of its territory, that Prussia, which some weeks before had been arming to oppose the passage of the Russian troops through her dominions in Poland, was induced to enter into negotiations and take measures for a war with France, because a body of French troops, by passing through the Prussian territory of Anspach, had surrounded the Austrian army at Ulm, and compelled it to capitulate. As far as the honour of Prussia was concerned in exacting reparation for the violation of her territory, ample atonement was spontaneously offered by the French. The question for her consideration was, therefore, a point of interest and policy, not of honour and character; but, on prudential grounds, it is obvious that, whatever were her motives for not taking part originally with the allies, they must have been strengthened and confirmed by the disasters sustained at Ulm by the Austrian army.

"The violation of the Prussian territory of Anspach, by the French troops under Bernadotte, took place on the 3d of October, 1805; and Ulm capitulated on the 17th of the same month. On the 3d of November, a convention was signed at Potsdam, by which Frederick-William agreed to offer his mediation between France and the allies for the restoration of a general peace on a permanent basis; and, in case his propositions were rejected, he engaged, after receiving a promise of subsidies from England, to declare war against France.

"In this interval, various events had marked the displeasure of Frederick William at the violation of his territory, and shewn how materially that event had changed his policy, and given it a turn hostile to France, and favourable to the allies. A royal proclamation had assured the subjects of Prussia, in Franconia, that their sovereign was taking measures to obtain satisfaction for the forcible violation of his neutrality; and an angry note had been delivered by Baron Hardenberg to the French mission at Berlin, in answer to their justification of that transaction, expressing the surprise and indignation of his Prussian majesty at such an outrage having been committed on his territories, after the exemplary fidelity with which he had observed his engagements to France, and the advantages which she had derived from his firmness; declaring, that he now considered himself absolved by her conduct from all past engagements, and that he would henceforward direct his efforts to the re-establishment of peace on a solid basis; and concluding with an intimation, that, in the mean time, he found himself compelled to order his armies to occupy positions necessary for the protection of his states." The Prussian army was now put in motion; the permission of marching through the Prussian territories, which had been so long withheld from the Russians, was no longer denied. The Emperor Alexander was received at Potsdam with every mark of confidence; and the French ambassador, Duroc, who had been sent to make reparation for the affair at Anspach, quitted Berlin without accomplishing the object of his mission.

The King of Prussia, having thus evinced a design of taking part with the allies, ought to have pursued a decisive line of conduct: but, instead of this, he *negotiated* when he should have *acted;* and appointed Haugwitz for his negotiator—a man without firmness, capacity, or resources; slow and dilatory in business; narrow and perplexed in his understanding; of a character equally open to the impressions of fear, and the insinuations of flattery; and of opinions altogether repugnant to the system which he was sent to enforce. Haugwitz repaired to the head-quarters of Buonaparte's army, and had an audience on the 28th of November;

at which the Corsican manifested a disposition to accept the Prussian mediation, but annexed conditions to which Frederick William could not consent.

During this negotiation, which was purposely protracted, Buonaparte had struck an important blow; the battle of Austerlitz being fought, which led to an armistice, and finally dissolved the coalition. Thus the opportunity which presented itself to Prussia, of restoring the balance of power in Europe, was completely lost; and Frederick William perceived, when too late, the sad consequences of his irresolution.

The Prussian troops had taken the field, and commenced their march to the scene of action, when their progress was arrested by the intelligence of the armistice. The king, also, fearing to embark alone in a contest with a victorious army, elated with its double triumph over the troops of Austria and Russia, had recourse to negotiation, and a negotiator was again despatched to the French head-quarters: but, before his arrival, Haugwitz had signed a definitive treaty at Vienna; by which Prussia, from being the ally of the coalesced powers, openly joined with France, and participated with her in the spoils of Germany. By this treaty, a mutual guarantee of possessions was stipulated; and, in return for the cession of three provinces to France, Hanover was to be annexed to Prussia. Thus, after the Prussian cabinet had solemnly promised to support the cause of the allies, and had thereby acquired the absolute disposal of the Russian troops in Germany, and a direct influence over the British and Swedish armies in Hanover, besides assurances of pecuniary assistance from England in the event of being forced into hostilities with France; a Prussian minister, who had been sent to Vienna, for the purpose of securing by negotiation the neutrality of the north of Germany, concluded a secret treaty with the enemy of Russia and England, by which his master obtained, in exchange for three of his provinces, the electoral dominions of his faithful ally the King of England.

A consciousness of shame, and fear of censure, prevented the cabinet of Berlin from consenting at once to an unconditional ratification of this treaty, or a disclosure of its contents; and, under pretence of securing the electorate of Hanover from the calamities of another ruinous war, the troops of the allies were withdrawn from it, and replaced by Prussians. To the British minister at Berlin it was said, that arrangements concluded with France for insuring the tranquillity of Hanover "stipulated expressly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France:" and the assertion, that, "till the conclusion of a general peace, Hanover would be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia," was repeated in the proclamation of Frederick William, on taking possession of the electorate; but no mention was made of his ulterior design of annexing it to the Prussian monarchy, in exchange for territories which he had ceded to France.

The treaty with France was signed on the 15th of February; and, on the 24th, Bernadotte took possession of Anspach and Bayreuth for the King of Bavaria, to whom these provinces were transferred by France. On the 18th, the Prussians evacuated Wesel; and, on the 21st, the French troops were withdrawn from Hameln, the only place in the electorate of Hanover which they had continued to occupy. On the 28th of March, a proclamation was issued by Count Schulenberg, in the name of his Prussian majesty, ordering "the ports of the German Ocean, and the rivers which disembogue themselves in it, to be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as when Hanover was occupied by the French troops." And, on the 1st of April, a patent appeared, under the authority of Frederick William, annexing formally the electorate of Hanover to his other dominions, on pretence that, belonging to Napoleon "by right of conquest," it had been transferred to Prussia, "in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France."

Against these disgraceful proceedings Count Munster protested, as contrary to the rights of his sovereign; and as a measure of which his majesty highly disapproved. No regard being paid to this protest, nor to the remonstrance accompanying it, that, "if the occupation of Hanover by a Prussian force was inevitable, it should take place under such stipulations as were least injurious to the right of his majesty, and least severe upon the inhabitants." Mr. Fox expressed, in an official note to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover; and to desire him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." This note was not only treated with neglect, but his Britannic majesty was soon afterwards informed that the determination had been taken of excluding the vessels and commodities of Great Britain from all ports and countries under the lawful dominion or forcible control of Prussia. Measures of retaliation were, in consequence, adopted by England; and his Britannic majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover,

issued a declaration recapitulating all the instances of insincerity and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his right to the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburg and its dependencies.

In addition to the war with England, the subserviency of his Prussian majesty to Buonaparte involved him in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg for the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussian troops into that duchy, were compelled, after an ineffectual resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; in consequence of which his Swedish majesty laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order for the blockade of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic.

It was not long, however, before Frederick William began to perceive that he had adopted a false and ruinous policy, by adhering to the interests and submitting to the encroachments of the subtle Corsican. It is probable that Buonaparte never forgave the court of Berlin for the danger to which he was exposed by the momentary change of its political system, after the affair of Anspach; and though, while he feared the consequences of its hostility, he flattered its ministers with protestations of friendship and esteem, the journey which Haugwitz took to Paris, opened the eyes even of that minister to the sincerity of these declarations. But the first public act of Napoleon, which gave serious offence to his Prussian majesty, was the investure of Murat with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper injury awaited Frederick William. While Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging its ministers to persist in the measures they had adopted for retaining Hanover, it was discovered that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions.

"Thus," says a respectable contemporary, "after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself, on the eve of a general peace, about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so treacherous and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character, or of improving her condition by resistance. Fortunately for her, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by its minister. But this event, while it opened to Frederick William the prospect of assistance in case he should be driven into a war with France, disclosed to him further proofs of the secret enmity of Napoleon, and of his readiness to abandon his interests. Two other causes contributed materially to the determination of Frederick William to commence war against France: the one, by its effect on the public mind; the other, on account of the injury done to Prussia. The occupation of Cattaro by the Russians had served as a pretext to Napoleon, not only for retaining possession of Brennau in the hereditary states of Austria after the term stipulated for its surrender by the peace of Presburg, but for keeping on foot an immense army in Germany, which he maintained at the expense of the free towns and states of Suabia and Franconia. The presence of so large an army on its frontiers excited the jealousy of the Prussian cabinet. To overawe Prussia, rather than to recover Cattaro, seemed to be the object of assembling so great a force in that quarter; and when troops were collected in Westphalia, suspicion was converted into certainty. Complaints were addressed from every quarter to Berlin, of the insufferable burden of supporting the French armies. The barbarous murder of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremburg, for an alleged libel on Buonaparte, excited universal indignation, and roused every pen in Germany to call down vengeance on such atrocious and unwarrantable acts. All eyes were turned to Prussia, imploring assistance and relief; while the bitterest reproaches were uttered against that selfish and temporizing policy, which had subjected Germany to such disgraceful calamities. The popular feeling at Berlin, in the court, in the army, and among the burghers, was loudly and decidedly expressed against the unprincipled policy of the government since it had been directed by Haugwitz, Lombard, and others. The surprise and indignation which the scandalous traffic of the Prussian provinces for Hanover had excited at first, subsequent events had not allayed; every day had brought the news of some fresh encroachment on the part of Napoleon, of some new insult or mortification to Prussia. The young officers, inflamed with military ardour, were eager to distinguish themselves against the conquerors of Austria. The old generals, who recollected the glorious days of Frederick the Second, forgot their age and infirmities, as well as the immense changes which had taken place since that time both in France and Prussia, and joined in the cry for war. The young and beautiful queen, indignant at the atrocities and usurpations of France, and jealous of her husband's honour, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, hated and despised, were unable to resist the torrent which hurried the Prussian monarchy to the verge of destruction, and deprived the king of nearly half his dominions, leaving the remainder at the mercy of his conqueror."

About the middle of August, 1806, Prussia began to make military preparations, and to put her army on the war-establishment; but, in order to gain time, the

Prussian minister at Paris was instructed to amuse Buonaparte with assurances of the pacific disposition of his master.

On the 1st of October, however, the mask was laid aside; and a note was presented by Knoblesdorff, demanding, as a preliminary to negotiation, that the whole of the French troops should immediately pass the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation should be the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of certain places by the French troops. To these demands Buonaparte did not even deign to answer; but Talleyrand, in a report on the causes of the war, dexterously availed himself of them to shew, with some degree of plausibility, that, had France been willing to gratify the unjust ambition of Prussia at the expense of her weaker neighbours, the flames of war would not have been rekindled upon the continent.

The Prussian ministry appear to have been unaccountably remiss in communicating to other powers their intention to go to war. It was from the Emperor Alexander only that Frederick William could expect, in the first instance, to receive effectual assistance: but, though a letter from his Prussian majesty had informed the Emperor Alexander, in the month of August, of the relations in which he then stood towards France, no intimation was given of the approaching war; nor was any measure taken for obtaining from him assistance till the 18th of September, when Count Krusemach left Berlin for St. Petersburgh, charged with such a commission. Krusemach arrived at St. Petersburgh on the 30th. Orders for marching, though expedited immediately after his arrival, could not reach the Russian army in Poland till the 5th or 6th of October; nor could that army arrive at the scene of action in Germany till the middle of November: so that Frederick William exposed himself and his country for a whole month, without assistance, to resist the best army and the best generals in Europe.

Notwithstanding her recent ill conduct towards England, and her extreme reluctance to give up Hanover, the hope of a subsidy induced the Prussian ministers, when they sent Count Krusemach to St. Petersburgh, to communicate to Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Hamburgh, the disposition of Frederick William to accommodate his differences with his Britannic majesty. A desire was expressed, that some person should be authorised by the English government to open a negotiation for that purpose; but no communication was made to Mr. Thornton of the nature of the differences with France, nor assurance given of their readiness to adopt the restitution of Hanover on the basis of negotiation. The British ministry immediately appointed Lord Morpeth to proceed to the Prussian head-quarters, there to enter on negotiations for peace; and his lordship arrived at Weimar on the 12th of October. This promptitude did not suit the Prussian cabinet. They were on the eve of a great battle, which might decide the fate of the campaign; and they were unwilling, while the event was uncertain, to pledge themselves to an act of justice, or entangle themselves in a connexion of no immediate utility. If victory crowned the Prussians, Hanover might still be their's; if defeated, they were afraid lest their having contracted engagements with England might be prejudicial to them, should they be compelled to solicit peace from Buonaparte. Persisting to the last in his duplicity, so dishonourable to his sovereign, Haugwitz, who had been appointed to negotiate with the British minister, contrived to avoid seeing him at Weimar and Erfurt, and subsequently to the battle of Auerstadt; but, while the result of that battle was unknown, Lord Morpeth having asked Lucchesini, whether the court of Prussia were ready to enter on immediate negotiation, the Italian unguardedly answered, "that it would depend on the issue of the battle which had just been fought."

Early in October, the Prussian head-quarters were at Naumburg, where also their principal magazines were collected; and their army extended itself in the country bordering on the Saale, in Upper Saxony. On the 4th of that month, their head-quarters were removed forward to Erfurt; and, on the 10th, to Weimar. Their left, commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, under whom were General Tauenzein and Prince Lewis of Prussia, occupied Saalfeld, Schleitz, and Hof; and its advanced post extended to Munchburg and Culmbach. Their centre, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, Marshal Mullendorf, and Frederick William in person, was distributed in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach; and its vanguard, under the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was stationed at Meinungen, on the Werra. Their right, commanded by General Ruchel, extended to Mulhausen. A separate corps, under Blucher, which had been stationed at Gottingen, for the protection of Westphalia, joined the main army before the battle. Hesse was neutral; but the Saxons acted as auxiliaries to the Prussians, and served in the left under Prince Hohenlohe. The reserve of the Prussian army, under Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg, did not arrive from Custrin till after the battle of Auerstadt. The whole force of the King of Prussia, including the Saxons, did not amount to less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. While this immense army remained inactive on the banks of the Saale, the French were collecting their scattered troops, and concentrating them in the neighbourhood of Bamberg. On the 6th

of October, Buonaparte arrived in that city; and, on the 8th, he put the French army in motion to attack the Prussians.

The position of the Prussian army was strong and impregnable; but the commander-in-chief does not appear to have reflected on the possibility of the enemy's turning his flank, getting possession of his magazines, shutting him up in a country without resources, and forcing him to fight at a disadvantage, and, if defeated, without the possibility of escape. The magazines at Weissenfels and Naumberg were left without protection, exposed to the attacks of the French; and, when cut off from these, the Prussians had no alternative but to fight or starve. The barren country of Weimar afforded no resources for maintaining so large an army as that of the Prussians. There was neither bread, beer, nor brandy, for the men; nor fodder for the horses. When their cavalry took the field on the morning of the battle of Auerstadt, the horses had been without corn, and the men without food, for two nights and a day. Another fatal error in the disposition of the Prussian army was its encampment on the left bank of the Saale: by which the electorate of Saxony, the chief fortresses of the Prussian states, and the capital itself, were laid open to the French: and the Prussians, in case of disaster, were cut off from the strong fortress of Magdeburgh, the only rallying point where they could assemble, or place of refuge where they could be in safety.

The battle of Jena, which was the result of these operations, was fatal to the Prussian army, and to the Prussian monarchy. The loss to Frederick William was twenty thousand men, killed or wounded, and from thirty to forty thousand prisoners. The Duke of Brunswick and Lieutenant-general Schmettau were mortally wounded; above twenty generals and lieutenant-generals were taken prisoners; and three hundred pieces of cannon, and sixty standards, were taken.

After this fatal battle, Frederick William, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole affair, arrived at Charlottenberg, near Berlin, on the 17th; and from thence proceeded to Custrin, on the Oder. From Custrin he soon after repaired to Osterode, in West Prussia; and from Osterode to Konigsberg, where he remained at the end of the year, without having again joined his army. He was followed to Custrin by the garrison of Berlin, which was withdrawn from that city on the 21st, and a provisional administration appointed to maintain the public tranquillity till the arrival of the French. This last event was not long delayed. On the morning of the 25th, the corps of Marshal Davoust entered Berlin, and was next day followed by that of Augereau.

Buonaparte arrived on the 24th at Potsdam, where he was informed, that Spandau had surrendered, though held by a strong garrison, and amply provided with stores and ammunition. On the 27th, he made his public entry into Berlin: and, the next day, he gave audience to the foreign ministers, in amity with France; to the Lutheran and reformed consistories; to the members of the court of appeal; and to the civil authorities of the city. Some of the persons who presented themselves before him on this occasion were received with the most bitter taunts, on account of the share which they had in lighting up the flames of war.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, Frederick William despatched a plenipotentiary to the French headquarters, to negotiate peace. At first the Prussian minister was amused with hopes of concluding a peace on the terms he was authorised to offer: but, as the situation of Frederick William became every day more desperate, by the capture of his armies and the surrender of his fortified places, the demands of the French rose in proportion; and at length Buonaparte declared, that he would never quit Berlin, nor evacuate Poland, till Moldavia and Wallachia were yielded by the Russians in complete sovereignty to the Porte, and till a general peace was concluded, on the basis of the restitution of all the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies and possessions, taken by England during the war. With this declaration, all hopes of peace vanished; and Frederick William, having refused to accede to an armistice proposed on the most severe terms, determined to stake his fortune upon the issue of another campaign.

After the battle of Pultusk, which ended in the almost entire dispersion of the few troops that Frederick William had been able to preserve after the defeat at Jena, he, with his queen, the ministry, his most valuable property, and a select guard of fifteen hundred cavalry and infantry, retreated to Memel. The other forces which the once-powerful kingdom of Prussia now possessed were as follows:—there were five thousand troops under the command of General Lestocq, the greater part of which remained in Konigsberg; there was a garrison of six thousand troops in Dantzig, two thousand at Colberg, and three thousand at Graudentz; and from fifteen to twenty thousand were dispersed in the different garrisons of Silesia. The only hope, therefore, of Frederick William was in the cordial support of the Emperor Alexander; and, to keep him from sinking into absolute despair, a military officer from England promised him assistance, both of money and troops, and an immediate advance was made him to support his garrisons in Silesia. The battle of Fried-

land, however, and the treaty of Tilsit, which immediately followed it, destroyed all the hopes of Frederick William, and laid the Prussian monarchy at the feet of the victorious Corsican.

By the peace of Tilsit, Frederick William lost nearly half of his annual revenues, and an immense territory, containing five millions of subjects; so that Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which it was in 1772, previous to the first partition of Poland. The greater part of those provinces which at that time constituted a part of the kingdom of Poland, and had subsequently been subjected to Prussia, were given to the King of Saxony, under the title of the *Duchy of Warsaw*, and were to be governed by a new constitution. The city of Dantzic, with a territory of two leagues round it, was restored to its former independence, under the protection of the kings of Prussia and Saxony, to be governed by its own laws. For a communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, the King of Saxony was to have the free use of a military road through the Prussian states. Neither Frederick William, the King of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzic, were to oppose any obstacles to the free navigation of the Vistula, under the name of tolls, or duties. To establish a neutral boundary between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, a certain territory, heretofore under the dominion of Frederick William, was to be finally annexed to the Russian empire: this territory comprised a population of two hundred thousand souls. The Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, were to be restored to the complete possession of their estates; but the ports in the duchy of Oldenburg to remain in the possession of French garrisons till a definitive treaty of peace should be signed between France and England; for the accomplishing of which the mediation of Russia was to be accepted, on the condition that this mediation should be accepted by England in one month after the ratification of this treaty. Until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the ports belonging to his Prussian majesty were to be shut against the English. The Emperor Alexander acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as king of Holland, and Jerome Buonaparte as king of Westphalia—a kingdom to consist of the provinces ceded by Frederick William on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states then in possession of Napoleon. Such were the most important articles in this treaty: the time and manner in which the different stipulations were to be carried into execution, were fixed by a special convention between France and Prussia.

The Prussian fortresses of Graudentz and Colberg, though vigorously besieged, still held out when the negotiations for peace were commenced at Tilsit; and the attempt upon the latter place was fatal to thousands of the French. Had all the governors of the Prussian fortresses been animated with the courage and fidelity of Blucher, the issue of the war would probably have been very different; or, had Frederick William found it necessary to conclude a peace, the terms could not have failed of being considerably more favourable to him.

The conduct of Frederick William and his ministers, which had so long been contemplated with indignation, became now, when followed by its consequences, an object of contempt, scarcely mingled with a degree of pity for the king or royal family; though every one sympathized with the inhabitants of the Prussian states, who were burdened with the maintenance of forty thousand French troops, distributed in four or five different garrisons, besides an annual contribution of five millions of crowns, besides all taxes paid for the support and service of the Prussian government, until all the demands of Buonaparte should be satisfied.

On the 24th of July, 1807, Frederick William addressed to the subjects of his ceded territories the following affecting proclamation, which, no doubt, contributed, with French oppression, to attach them still more to their legitimate monarch:

"You are acquainted, beloved inhabitants of faithful provinces, territories, and towns, with my sentiments, and with the events of last year. My arms succumbed under the pressure of misfortunes; the exertions of the last remains of my army proved fruitless. Forced back to the uttermost borders of the empire, and even my powerful ally having judged it necessary to conclude an armistice and peace, nothing remained for me but the wish to restore tranquillity to my country, after the calamities of war. Peace was to be concluded, as circumstances dictated; the most painful sacrifices were required of myself and my house. What ages and worthy ancestors, conventions, love, and confidence, had united, was to be severed. My efforts, the exertions of all who belonged to me, were used in vain. Fate ordains;—a father parts with his children. I release you from all allegiance to my person and my house. My most ardent wishes for your prosperity attend you to your new sovereign: be to him what you were to me. No fate, no power, can efface in my bosom, and in the mind of my family, the remembrance of you.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"*Memel, July* 24, 1807."

This proclamation was followed by another of the same date, allowing the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Prussian army, born in the provinces of Southern Prussia and New Eastern Prussia, to go home to their friends and families; and the officers and cadets had the king's permission to enter into the service of the new sovereign of those provinces. This was an act of paternal consideration on the part of Frederick William; as the officers and cadets might not, so easily as the privates, have otherwise found suitable means of subsistence.

Frederick William now applied himself seriously to the reforms which he had begun to introduce into his army in the month of December, 1806. Having experienced, in the late calamitous war, how little dependence was to be placed on foreign adventurers in his service, he decreed that no strangers should in future be admitted into the Prussian army. He made another regulation, of equal or greater importance: promotion in the army, even to the first stations, was opened to persons of distinguished merit of all ranks, without any consideration of birth or fortune; and severe punishments were inflicted on treachery, both in the civil and military departments.

When Buonaparte undertook the invasion of Russia, Prussia was compelled to join his banners; but, when the failure of that unprincipled attempt took place, Frederick William promptly availed himself of the opportunity of retrieving his fallen fortunes. The first indication which the French received of the defection of their ally, was in the convention of General D'York with the Russians. The latter having succeeded in cutting off the Prussian division from the corps of Marshal Macdonald, General D'York entered into a convention with them, by which he agreed to remain neutral, with the troops under his command, consisting of about fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry. The terms were very liberal towards the Prussians, who were scarcely regarded as enemies; and though Frederick William affected to disapprove of the conduct of D'York, it is highly probable that he secretly concurred in it. The French, who probably considered this step as the commencement of a general defection on the part of Prussia, loudly condemned it as a piece of treachery: but D'York, in acquainting Macdonald with the convention, said, "As to the judgment the world may pass on my conduct, I am indifferent to it: it was dictated by a sense of duty to my troops, and after the most mature deliberation; and, whatever be the appearances, I was guided by the purest motives."

The situation of his Prussian majesty was at this period very critical. His capital was occupied by a French garrison, while the inhabitants, anxiously expecting the arrival of the Russians, as their deliverers from an odious and oppressive yoke, displayed their hatred to the French by frequent popular insurrections, which compelled the latter to keep within their barracks. At Konigsberg, a regency was established in the name of the king, which issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal people of Prussia to come forward for the rescue of their king and country from French bondage; and a number of young men obeyed the call, and joined the troops under General D'York, who had been declared commander-in-chief of the patriotic army. Frederick William himself, having now probably decided on the part which he meant to act, withdrew, about the end of January, 1813, from Potsdam, where he felt himself completely in the power of the French garrison at Berlin, and suddenly removed to Breslau. At that city he issued a proclamation, summoning all his subjects to arm themselves in defence of their king and country, but without stating against whom they were to be employed. Eugene Beauharnois, however, who was left to command the French troops in Berlin, clearly understood the purpose of these levies, and prohibited the recruiting in that capital.

The Russians, in the mean time, continued to advance, and spreading themselves over a large extent of country, carried on a variety of operations at once, which might have been considered as imprudent, had they not relied upon a general insurrection in their favour. The Austrians gradually retired before General Miloradovitch, abandoning their posts on the Narew; and that commander, on the 8th of February, entered Warsaw, being met at some distance by a deputation from the different orders of the city, who presented him with the keys. On the same day the town of Pillau surrendered to the Russian arms. Thorn, as well as Dantzic, was invested; and, on the 6th of February, the Emperor Alexander, at the head of his army, arrived at Polotzk. The Austrians concluded an unlimited truce, and withdrew into Gallicia. The Saxons, under Regnier, endeavoured to take advantage of this circumstance by retiring towards their own country, behind the Austrians; but, being pursued and overtaken by General Winzingerode, as they were endeavouring to form a junction with a body of Poles, they were attacked, and a great many officers, and two thousand privates, with seven pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the Russians.

His Prussian majesty now assumed the office of a mediator between the belligerent parties, and made a proposal for a truce, upon condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula, and the French behind the Elbe, leaving his territories entirely free from foreign occupation. It does not seem, however, that

either party paid attention to this proposal, which was probably thrown out merely for the purpose of a temporary demonstration of neutrality; for, on the 22d of February, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Frederick William and the Emperor Alexander; and, in the course of the next month, the two sovereigns had an interview at Breslau; from which place Frederick William issued the following proclamation to his people:

"It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing; they are evident to impartial Europe. Bent under the superior power of France, that peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings—it, on the contrary, hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity. By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people, and, at last, to convince the French emperor that it was his own interest to have Prussia independent; but my intentions, my exertions, to attain so desirable an object proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result! We discovered, but rather late, that the emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain.

"Brandenburghers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years—you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if you do not honourably finish the now-commencing conflict. Remember former times—remember the illustrious elector, the great Frederick—remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under their direction. The liberty of conscience — honour — independence — trade — industry — and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians—think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle, for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands. Great sacrifices are required from all ranks; because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country—your king—than for a foreigner, who by so many examples has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory. But, however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans. We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin. Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But, we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"*Breslau, March* 17."

The French, who for some time appeared disposed to make a stand at Berlin, now finding every thing hostile to them in the Prussian dominions, evacuated that city in the night of the 3d of March; and the Russians entered it as friends on the following morning: and thus the capital of Frederick William was once more freed from its cruel oppressors. On the 11th, General Witgenstein made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the populace.

From this time the subject of our biographical sketch co-operated zealously with the allies; and the exertions and public spirit of his people made ample amends for all the errors committed for a series of years by his cabinet. The glory of Prussia, which the victories of Buonaparte had extinguished, was again rekindled; and the achievements of her brave troops, under the gallant Blucher, conducted their sovereign to Paris, as a conqueror of that proud city, and a witness of the humiliation and dethronement of his implacable foe.

After the conclusion of peace, Frederick William and two of his sons visited England, in company with the Emperor Alexander, and received the most unequivocal proofs of the hospitality and munificence of the British nation; and, on their quitting the shores of this "sea girt isle," they expressed the most lively sense of the attentions and respect which they had received.

On the escape of Buonaparte from the island of Elba, and his second usurpation of the throne of France, Frederick William resolved to make common cause against him, in concert with the other allied powers; and addressed to his subjects the following highly interesting proclamation:

"When, in the time of danger, I called my people to arms, to combat for the freedom and independence of

the country, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged round the standards, to bear, with joyful self-denial, unusual hardships, and resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shewn themselves worthy of the name of their fathers, and heirs of their glory. Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our enemy. Our banners waved in Paris—Napoleon abdicated his authority—liberty was restored to Germany, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace.

"This hope is vanished: we must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who for ten years together brought down upon the world unutterable miseries. The people, confounded, have not been able to oppose his armed adherents: though he himself, while still at the head of a considerable armed force, declared his abdication to be a voluntary sacrifice to the happiness and repose of France, he now regards this, like every other convention, as nothing; he is at the head of perjured soldiers, who desire to render war eternal; Europe is again threatened; it cannot suffer the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal empire to be the object of his continually renewed wars; who confounded all moral principle by his continued breach of faith; and who can, therefore, give the world no security for his peaceable intentions.

"Again, therefore, arise to the combat! France itself wants our aid, and all Europe is allied with us. United with your ancient companions in victory, reinforced by the accession of new brethren in arms, you, brave Prussians, go to a just war, with me, with the princes of my family, with the generals who have led you to victory. The justice of the cause we defend will ensure us the victory.

"I have ordered a general arming, according to my decree of September 3, 1814, which will be executed in all my dominions. The army will be completed; the volunteer companies of yagers be formed; and the landwehr called together. The youth of the chief classes of the citizens, from the age of twenty and upwards, are at liberty to join either the landwehr first called out, or the yager corps of the regular army. Every young man who has completed his seventeenth year, may, if possessing the requisite bodily strength, join the army of his own choice. I publish a particular regulation on this subject. Concerning the formation of the single corps, and of the landwehr, a notice will appear in every province from the constituted authorities.

"Thus united, with all Europe in arms, we again enter the lists against Napoleon Buonaparte and his adherents. Arise, then, with God for your support, for the repose of the world, for order, for morality, for your king and country.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"*Vienna, April* 7, 1815."

This well-timed and energetic proclamation was not lost upon the Prussians; every heart glowed with indignation against the disturber of mankind; every soldier panted for a fresh opportunity of signalising himself against the restless and ambitious Corsican:—that opportunity soon occurred:—from the memorable plains of Waterloo the tyrant fled before the triumphant sons of Prussia; and the Prussian eagles were again destined to wave over the heads of the humbled Parisians.

"The moral character of Frederick William," says a respectable writer, "is such as would do honour to the most affectionate and tender of sons, fathers, husbands, or brothers; and had it not been for his early and unfortunate predilection in favour of the French, his ministers, courtiers, and subjects, would at all times have been not only respected, but happy, had they taken their sovereign for their model.

"It was formerly his daily custom to walk out for some hours, unescorted, attended only by an aide-de-camp, or accompanied by one of his brothers; and the poorest of his subjects might approach him, not only without fear, but with confidence. The simplicity and regularity of his life also formed a striking contrast to that of his father and predecessor.

"Frederick William was married to a beautiful and accomplished princess of the house of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She, in the early part of her husband's reign, was much attached to the French interest; but, afterwards, was as hostile to it. She did not long survive the calamities of her country, but died, as is supposed, of a broken heart, on the 19th of July, 1810; leaving behind her three sons and three daughters."

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was said to be the eldest son of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini. General Count Marbœuf, who had conquered Corsica for the kingdom of France, and was appointed governor of the island, is, however, reported to have conceived an attachment for Letitia, disgraceful to her reputation, and dishonourable to her husband; and it is asserted that her connexion with the Count, whilst it confirmed the suspicions of her spouse, also gave him Napoleon for an heir.

It is at all events certain, that Buonaparte became so much an object of the Count's protection, as to have been admitted, by his influence with the French minister at war, as an *Eleve du Roi* into the royal military school at Brienne, in the province of Champaigne.

At this school Napoleon arrived in the year 1779, being then only ten years old. Notwithstanding his early age, however, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind. He avoided the juvenile amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom: he devoted his attention to sedentary, rather than to active employments, and appeared entirely engaged in his own individual pursuits. He seldom exposed himself to his school-fellows; for, as he was only remarkable for his pride and moroseness, they repulsed his reprimands and railleries, by blows, which he received with indifference, and returned with saturnine coldness.

A large plot of ground adjoining the school had been divided into a number of portions, which the boys were allowed to appropriate to such purposes as they thought proper. One of these was allotted to Buonaparte and two other lads: he succeeded in prevailing on his two partners to give up their right to participate in the amusements which their ground would have afforded, and, having thus excluded all claim on the part of any one else, he proceeded to lay it out into a garden, which he surrounded with a strong palisade, to render it difficult of access. The shrubs which he planted, some of which were formed into impenetrable arbours, also contributed to its seclusion from the grounds of the other boys, and increased the difficulties of their intrusion.

To this spot, he frequently retired with his mathematical and scientific works, and, surrounded by these and other books, he meditated the reduction of the principles he had imbibed to practice. He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile corps in order of battle, calculated the chances of success on the one part, and of defeat on the other; altered their position, and formed charges and victories upon paper, and on the ground.

To the Genoese his hatred was inveterate: a young Corsican, on his arrival at the college, was presented to Buonaparte, by the other students, as a Genoese; the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage, he darted upon the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented from using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who rescued the youth from his savage ferocity.

The manners of Buonaparte were very remarkable; pride was the prominent feature of his character; his conduct was austere; if he committed an error, it was the result of deliberation, and what would, in mature age, have been deemed a crime. His severity never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolves were immoveable, and his disposition was inflexibly obstinate. Frequently engaged in quarrels, he was often the greatest sufferer; and though he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill treatment: he meditated retaliation, however, in silence, and seldom failed to inflict a punishment accordant to his savage nature.

The insurrection of the scholars against the masters were frequent, and Buonaparte, as marked by nature for a rebel, was invariably at the head of every insurrection. He was, therefore, generally selected as the principal leader, and suffered severe chastisement. On these occasions, he listened to reproach, to reproof, and to menaces, like the savages of America, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humiliated by those punishments that were intended to disgrace him, and raillery was equally received in sullen silence.

The meetings of the pupils were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and

other officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were elected by the boys, and decorated with the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. Buonaparte was, at one time, chosen to the rank of captain; but he was soon afterwards summoned before a court-martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on the charges being proved against him, he was declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. He was accordingly stripped of the insignia of his command, and disgraced to the lowest rank in the battalion.

Buonaparte now retired to his garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until the winter of the year 1783, when the severity of the weather drove him from his retreat. The snow having fallen to a considerable depth, and a hard frost having set in, he resolved to open a winter-campaign upon a new plan. He called his fellow-pupils around him, and, collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to collect large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification: they soon formed intrenchments, and afterwards engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They laboured with activity, and Napoleon superintended their exertions.

The works were soon completed according to the ules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Buonaparte alternately headed the assailants and the opponents, and directed the operations. The weapons of the contending parties were snow-balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manœuvre. These sports continued throughout the winter; and it was not until the sun of the month of March, 1784, liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The following acknowledgment is made by a writer, who, in many instances, has appeared to admire this scourge of the human species:

"The rudeness of manners which Buonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne: his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable, that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure. The following instance may be adduced of his extraordinary disposition.

"The pupils of the Military School were permitted every year, on the day of St. Louis, (the 25th of August,) to give themselves up to pleasure, and the most noisy demonstrations of joy, almost without restraint. All punishment was suspended, all subordination ceased, and generally some accident occurred before the day concluded.

"Such pupils as had attained fourteen years of age, had, by an ancient custom of the college, the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder; and, for a long time before the day arrived, these youths used to assemble to prepare their fire-works. They were also permitted to discharge small cannon, muskets, and other fire-arms, when and as often as they thought proper.

"It was on St. Louis's day, in 1784, the last year of Buonaparte's remaining at the school, that he affected an entire indifference to the means which his comrades used for its celebration. They were all animation and hilarity, activity and spirit. He was all gloom and taciturnity, thought, and reflection. Retired the whole of the day in his garden, he not only did not participate in the general rejoicing, but seemed to pursue his usual studies, without being disturbed by the noise. His comrades were too much engaged in their amusements to think of interrupting him, and would only have laughed at his strange behaviour, if an uncommon circumstance had not drawn upon him their attention and resentment.

"Towards nine o'clock in the evening, about twenty of the young people were assembled in that garden which adjoined to his, in which the proprietor had promised to entertain them with a show. It consisted of a pyramid, composed of various fire-works; a light was applied, before a box, containing several pounds of gunpowder, had been removed. While the youths were admiring the effect of the fire-works, a spark entered the box, which instantly exploded; some legs and arms were broken, two or three faces miserably burned, and several paces of wall thrown down. The confusion was very great, and some of the lads, in their alarm, endeavoured to escape through the adjoining fence: they broke the palisades, and *Buonaparte was seen, stationed on the other side, armed with a pick-axe, and pushing those back into the fire who had burst the fence. The blows which he bestowed on the unhappy fugitives, increased the number of the wounded!!!*"

On the 17th of October, he was admitted into the royal military college at Paris, where he selected, from among three hundred pupils, one Lauriston, a youth of a phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and intrepid young man, for his intimates.

His leisure hours at this college were usually spent

in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "Lieu Brune," which had been erected for the use of the pupils. It was there that he was often seen with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art.

Having passed the usual examination, he was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fere*, in garrison at Auxone, as lieutenant, in the month of July, 1785, and immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever: he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions grossly factious; his ill-humour was seldom concealed against any regulations that checked the licentiousness of the people; and his opposition of sentiment to all the measures of the government by which he had been fostered and educated, was uniform and unchangeable.

The death of Count Marbœuf, in the year 1786, deprived Buonaparte of his protection and influence; the advantages which he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance were now at an end; and his pay, as a lieutenant, was scarcely adequate to support the appearance which he supposed his rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and he anxiously awaited some terrible convulsion of the state, that might open a path to preferment.

He was one day walking in the Champ de Mars with some young officers, and the conversation turned upon the state of public affairs. The ungrateful wretch declared, as usual, against his royal benefactor; and he disputed the point so obstinately, that, in a moment of loyal enthusiasm, his companions seized him, and were about to throw him headlong into an adjoining stream, when a momentary reflection made them perceive the great inequality of their number, and they instantaneously released him.

Among the numerous persons who crowded to the French capital at the period of the revolution, expecting to derive some advantages from an open rupture with the court, was Buonaparte: he had left the regiment of artillery soon after the death of his patron, Count Marbœuf, and retired to his maternal home, in Corsica: he there found his mother a widow, in very indigent circumstances, and with several children dependent on her exertions for their support. Napoleon, it is probable, did not add to her incumbrances, though it is not likely that he contributed to her relief.

Whilst he remained with his mother, he continued his application to study; but, though he returned to his books with increased ardour, it was chiefly because the experience he had had in his military capacity had confirmed his attachment to his profession: he did not labour here with that unremitting attention that he had done in his noviciate at the military school at Brienne.

Ardently attached to military glory, Buonaparte did not miss so favourable an opportunity, as the popular discontents at Paris afforded him, of signalizing himself in favour of some party. A mind like his, formed for rebellion and scenes of blood, forces itself into notice when placed in difficult situations; and stands, undauntedly, the opponent and the mark of the object it has singled out for destruction. The danger of an early declaration, in the beginning of the disturbances, Buonaparte had disdained to shun; and he now became a furious revolutionist.

He remained at Paris until the year 1790, when the discontents of the Corsicans occasioned an organization of troops in that island, and he was appointed to the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town: there was little service, however, required of these levies, and Buonaparte had leisure to continue his military studies. The war which ensued, between France and the combined powers, opened a wide field for his observations: the operations of the contending armies afforded him an opportunity, which his advantageous situation enabled him to improve, of examining and maturing that system of warfare which subsequently enabled him to subjugate some of the fairest provinces of Europe.

Having entered the corps of artillery, and served in it as a lieutenant, Buonaparte was recommended, by his countryman Salicetti, the deputy from Corsica, to Barras, who immediately gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of the arsenal of Toulon.

After the siege of Toulon, where he obtained the rank of general, he was sent to Nice, but was arrested there, by Beffroi, the deputy, who previously displaced him from his command, on account of *his sanguinary conduct towards the unhappy Toulonese.* He was soon released; but he lost his command in the artillery, although he was not discharged the service: he was offered a command in the infantry, but refused to accept it.

On being set at liberty he hastened to Paris, to lodge his complaints. Aubry, the representative, who was then at the head of the military department of the committee of public safety, refused him any thing more than the commission in the infantry which he had been before offered. Buonaparte demanded his discharge,

which was refused: he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, in all probability with a view of serving in the Turkish army; but this was also refused.

In the year 1794, he obtained the command of an expedition fitted out against Ajaccio, his native town, in the island of Corsica; but he was repulsed in the attempt, by one of his own relations, named Masteria, who was at that time in the British service, and had served under General Elliot, at the siege of Gibraltar.

As it has been frequently asserted, and as often denied, that Buonaparte once came to England to solicit government for a commission in the British army; it may be proper to state that he *was* in England, but the object of his appearance here is not known. He lodged at a house in the Adelphi, in the Strand, and remained in London but a short time. This information was obtained from General Miranda, who asserts that he visited him in England at the time. It is probable, that the period when Buonaparte was here, was about the middle of the year 1793.

After Buonaparte had been displaced from the artillery, and after his ill success before Ajaccio, he remained in great obscurity, and was subject to considerable pecuniary embarrassment: his friends were not numerous, and he was from time to time indebted for five or six livres to M. Guerin, a merchant at Marseilles; but the assistance he received from others was even more trifling than this. His prospects were dimmed by adversity, and he had no certain expectation of either employment or support, till the latter end of the year 1795, when Barras gave him the second command of the conventional troops destined to act against the insurgents of Paris.

After the sanguinary struggle which terminated in the defeat of the Parisians, Napoleon, by the interest of Barras, was appointed second in command of the army of the interior; and afterwards, upon the resignation of his patron, the chief command was entrusted to him.

The army of Italy was at this time without a commander-in-chief; and this important military appointment was destined to be filled by Buonaparte: his acceptance of it, however, was with the stipulation of his accepting the hand of Madame Josephine Beauharnois, who was the mistress of Barras. It seems that this lady, at the age of twenty-two, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, major in a royal French regiment of infantry: they were both descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. At the commencement of the French revolution, M. de Beauharnois was elected, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the states-general; and, in June, 1791, he was chosen their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people, on the journey of the king to Varennes. He served under General Biron in April, 1792, and bore the rank of adjutant-general, when the French were defeated near Mons. He afterwards succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August, 1793, and, shortly after, arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July, 1796; and if Robespierre had not followed him, a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the scaffold. In one of the thirty-six lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to supply the guillotine for thirty-six successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August, 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras caused the national seals to be taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoires, a few weeks after; and continued to honour her with his protection, by residing at her hotel, until October, 1795, when his appointment to the office of director required that he should occupy the splendid suite of apartments assigned him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, invested with the dignity of one of the chief magistrates of France, did not think proper to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois. If their attachment had been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided; for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which evinced her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self-command that she had acquired over her own feelings—she consented to marry Napoleon Buonaparte, the general of the interior, if the general himself could be induced to offer her his hand. The plan was formed; and Barras proceeded to effect its completion, by providing his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The successes which crowned the arms of this adventurer in his Italian expedition rather resembled a magical illusion than a series of realities. Descending across the Alps, like an impetuous torrent, his troops bore down and overpowered all resistance;—the dukes of Parma and Modena, the kings of Naples and Sardinia, the Pope, and the Emperor of Germany, were all compelled to solicit peace, even on the humiliating conditions of ceding to the French republic their choicest treasures, and their richest works of art;—the ancient government of Venice was subverted; and, in consequence of some attempts of the Roman pontiff to throw off the yoke, he was deposed and exiled, and the tree of liberty was planted in his capital. The proclamations which Buonaparte issued to his army

were calculated to inspire them with enthusiasm, and to strike terror into their enemies: and wherever opposition was made to the authorities which he imposed, his punishments were tremendous:—the village of Binasco burned—Milan given up to pillage, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death—the municipality of Pavia shot, after the city being taken, were terrible examples of his severity. Conflagration and bloodshed were the effectual means which he adopted to enforce the submission of the conquered states.

The following anecdote, which is connected with Napoleon's campaign in Italy, is thus narrated by Mr. Holcroft, a traveller of unquestionable impartiality:

"When Buonaparte first came to Milan, professing himself the *deliverer* of a once-great people, but now, and long since, miserably enchained by priestcraft and petty despotism, those who earnestly desired the emancipation and the happiness of their country received him with open arms. One of them, a Milanese nobleman of great influence, devoted his whole means and power to the cause, which he supposed the French sincerely intended to promote; and, for that purpose, gave the utmost assistance to Buonaparte, by whom he was then treated with the most flattering distinction.

"This nobleman had none but virtuous motives for his conduct; and he was, too soon, convinced that it was *not for the cause of freedom* that Buonaparte and the armies of France fought: the avarice of individuals, the plunder of rich and poor, and the worst of motives, which selfishness, egotism, and national vanity, could inspire, were daily more and more apparent.

"After some reverse of fortune which the French sustained in Italy, Buonaparte once more came to Milan; and the indignant patriot, instead of again promoting the views of the conqueror, openly upbraided him with his want of good faith, his total dereliction from the cause of freedom, and the atrocities committed or countenanced by him. This affront was unpardonable. To reprove a man who had armies at his command, though it shewed a noble and virtuous fortitude, the loyal Milanese soon found was a fatal step: Buonaparte caused him to be seized, put him under a guard, and sent accusations against him to the directory, accompanied by pretended proofs that he was a traitor to freedom and to France. The end of this tragedy was, the death of the Italian: he was shot! and the passions of his enemy were shewn to be *dangerous to the present* and *ominous to the future*."

Having terminated his campaigns in Italy, Buonaparte returned to Paris, where he was received with the utmost distinction and *éclat*. On his arrival in the French capital he was congratulated by every description of persons, in a manner the most flattering. Poets, painters, and sculptors, high and low, whether learned or ignorant, pious or profane, all exercised their ingenuity to display some excellent feature, either of the person or the mind of this hero of the republic. His military fame, however, had no doubt excited a jealousy in the minds of the French directory, as to his political views; and it became their policy to find him some employment. They accordingly projected the expedition to Egypt; but, not to alarm the European powers, they had artfully contrived to amuse the world with the idea, that all the preparations which were making for this purpose were intended to invade England. With this view they had assembled a very large force, denominated the *Army of England*, the command of which they entrusted to Buonaparte.

Whilst conjecture was afloat as to the actual destination of this expedition, Napoleon put to sea, from the harbour of Toulon, on board the L'Orient, of one hundred and twenty guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Brueyes. The fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates, and near four hundred transports. On board this fleet was an army of forty thousand men, and a vast number of merchants and adventurers, who, ready to take any road that seemed to lead to fortune, blindly associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing any one fact relative to it, more than that Buonaparte was at its head. There were also a great number of men of science, and learned persons, besides artists and mechanics, all of whom were capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of these, including the sailors, it is supposed, made the whole number engaged in the expedition amount to near seventy thousand souls.

On the evening of the 6th of June, the fleet came within sight of Malta, and two crazy barks came off to sell tobacco. At night the city was in perfect darkness; the Juno frigate was within shot of St. Elmo, and off the port. A signal was made for forming the frigates, and the whole of the boats were ordered out at nine o'clock. The ships of war and convoy fired several guns as night-signals, on which the only light remaining on the port was extinguished. The captains went on board the L'Orient for orders; and Buonaparte stated his unprincipled determination to attack and seize the island and its dependencies. On the 9th, he asked permission to water his fleet; but, as the grand master apprehended danger from so formidable an armament, he did not think proper to grant the request: and his refusal afforded Napoleon an excuse for commencing hostilities.

Early in the morning of the 10th, therefore, a semicircular line was formed, from the point St. Catharine

to a league distance, on the left of the city, completely blockading the port. The Juno was stationed in the centre, off St. Elmo and St. Angelo; while the convoy lay at anchor between Gozo and Cumino. Immediately after this, the Fort St. Catharine fired a shot at the boats employed in landing the division under General Desaix, and the ecclesiastical standard was hoisted on the fort commanding the city. At the same instant, on the other end of the line, shallops were employed landing the troops and artillery, which carried two advanced posts, after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now opened their fire on the boats and vessels, which was vigorously kept up till evening. A sortie was attempted by the knights, supported by some of the people from the country. The French troops ascended the first eminence at ten o'clock in the morning, and, having marched behind the city, drove them in, under the protection of their walls and batteries. Many of the knights fell a sacrifice to their valour, being massacred on their return, in a commotion which had arisen in the city. On the first day the knights were in grand council; provisions of all kinds and ammunition were carried from the city into the forts, and the general bustle and activity announced the most warlike intentions. On the second day, however, only part of the knights wore their uniform: disputes had arisen, and they continued agitated, but inactive.

At day-break, on the 11th, a languid fire was maintained; a bark under the ecclesiastical standard came out of the port, and was conducted to the L'Orient; at eleven, a second, under the flag of truce, brought those knights who, in the interest of the French, chose to abandon Malta: from them it appeared, that the garrison was almost totally unprovided; and, at four in the afternoon, there were fewer men than guns on the walls of the fort. It was now evident that the citizens and knights had disagreed, the gates of the forts being shut, and all intercourse between them and the city at an end. The general sent his aide-de-camp, Junot, with his ultimatum; a few minutes after, twelve Maltese commissioners came on board the L'Orient; and, on the 12th, at half-past eleven, the signal was hoisted, to shew that Malta was in the power of the French. Under a salute of five hundred guns from the fleet, the French troops took possession of the forts, thus completing the conquest of the strongest post in the Mediterranean.

Having organized a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the military and administrative dispositions, Buonaparte quitted Malta on the 19th of June; and, on the 2d of July, he disembarked his army on the shores of Egypt, and invested Alexandria, after driving into the town several small detachments of cavalry. On establishing his head-quarters in the city, he issued the following blasphemous proclamation in the Arabic language:—

"In the name of God, gracious and merciful—There is no God but God; *he has no Son*, nor associate in his kingdom.

"The present moment, which is destined for the punishment of the Beys, has been long anxiously expected. The Beys, coming from the mountains of Georgia and Bajars, have desolated this beautiful country, and have long insulted and treated with contempt the French nation, and oppressed her merchants in various ways. Buonaparte, the general of the French republic, according to the principles of liberty, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys.

"Inhabitants of Egypt! when the Beys tell you, the French are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: it is an absolute falsehood. Answer those deceivers, that they are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants, and that *the French* adore the Supreme Being, and *honour the Prophet and his holy Koran.*

"All men are equal in the eyes of God: understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them: as the Beys, therefore, do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country.

"*The French are true Mussulmen.* Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of the Mahometan religion. Afterwards they directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen. The French have at all times been the true and sincere friends of the Ottoman emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the empire of the Sultan, therefore, be eternal; but may the beys of Egypt, our opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated!

"Our friendship shall be extended to those of the inhabitants of Egypt who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality; and, when they have seen our conduct, hasten to submit to us. But the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms for the beys, and against us: for them there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain.

"May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal, pour forth his wrath on

the Mamelukes, and render glorious the destiny of the Egyptian nation!"

Every thing being arranged at Alexandria, Buonaparte resolved to march towards Cairo. In his progress, however, he had to encounter the Mamelukes, a people highly celebrated amongst the Egyptians for their bravery, though little better than a rabble, when compared with European troops.

On the 12th of July he fell in with the main body of this force, at a spot on the banks of the Nile, from whence, with a telescope, the Pyramids might be seen; for which reason the skirmish was styled the battle of the Pyramids. At break of day the Mamelukes were seen making a general display of their forces, without order or plan, sometimes galloping round the French army, sometimes pacing round it in parties from ten to a hundred. These detached bodies, from time to time, advanced with great boldness, though with little judgment, attempting to break in upon the French line; but meeting every where with a resistance which they probably did not expect, they spent the whole day in this species of manœuvring, merely keeping the French on the alert, and exposed to the fury of an intensely burning sun. The Mamelukes, unable to make an impression on the French, retreated in the evening, with a trifling loss; and the French army pushed on for Cairo.

On the 19th, a more serious conflict took place between the French troops and a numerous army composed of Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, under the command of Murad Bey; but, though the latter performed prodigies of valour, all their exertions were rendered abortive by the superior discipline of the Europeans; and, as they did not choose to surrender, they were all either put to the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, four hundred camels, the baggage, and the stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the 26th of July, Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to Cairo; where he established a provisional government, apparently securing the Turkish authority in opposition to that of the Beys; and he even went so far as to appoint a divan, or council, consisting of the chief priests and principal people of Cairo, to preserve peace in that city, whilst he went in pursuit of Ibrahim, the next chief in power to Murad Bey, and who was then retreating towards Syria. He overtook him on the borders of Egypt, attacked and defeated him, and took a considerable part of his baggage.

Buonaparte now received the mortifying intelligence that the French fleet in the Bay of Abdukir had been partly captured, and partly destroyed, by Admiral Nelson; and that Alexandria was so completely blockaded by the English, as to preclude all hopes of supply or relief from France. He was also informed, that, in consequence of his unprincipled invasion of Egypt, the Turkish government had declared war against France, and had resolved, in concert with the British, to expel him from their territories. He therefore resolved to march immediately into Syria, in order to annihilate any force which might there be brought against him. He accordingly gave orders in January, 1799, to transport provisions and stores, by sea, to the nearest port in Syria, whilst his artillery was embarked on board of three frigates which had orders to cruise off Jaffa, where they were to open a communication with the French army as soon as it should arrive there. Still it was necessary to have extensive modes of conveyance, along with the army on its march, for provisions, for the light artillery, ammunition, &c.; and for this purpose an immense number of camels and mules were put in requisition at Cairo, and in other parts of the country.

Having reduced the fortress of El-Erish, defeated a numerous army under Abdallah Pacha, and taken possession of Gaza, Buonaparte pushed on for Jaffa, (the Joppa of Scripture,) which being a sea-port, was the place where his frigates, with the heavy artillery, were to wait for him. As Jaffa did not immediately open its gates to him, he determined to commence a siege, and accordingly ordered trenches to be opened, and batteries to be constructed, which soon, by their fire, produced a practicable breach in the old wall surrounding the place. The garrison, however, amounting to about five thousand men, were not dismayed; but they made two gallant sorties, in which they killed and wounded many of the besieging army. This exasperated the Corsican, who instantly ordered the breach to be stormed, and the garrison to be put to the sword, in order to strike terror through the whole of Palestine.

Jaffa was accordingly carried by assault, and many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives. Three days afterwards, however, the brutal and unfeeling invader expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordering them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. Buonaparte, in person, previously inspected the whole body, when the age and noble physiognomy of a veteran janizary attracted his notice, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what did you do here?" The janizary, undaunted, replied, "I

must answer that question, by asking you the same: your answer will be, that you came to serve your sultan; so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of this reply excited universal interest in his favour: Napoleon even smiled. "He is saved," whispered one of the aids-de-camp. "You know not Buonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy: "that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say." This opinion was too true: the janizary was left in the ranks condemned to death, and suffered; for, when all the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal-gun fired, and vollies of musketry and grape instantly played upon them; whilst Buonaparte, who was now at some distance, observing the scene through a telescope, could not restrain his joy when he saw the smoke ascending, but broke out into exclamations of approval. Indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves: for Kleber had remonstrated against it in the most strenuous manner, and the officers of the *etat major*, who commanded the division, (for the general of it was absent,) actually refused to execute the order without a *written* instruction: this, however, Napoleon refused to give, but sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and indeed it is probable that many languished several days in agony; so much so, that several French officers who witnessed it, declared that it was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

Another act of barbarity which marked the conduct of Buonaparte during his stay at Jaffa, is related by Sir Robert Wilson; who asserts, that Napoleon, finding his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name ought to be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, for strong reasons, he could not insert; and, on his arrival, entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding, at last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick, at present in the hospital, was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, and bold in the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding Napoleon persevere, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation—"Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher: and, general, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank God that I do not possess them."

Buonaparte, however, was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who has since made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium, at night, was distributed in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banquetted; and, in a few hours, five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, miserably perished.

On the 17th of March, Napoleon, with his whole army, arrived on the banks of the river of Acre, at a distance of little more than a mile from the walls of that fortress. Here, a bridge was constructed during the night, so that the whole of his army was enabled to pass over it at dawn on the following day; and, on the 20th, he opened his trenches at the distance of only three hundred yards from the body of the place.

In the operations which he had now in view, he was much checked by the capture of his whole flotilla by Sir Sidney Smith, who, in the Tigre line-of-battle ship, had arrived in those seas to co-operate with the other British ships on the coast. This capture was particularly unfortunate to him, as, on board of this flotilla were the whole of his heavy guns, ammunition, platforms, and almost all other necessaries requisite for a siege.

Notwithstanding this loss, the siege of Acre was prosecuted by Buonaparte with the utmost vigour; but the genius and bravery of Sir Sidney Smith rendered all his exertions abortive; and, after an unsuccessful siege of *sixty days*, he had no alternative but a retreat, which took place on the night of the 20th of May. This was, indeed, an operation which could not require much preparation, as the French had little to carry off, except their battering-artillery, and this was embarked on board of country-vessels as soon as the army arrived at Jaffa, in order that the rapidity of their retreat might not be impeded; to which, also, they added great part of the wounded.

Buonaparte had now occasion for all his resolution and presence of mind, to induce his troops to bear up under their present sufferings, as the retreat was accompanied by every species of distress. The great body of his army moved off in deep silence with all their baggage, and, as soon as they had crossed the river of Acre, all its bridges were cut down; but, as workmen must be left for that purpose, he appointed a small corps to cover them, with orders not to quit their post

until two hours after the main body had crossed over. So well was this conducted, that neither the garrison nor squadron had any suspicion of it, but both kept up a heavy fire during the night, whilst the Corsican was pushing on, and actually arrived at Cantouara the next day, the 21st of May. Here he was obliged to throw a great part of his remaining artillery into the sea, and, at the same time, to embark twenty pieces, with some of his wounded, on board of as many of the country boats as he could procure, in order that they might proceed to Jaffa: and this measure must have been one of the first necessity; for the whole of his retreat, not only thus far, but even the whole track between Acre and Gaza, was strewed with the dead bodies of those who had sunk under fatigue, or from the effect of their wounds. Thus ended the memorable siege of Acre; and Napoleon, who had hitherto been considered invincible, now, for the first time, experienced the mortification of a defeat from an enemy whom he had always affected to despise.

On his return to Cairo, Buonaparte received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet, of one hundred sail, had anchored off Aboukir, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He immediately moved his head-quarters to Alexandria; whence he marched against the Turkish force in front of the fortress of Aboukir; and, after a most obstinate conflict, he obtained a complete victory: Mustapha Pacha, the commander-in-chief, was taken prisoner, with about two hundred men; six or seven thousand precipitated themselves into the sea, in despair; two thousand were left on the field of battle; and all the Turkish tents, baggage, and twenty pieces of artillery, fell into the hands of the French.

The expedition to Egypt having evidently failed in its object, and an host of enemies having appeared against the project of forming for France this beautiful colony, Napoleon clearly perceived that any efforts of his would be inadequate to retain his ground in that country: besides which, the affairs of France at home were, from the mismanagement of the government, in a situation that required some bold effort to rescue it from impending destruction.

Notwithstanding this success, however, Buonaparte was perfectly aware that it would be absolutely impossible for him to retain possession of Egypt; and, on his receiving some private intelligence relative to the affairs of France, he resolved to desert that army which he had so ostentatiously led as to the certain conquest of the East. Accordingly, having collected a few of his most obsequious followers, he ordered Admiral Gantheaume to prepare the two frigates that lay at Alexandria for sea, and to give information to head-quarters of the first moment when the combined squadrons of England and Turkey should quit their cruising ground.

In the evening of the 18th of August, he received the welcome intelligence that all was ready; and immediately sent orders to the few persons who were to accompany him, that they should be in readiness, at midnight, to set off on the tour of Lower Egypt. They were also directed to meet him on the beach, each being furnished with sealed instructions, which were not to be opened until their arrival at the place of rendezvous. On their proceeding to the spot, they found the subtle Corsican, and embarked on board the frigates, which instantly put to sea; leaving nothing for General Kleber, but some sealed orders, and an army filled with rage, despondency, and surprise, when they first became acquainted with the perfidy of their chief, and the horrors of their situation.

On his arrival in the bay of Frejus, Buonaparte landed amidst a vast crowd of people; who received him with enthusiastic joy, and made the air ring with acclamations, of "*Vive la Republique! Vive Buonaparte!*"

At six o'clock the same evening, he set off with Berthier for Paris, and was received with the loudest plaudits in every town upon his route, as well as with illuminations in all the principal places through which he passed.

France was rapidly hastening to a state of anarchy and confusion; insurrection blazed in the southern and western departments; clubs of the jacobins were formed in the capital; and General Jourdan had proposed a decree in the Council of Five Hundred, declaring the country in danger: when, in the midst of this threatening aspect of affairs, Napoleon arrived at Paris. His arrival was apparently welcomed by all parties; for the public knew nothing of the state in which he had left his army, or of his manner of deserting it. He passed along the streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the directory.

Sieyes, the director, had long foreseen the consequences which were likely to result from the imbecility of the government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people. He despised each of his colleagues; and only one of them had his confidence, which was Roger Ducos. To him Sieyes disclosed his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the republic and themselves by overthrowing the directory: he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their favourite, which alarmed the other directors: he welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his

project, and required his aid in its execution. The ex-priest, and the ex-chief of the army of Egypt, accordingly combined a plan, in which both engaged from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests of the other. Each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another: and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of, in his own way.

Various secret conferences were now held, at which Sieyes, Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Napoleon Buonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy; but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They artfully spread a variety of reports; and, among others, a rumour, that a new plan of government was forming for the republic. Thus a change was generally talked of, without any one knowing whence it was to proceed, or when it would be. The public mind, however, was prepared for a change; and all that seemed necessary to make it popular with the Parisians was the destruction of the directory. A few members of the council of ancients and of the council of five hundred were also in the secret.

Buonaparte appeared but little in public; he seemed to court seclusion from the gaze of the curious, and declined the visits of those who had no real business to transact with him: every body talked of him, but of those who talked, very few knew any thing about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest was to be silent, that their plans might be crowned with success.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull the other directors in security: they prevailed on them to invite Generals Buonaparte and Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was accordingly given, by the directory and the councils, to those generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory. The company consisted of nearly eight hundred persons, including most of the public functionaries of the republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislike by making them acquainted with each other. The toast given by the president of the directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparte, "A union of all parties!" It was sufficiently obvious, however, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony: the whole company viewed each other with distrust; and, though the meeting was professedly designed to effect a union of parties, it seemed only to put them further asunder. Napoleon quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (the 9th of November, 1799,) the committee of inspectors belonging to the council of ancients sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had been selected for that purpose by Napoleon, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy; requiring them to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they assembled, Cornet, the reporter of the committee, opened the business with a speech, in which he stated the dangers of the republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the assembly, according to the hundred and second and hundred and third articles of the constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree into execution; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the assemblies, and the national guard. This decree was passed by a great majority.

Buonaparte immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the president of his appointment, he spoke as follows:

"Citizen Representatives!—The republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the eighteenth century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment.

"Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty, and national representation; and we will have it. I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades."

The president replied—

"General!—The council of ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity, and of your zeal to act. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity."

Garat, one of the members, requested to be heard; but the president observed, that after the decree which the council had passed, there could be no discussion, either in Paris, or elsewhere, before the next day at noon; and the sitting was dissolved, amid loud acclamations of "*Long live the Republic! Long live the Constitution of the Third Year!*"

As soon as the decree of the council of ancients had passed, Napoleon marched ten thousand troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to the place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and he harangued his troops in the great court; while three of the directors, and all the whole of the Parisians, were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the publication of his proclamations.

When the council of five hundred assembled, they were filled with distrust and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely. Their alarm had been excited by the decree of the council of ancients, and the extraordinary events of the morning. Not knowing the causes from which those occurrences originated, they were fluctuating between the conjectures which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, when the president, Lucien Buonaparte, entered the hall: eagerness was depicted in most of their countenances whilst he seated himself. Lucien Buonaparte had been chosen their president some days before; and it was only known to a very few of the members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, that it was a measure effected by the intrigues of the new party to assist their designs upon the government.

To Lucien, then, the brother of General Buonaparte, every eye was turned. The *proces verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The president arose, and read the decree from the council of ancients, which removed the legislative body to the palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour instantly arose: the president declared the sitting dissolved, amidst a strong opposition; and he immediately quitted the hall, with several of the members who were attached to the new order of affairs.

The day after this extraordinary revolution, the castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day-light. In conformity to the decree of the council of ancients, that body, and the council of five hundred, were to hold their sittings there at noon. By that time, the members had repaired thither in great numbers. Every avenue being strictly guarded, the deputies could not pass without shewing their medal; only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being completed.

The debates were opened in the council of five hundred, by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. This motion was no sooner made than several members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of "*Down with Dictators!*" became general: others exclaimed, "*The Constitution or Death! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post!*" and some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the constitution. The members of the other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "*Vive la Constitution!*" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins; it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours; and when this was over, various propositions were made and discussed amidst great confusion, all tending against the new order of things.

Buonaparte being informed of the tumultuous discussions, became violently agitated. He hastened to the council of ancients; and, having left his arms in an anti-chamber, entered the assembly, and requested permission to address the sitting. Leave was given; and he spoke to the following effect:

"Representatives of the People!—You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country; and suspend, I beseech you, your judgments, until I have finished what I have to say.

"I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your decree, which informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to your assistance, with my brother-soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the republic, of our pure and disinterested motives? Have they, who dare to lift their voices against us, given similar pledges? As a reward for our services, they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government, and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which surrounds us every where,—that of the public misery, which continues to increase.

"It would be sacrilegious to attempt the destruction of a representative government in the age of knowledge and liberty. No one but a madman would attempt to ruin the success of a republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having supported it with so much glory and peril as I have done. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason, reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed sufficient ravages? what class has not, in turn, suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters.

You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations.

"Had I cherished any personal or ambitious objects—had I wished to crush the liberty of my country—had I designed to usurp the supreme authority, I should not have obeyed the orders you gave me; I should have had no occasion for the mandate of the senate. More than once, in extremely favourable circumstances, have I been called to assume the reins of government. After our triumphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the desire of the nation, by the request of my comrades, and by that of the soldiers, who had been oppressed in my absence—of the soldiers who are still obliged to carry on a most horrible war in the departments, which wisdom and order had tranquillized, and which folly and treason have rekindled.

"The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders; but it is on you alone that its safety depends—for the directory is no more. Four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments: the minister of police has just informed me, that, in La Vendée, several places have already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The council of ancients is invested with great power, but it is also animated by still greater wisdom; consult that alone, consider the near approach of dangers, and prevent anarchy. Let us endeavour to preserve the two objects for which we have made so many sacrifices—liberty and equality. Liberty alone is dear to me, and I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the republic."

"And of the Constitution!" exclaimed Moreau de L'Yonne.

"The *Constitution!*" exclaimed Buonaparte. "Does it become you to name it? What is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial?—The Constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who has been, or who can be, safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been indignantly violated.

"To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the republic and liberty of France.

"As soon as these objects are attained, and the dangers of the country shall have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here eagerly confirmed the assertions of Buonaparte; and observed, I am acquainted with some *criminal opinions* that are entertained of the general, which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers."

The spectators were ordered to withdraw; and, as soon as the hall was cleared, Buonaparte continued—

"Criminal opinions! I could reveal to you circumstances which would instantly confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that even two of your late magistrates—the directors Barras and Moulins, themselves, advised me to subvert the government, and put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed these overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered me their services, but I have rejected all their overtures as unworthy the ear of a republican.

"I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the God of War, and Fortune and the God of War are with me. Be not afraid, Representatives of the People, of criminal plots; I and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you and the republic." *(Glancing his eye towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the hall.)* "I appeal, fellow-soldiers," said he, "to you—you, before whom the Jacobins desire to make me appear as the enemy of liberty—you, grenadiers, whose caps I see—you, soldiers, whose bayonets I have so often directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, and to their lasting disgrace, and which you have so often employed in the foundation of several republics—I entreat you to turn those bayonets against my own breast, if ever you behold me abandon the cause of liberty.

"Representatives of the people! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country."

After this address, Buonaparte hastened to the council of five hundred, who were engaged in violent discussion, when he entered their hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers without arms, and who waited within the door. He advanced towards the top of the hall, and the council was instantly in motion. "A *General* here!" exclaimed they: "What does Buonaparte want with us? This is not his place." Some of the members flew to the tribunes; others hastened towards Buonaparte, vehemently exclaiming, "*No dictators! Down with the Tyrant! Down with him! Kill*

him, kill him!" He was pushed back, and struck at. Several members of the council drew poniards and pistols; and Arena, a native of Corsica, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. A grenadier, however, parried it with his arm, and was wounded. By another blow Napoleon was wounded in the cheek.

The president, Lucien Buonaparte, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak: "The general," said he, "has, undoubtedly, no other design than to acquaint the council with the present situation of affairs." Loud clamours and menaces prevented his being heard any further; and Buonaparte was so overpowered by the number of those who rushed forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded him, and carried him out.

When the soldiers had escorted him to the outside of the hall, he hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them: "Soldiers!" said he, "every body thought that the council of five hundred would save the country; but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies: comrades, may I rely on you?"—"Yes, yes," they replied: "Long live Buonaparte!"

The troops, having been addressed by Lucien Buonaparte and General Serrurier, were now ordered to enter the hall of the council of five hundred; and the commanding officer exclaimed—"General Buonaparte commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced, and filled the first half of the hall; the other half was occupied by the deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the president's chair. A member, called Talot, said to the soldiers—"What are you, soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation; and you dare to menace its safety and independence!" The drums now beat, and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the deputies, who, in their haste to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers, choked up the windows and doors, and tumbled over one another. The chamber was soon cleared, amidst the acclamations by the soldiers of "*Long live the Republic; Long live Buonaparte!*" and the deputies were received on the outside by the hootings and hisses of the people.

Both councils met again the ensuing evening, though of that of five hundred not more than two-thirds of the members were present. The council of five hundred now passed a resolution—"That the directory existed no longer; that sixty members should be excluded from that assembly; and that a consular executive committee, consisting of the ex-directors, Sieyes and Ducos, together with General Buonaparte, under the title of *consuls* of the French republic, should be provisionally formed, and invested with a full directorial authority".

It was also resolved, that an intermediate committee should be formed, consisting of twenty-five members from each of the two councils, and who should be chosen immediately during that present sitting.

These resolutions were sent to the council of ancients; and, at one o'clock in the morning, they announced their approbation of it. The three consuls then proceeded to the council of five hundred, in order to be sworn into their new office.

Thus was accomplished a revolution, which placed Buonaparte at the head of thirty millions of people: for although two others were associated with him, yet, in point of fact, their power and influence were merely nominal.

Buonaparte, now elevated to the first office in the state, addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, professing an ardent desire of putting a termination to the horrors of war. This, however, as he had probably anticipated, produced no effect; and he therefore made immediate and formidable preparations against Italy, in which the French had recently experienced some disasters. Here his arms were crowned with the usual success;—the memorable passage of Mount St. Gothard overwhelmed his enemies with astonishment;—all the troops who opposed him were successively defeated, and the conqueror was received at Milan with acclamations; having announced his design of forming a provisionary government for the Cisalpine republic, which was to be re-organized as a free and independent nation. The subsequent battle of Marengo added new trophies to the French republic, and completely decided the Italian campaign; the Austrian general being compelled to solicit an armistice, which led to a treaty of peace.

The victories of the French arms, under Buonaparte in Italy, and under Moreau in Germany, were celebrated on the anniversary of the revolution of the 14th of July, with unusual splendour. Upon this occasion the standards taken at the battle of Marengo, and by the army of Italy, were formally presented to the consuls, by Generals Lasne and Berthier, accompanied by appropriate speeches.

In answer to the fulsome adulation that was constantly offered to him, Buonaparte took occasion to let the people know they had not yet offered him what he considered to be his price; and he, very early, dropped a hint of his expecting some greater reward of his services than what they had already conferred; for he de-

clared to a committee which had been sent to him, "That, after the time of his consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people; but if, subsequent to that period, they should choose to apply to him the article of the constitution, which decrees that some great recompense shall be given to those warriors who have signalized themselves in defence of the republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude."

The popularity of Napoleon, however, did not prevent many plots from being hatched against him; one of which particularly excited the public attention. General Arena, the cousin and early benefactor of Buonaparte and his family, had expressed himself very freely against the first-consul, complaining of his ingratitude to himself, for his former services, not only to him, but to his mother and sisters. Of Arena, Napoleon had strong suspicions; and he accordingly employed a person of the name of Harel, a tool of the police, as a spy upon his actions. At this period, both Harel and Arena visited a man of the name of Demerville, an author, formerly secretary to Barrere; and at his lodgings a plot was contrived against the life of the first-consul. The party then consisted of two Italians of the name of Diana, a poet, and Caracchi, a statuary, together with Tupino le Brun, a painter. After a few meetings, it was agreed upon to assassinate the consul as he came from the opera, and the party were all to be provided with daggers and pistols. This plot was soon known to the police through one of the pretended conspirators, the informer Harel. When the signal was given to arrest them at the Opera-house, only three were there, Tupino and the two Italians, and only one of these had a dagger in his pocket; and even he was not on the same side of the house where Buonaparte sat, but was standing in the opposite lobby. Of the others, Arena and Demerville were at home; but the latter was arrested the next day, though it was not until five days after that Arena was taken up, and then only in consequence of surrendering himself; for he knew that it was rumoured in Paris, that he was in the plot of those persons arrested at the Opera-house, and therefore wrote to Fouché respecting it. Upon this, Fouché wished the matter to rest where it did; but Arena, not content with this letter to the minister, also wrote to Napoleon; when he was ordered to appear at the public police-office, and was there arrested.

When the prisoners were put upon their trial, the first evidence brought forward was their own confession at the police-office; but to this they objected, as it was obtained from them by force. In fact, at the first examination, when Caracchi did not answer a question according to the wishes of the interrogating officer, a pistol was presented to his head, and he was obliged to give such an answer as inculpated himself. On the trial, M. Viletti, the interpreter, was called on to confirm this statement; and as that gentleman manfully told the truth, he was immediately dismissed from his situation at the police-office, and the unfortunate prisoners were found guilty upon those extorted confessions, backed by Harel's testimony. It is rather a curious fact, that they were all guillotined, except Diana, who was acquitted, but afterwards banished, though he was the person that had the dagger at the Opera-house.

This plot was soon after followed by another, of a more terrible description. It appears that, on the 24th of December, as Buonaparte was on his way to the theatre, a violent explosion broke the windows of his carriage, and killed several persons, besides wounding many others. The plan itself seems to have been ingeniously contrived; the conspirators having filled a barrel with combustibles, and placed a rifle-gun also within-side of it, the whole being fixed upon a cart in a narrow street, so as to obstruct the consul's passage. On this occasion, Buonaparte escaped death only by a miracle; and owed his life to his coachman, who dexterously drove past the cart which was intended to impede his progress.

This plot afforded Buonaparte an opportunity of getting rid of some troublesome persons whom he suspected, not less than one hundred and thirty of whom were transported to Cayenne "by a measure of high police," such as, in former turns of revolutionary despotism, had been styled "measures of general safety."

Early in the year 1801, hostilities re-commenced between the French and the imperialists; but, on the 6th of February, a new armistice was concluded at Luneville, and this was followed, upon the 9th of the same month, by a treaty of peace, which laid the continent prostrate at the feet of France.

Napoleon now succeeded, by his intrigues with the northern powers, in raising a maritime confederacy against England; but this was soon dissolved by the successful attack of the celebrated Nelson on Copenhagen. At length, the peace of Amiens put an end to hostilities on all sides; and Buonaparte was acknowledged by *every power* in Europe as first-consul of France; and his authority was so well consolidated, that no hopes were entertained of the cause of the Bourbons.

Buonaparte now concluded a concordat with the Pope, the object of which was to re-model the Gallican church, that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion might aid the consolidation of the consular power. By this concordat, the episcopal sees were all

to be filled up, not by the ancient bishops, but by persons presented to them by Buonaparte, and of course to be confirmed by the Roman pontiff. This measure was highly acceptable to the people of France, as it gave a consolidation to the revolutionary changes of property, and the confirmation of the sales of the ecclesiastical lands throughout the republic. It also served as a prop to the first-consul's usurpation; and he who had formerly boasted of being a disciple of Mahomet, of destroying the Pope, and overturning the Christian religion, now had the effrontery to acknowledge to his own creatures in his councils of state, that these proceedings in favour of religion were merely to gratify the majority of the French people, and to consolidate the public opinion in his own behalf. Nay, he is said to have gone even further in the explanation of his motives; for some of his confidants having objected to the concordat, Napoleon asked them, "Do you, then, make no account of a clergy who will pray every day for the safety of the republic, and of bishops who will be obliged by their oaths to reveal all plots against it?"

During the negotiations for the definitive treaty of peace between France and England, Napoleon contrived to add fresh honours to those he already possessed; he was now invested with the presidency of the Italian republic in a sitting of the Cisalpine Consulta, which he himself had convoked for the purpose at Lyons. His reception, on this occasion, was very splendid; he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour formed of the young men of the best families, all dressed in the most superb style. No sooner had he returned to Paris, than he formally announced to the several European powers his elevation to this dignity.

The ambition of the subject of this biographical sketch began now to shew itself in a striking manner. Not satisfied with the honours he already enjoyed, and the authority with which he was invested, he boldly aimed at the consulship for life; and his first step towards this was to cause his emissaries to agitate the question, "What gratitude is due to the hero who has achieved so much national glory, and conferred upon France so many benefits?" Some members of the tribunate proposed, that he should be re-appointed to the supreme power for five years longer; whilst the conservative senate, imagining that they were conferring upon him the highest honour, talked of extending his office to the space of ten years; which accordingly took place, as far as a resolution would go. But so little satisfied was Buonaparte with this, that, three months after, he obtained this office for life; having, with great ingenuity, contrived to make an appeal to the people, which appeal was put in these words—"Shall Napoleon Buonaparte be declared consul for life?"

In every commune registers were opened with this question, and with space for signatures of acceptance or denial; but the time allowed was so short, that few could have opportunities of denying it, *if they dared;* whilst the names that were signed as acceptances being added to those who did not sign at all, were considered as a majority of the nation in favour of the question. Upon summing up the signatures, it appeared that three millions had voted for it, and *some hundreds* against it.

Having thus obtained the suffrages of the people Napoleon went a step further than their votes; for, by an obsequious resolution of the conservative senate, it was declared, that he should have liberty to appoint his own successor; thus rendering his consulate completely hereditary, and placing him in the situation of a sovereign prince, with a territory that exceeded any thing ever known in Europe since the establishment of the balance of power. About the same time, by dint of intrigue, he also obtained the title of Mediator of the Swiss Confederation.

In the month of February, 1803, a most audacious overture was made by an agent of Buonaparte, to Louis XVIII, at Warsaw, for the resignation of that monarch's right to the throne of France. The proposal was, that, for his resignation, the fallen monarch should receive indemnities from Buonaparte, and even a splendid establishment. The answer of the king, which has been equally admired for its moderation and dignity, was to the following effect:

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Buonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for, otherwise, he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the intentions of the Almighty respecting my race and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As a successor of Francis I., I shall at least aspire to say with him—*We have lost every thing but our honour.*"

On the 2d of March, the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructed him to communicate the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who did not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who signed an adhesion to the answer of the king.

It afterwards appeared, that, on the 19th of March, the same envoy, pursuant to the orders which he had received, waited again upon the king: there was no longer any question about the substance of his majesty's answer, but some alterations were intimated respecting the terms in which the form of the answer should be couched: apprehensions seemed to be felt, lest it should so far irritate the usurper as to prompt him to exert his influence in order to aggravate the misfortunes of the king. His majesty, however, observed, that "he should make no alteration in his answer, which was as moderate as could be expected, and that Buonaparte could not be justified in complaining of it, since, if indeed it had treated him as *a rebel and an usurper*, it would have told him *no more than the truth.*"

Upon this, certain dangers were hinted to him—"What dangers?" observed the king. "Ill-minded persons may require that I withdraw from the asylum that is granted to me. I will *pity* the sovereign who may deem himself compelled to take such a part; and I will withdraw." No! that is not it; but may it not be apprehended that Buonaparte will make it a point with certain powers to deprive the Compte de Lille of the assistance they now afford him?—"I do not dread poverty," rejoined the king. "Were it necessary, I would eat black bread with my family and my faithful servants: but do not be alarmed; I shall never be reduced to that extremity. I have another resource to rely upon, which I do not think proper to resort to as long as I have powerful friends; and that is, to make known my situation in France, and to stretch out my hand, not—no never, to a government of usurpation, —but to my faithful subjects; and, rely upon it, I shall soon be richer than I am now."

The emissary employed on this occasion was said to be the commandant De Meyer, an officer in the Prussian service, and engaged in this service by the King of Prussia, at the instance of Buonaparte. The overture, however, left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment that Buonaparte had a still further object in view; an object wholly unconnected with the peace or welfare of the French nation, or with any principle even remotely connected with republicanism. That object was subsequently manifested; the tyrant unmasked himself; and those infatuated beings who considered him as the friend of *liberty*, were completely undeceived.

Another plot was now detected: the principal persons concerned in which were Pichegru, Georges, and Lajollais, a friend of Pichegru; General Moreau had, to a certain extent, implicated himself with Pichegru, having had some secret interviews with him at Paris.

This plot was discovered by the seizure of an agent of the conspirators, on his return from England: upon which the various persons accused were instantly arrested, with the exception of Pichegru and Georges, who contrived to remain unknown in the capital; and, on the 17th of the month, the grand judge, minister of justice, made his report on the subject. No sooner was this read in the tribunate, than the president proposed that the assembly should declare itself responsible for the life of Napoleon, which alone secured to France her glory and her prosperity.

Pichegru was soon afterwards apprehended; and a law was passed, making the concealment of Georges a capital offence: every means were also adopted by the police to secure him, and all who were denounced as his accomplices. Early in March, Georges was arrested, whilst attempting to escape from Paris, but not before he had killed one police-officer, and wounded another of those who sprung forward to seize him. The conspirators were soon afterwards brought to trial. Georges and a few others were condemned and executed; Pichegru was assassinated in prison, and then said to have perished by suicide; and Moreau was banished to America.

But a more illustrious victim now fell a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of the first-consul. This was the Duke D'Enghien; of whom Buonaparte repeatedly observed, that the only individual of the Bourbons from whom any thing could be feared, then resided in an obscure manner in a small town in Germany. This gallant but unfortunate young prince had already acquired a distinguished reputation; as, during the whole of the preceding war, he had served under his brave grand-father, the Prince of Conde, when his skill and bravery as an officer, together with his unbounded generosity and humanity, had rendered him the idol of his friends, and the admiration even of his enemies. When the emigrant army was disembodied, the duke took up his residence in the principality of Baden, choosing Ettenheim as his abode, where he lived in the society of a few select friends, occupying himself with study, with botany, and with hunting, and solacing himself in the tender friendship of an amiable female, to whom he was known to be married, though reasons of state forbade a public avowal of that fact.

To render his plan secure, Napoleon sent a detachment of cavalry into the neutral territory of Baden, who seized the duke, together with several other individuals, and instantly conveyed them to Strasburgh, where they were confined in the citadel. This took place on the 15th of March, 1804, in defiance of all laws, human or divine: and the only apology which the first-consul thought proper to offer for it was merely a note from Talleyrand to the elector's ministers, which Caulincourt carried, and which told them what he was going to do for the arrest of some emigrants, whom he accused of being concerned in plots against his life, and whom he had in vain requested the elector to dismiss from his territories.

Buonaparte now ordered the Duke D'Enghien to be carried to the castle of Vincennes, and brought before a military tribunal formed by Murat, who was then the military governor of Paris.

"It was by the light of torches," says M. de Chateaubriand, "under the walls of a dungeon, that the grandson of the great Condé was pronounced guilty of having appeared on fields of battle: convicted of this hereditary crime, sentence was immediately passed upon him. In vain he asked to speak to Buonaparte (O, affecting and heroic simplicity!): the brave young prince was one of the greatest admirers of the military talents of his murderer: he could not imagine it possible for a captain to *assassinate* a soldier. Although exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he was forced to descend into the *ditches* of the castle; he there saw a grave, newly dug; he was stripped of his coat; a lantern was fastened to his breast, that he might be seen in the dark, and that the bullet might be directed with surer aim to his heart. He wished to give his watch to his executioners, and requested them to transmit the last tokens of his remembrance to his friends: but his wishes were rudely and insultingly refused. The command to fire was given; the Duke D'Enghien fell without a witness, without a consolation, in the midst of his native country, at the distance of a few leagues from Chantilly, not far from those venerable trees under which the sainted King Louis administered justice to his subjects, in the very prison where the Prince de Condé was confined.

"The young, handsome, brave, and last offspring of the conqueror of Rocroy met death as the great Condé would have met it, and as his assassin will not be able to meet it. His body was secretly buried, and Bossuet will not re-appear eloquently to mourn over his ashes.

"When the sentence of death was made known in Paris, there prevailed an emotion of horror which no one dissembled. People asked each other by what right a *Corsican* had shed the noblest and the purest blood of France? Did he fancy he could replace, by his semi-African family, the French family which he had extinguished? Military men, especially, trembled with horror. The name of Condé seemed to be their exclusive property, and the representative of the honour of the French army. Their grenadiers had frequently met the three generations of heroes in the heat of battle, the Prince de Condé, the Duke de Bourbon, and the Duke D'Enghien; they had even wounded the Duke de Bourbon: but the sword of a *Frenchman* could not shed the whole of that noble blood; it belonged only to a *foreigner* to dry up its source."

Buonaparte, having now got rid of all those whom he supposed capable of thwarting his ulterior designs, resolved to consummate his schemes of ambition. The chief magistracy had been conferred on him, in the first instance, for ten years. To secure the permanent exercise of sovereign power, he afterwards obtained an extension of this supreme authority for life. The executive power, although in reality concentered in himself, was apparently divided with two individuals, who held in common with him the title of consul, qualified with a slight distinctive denomination of subordinate rank. The title of first-consul was, besides, too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised by fortuitous circumstances. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he now aspired to *imperial* distinction; and both the tribunate and the senate proved as servile and obsequious on this occasion as he could have wished. Thus, a soldier of fortune, who at the commencement of the French revolution was an obscure individual serving in the armies of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest military rank, and, after having usurped the supreme authority of the state, was invested with the title of *Emperor of the French!!*

In order to give greater solemnity to the approaching coronation, the Pope, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, was commanded, at the commencement of the winter, to pass the Alps, in order to perform the ceremony of consecration. It has been generally reported, that the pontiff manifested, on this occasion, a considerable degree of reluctance; but, as he was given to understand that he must either consent or submit to the loss of his dignities, he thought proper to comply. In the early part of November, he left the Vatican, and proceeded on his journey with a splendid retinue. He was escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty French hussars were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory. The cardinal Archbishop of Paris directed

prayers to be offered up in all the churches for the prosperous journey of Pope Pius the Seventh.

It may be proper to state, that the following account of the usurper's *coronation* is given from the documents of the *French*:—

"The ceremony of the coronation was performed on Sunday, the 2d of December. The military deputations assembled at six o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries, invited by the emperor, met at the Palace of Justice at seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, and the tribunate. Each of these bodies was escorted by a body of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Thuilleries at nine o'clock, attended by his retinue, and, at ten, the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery.

"The pope and the emperor, instead of going directly to the church of Notre Dame, repaired to the archiepiscopal palace; where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church. The coronation ornaments of *Charlemagne* were borne before Buonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion; Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the mantle of the empress; Marshal Murat, with the empress's crown; the empress, with the imperial mantle, supported by the princesses; Marshal Kellerman, carrying the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon, the sceptre of Charlemagne; Marshal Bernadotte, the collar of the emperor; General Beauharnois, his majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier, the imperial robe; and the grand chamberlain, the basket to receive the mantle of the emperor.—Buonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame, *with the crown previously placed on his head by himself.*

"The imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church of Notre Dame. On the imperial throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments. The empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm-chair. The princesses were on her right hand. On the left hand of the emperor, but two steps lower, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated was raised near the altar. At the moment *their majesties* entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and, advancing to the altar, sung *Veni Creator*. The emperor and empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time, the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments; which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

"Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted *their imperial majesties* from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and on the empress;—one on the head, the other two on the hands. After having received the unctions, they were reconducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, and over the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. When these imperial ornaments were consecrated, the emperor put them on again; and afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. After this, the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to his throne; where, after pronouncing a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, '*Vivat imperator in æternum!*' and the audience exclaimed, '*Vive l'Empereur! vive l'impératrice!*' The pope was then reconducted to the altar by the master of the ceremonies. At the elevation of the host, the grand elector again took the crown off the head of the emperor.

"At the *agnus Dei*, the grand almoner received the kiss of peace from his holiness, and carried it to their imperial majesties. The emperor then, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the coronation-oath in a firm tone of voice. The chief herald at arms then loudly proclaimed:—'The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the emperor.' The audience again exclaimed, '*Vive l'Empereur! vive l'impératrice!*' A discharge of cannon announced the coronation and enthroning of their majesties.

"The oath was presented by the president of the senate, attended by the president of the legislative body and of the tribunate. Their majesties left the church with the same pomp and state, and returned to the archiepiscopal palace. When they had arrived, the pope was reconducted by his clergy, and the procession returned in nearly the preceding order.

"On the following day, the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets of the city, and distributed a great quantity of medals of different sizes, destined to commemorate the coronation; on one side of the medals, the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend: *Napoleon Empereur;* on the reverse was the inscription, *Le sénat et le peuple,* with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and of a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes."

Buonaparte, being thus seated upon the throne of France, directed his ambitious views towards Italy, which still preserved the name of a republic, of which he himself was president. His elevation to the imperial dignity encouraged him to proceed in these views of ambition; and, to imitate Charlemagne more closely, he resolved to revive the ancient iron crown of Italy; which would, of itself, give him, if not actual possession, at least a kind of feudal claim over the whole of that peninsula, while, at present, he merely could boast a jurisdiction over that part which had been revolutionized.

It was not very difficult for him to attain this new honour; and so quickly were affairs arranged, that he was able to set off for Milan early in May, accompanied by Josephine. On his arrival in that city, he was received with the grossest adulation; and, on the 26th of May, he was crowned King of Italy, with all the splendour and magnificence to be expected on such an occasion. Seated upon a most superb throne, he had, on his right hand, the diadem of France, with all its regalia, whilst, on his left, sparkled the ornaments of the iron crown, so called, because the ancient one was partly formed of iron: before him he caused the honours of Charlemagne to be placed, thereby giving Austria and Germany a pretty broad hint of his views upon that empire. The cardinal Archbishop having invested him with the various insignia, he rushed up the steps of the altar, seized upon the crown, which lay there upon his left hand, and placed it upon his own head, exclaiming, with a loud voice, and in a tone of defiance—"God has given it to me—Let him take care who presumes to touch it."

Napoleon now presented his new subjects with a constitution, which was to replace the *two* which they had already received. By this he was empowered to choose his own successor; after which the line was to be hereditary, with a proviso, that all future kings of Italy were to reside in that country, whilst, in the present case, Napoleon was to appoint a viceroy; and, after his decease, the crowns of France and Italy were never to be upon the head of the same individual.

This business being settled, he immediately proceeded to annex Genoa to France, in direct opposition to the treaty which he had formed with the Ligurian republic. It is needless to repeat all the process of threats and bribery which he used upon this occasion: it is sufficient to record, that he had ordered the doge of Genoa to attend his coronation at Milan; and that, on the 4th of June, a formal surrender of the Ligurian territory was made to him in the name of that people, with much ceremony, when, in a full convocation of all the great officers, and of the legislature of his new kingdom, the doge addressed him, and solicited him to grant to the Ligurian people the happiness of being his subjects. To such a request it was impossible he could do otherwise than return a most *gracious* answer; in which he told the doge, that he would realize his wish, and that *his* people would receive them with pleasure. "You will find," said he, "in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports, and a marine. You will find a flag which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, *on all the seas of the universe,* constantly free from insult and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognise, except for places really blockaded as well *by sea as by land.*"

Having settled all these affairs in Italy, the Corsican returned to Paris, where he was received with great pomp and splendour. From Paris he hastened to Boulogne, to expedite the preparations which were making for the invasion of England. He had not long been there, however, before he received intelligence that a new coalition, more formidable than any preceding one, had been entered into between Great Britain and Russia; by which it was proposed to liberate Hanover and the north of Germany, to re-establish the independence of the Swiss and Dutch republics, to restore the kingdom of Sardinia, secure that of Naples, and, in short, to re-establish the order of things in Europe, and erect barriers against future usurpations.

Sweden and Austria, as well as Russia, were privy to these plans; but it was at first intended to try negotiation before proceeding to force, until the annexation of Genoa convinced all parties that negotiations would be in vain, when Austria became formally a member of the coalition.

Whilst the negotiations were proceeding, Napoleon was making every preparation to meet the storm; and, no sooner were his preparations complete, than he resolved to march immediately with his whole military force, in order to crush the coalition before it could become formidable. To him promptitude was now every thing; for there was a dilatoriness not to have been expected on the part of the confederates, particularly as they had their own time for preparation; but

the Russian troops destined to co-operate with Austria had not yet passed their own frontier.

All was now hurry and bustle throughout France; the army of Italy was immediately augmented; the camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the flotilla dismantled; whilst the greatest part of the army of England was marched into Holland and Hanover, in order that they might proceed by the most rapid movements upon the Danube, where the Austrians were assembled. In order to increase his military force, Buonaparte raised a conscription levy of sixty thousand men; and, at the same time, he directed a note to be sent to the diet at Ratisbon, in which he laid the whole blame of the war upon the hostile dispositions of Austria.

The confederacy now formed against the gigantic power of France excited the hopes of every lover of freedom in Europe: but these hopes were doomed to experience a fatal disappointment. The command of the army in Germany being unfortunately given to Field-marshal Baron Mack—a man by no means qualified to oppose the energy and rapid evolutions of Buonaparte; and the French having succeeded in bringing the Austrians to action before they could be joined by their Russian allies, a series of disasters succeeded each other with unexampled rapidity. After the battles of Wertingen and Guntzburg, the city of Ulm was surrendered; when thirty-three thousand men laid down their arms before a French division, and three thousand sick and wounded remained in the hospitals. The conquerors then pushed on to Vienna, and the citizens were compelled to submit to a *provisional* government, whilst their lawful prince and his faithful adherents retired into Moravia. In Italy, the Austrians were equally unsuccessful; and the fatal battle of Austerlitz, in which one hundred pieces of cannon and forty-five standards were taken by the French, terminated the campaign and the war; an armistice being agreed on, two days afterward, and a definitive treaty of peace concluded, at Presburgh, on the 26th of December.

Napoleon now quitted the Austrian capital, and proceeded towards Paris, but stopped at Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where he had arranged a matrimonial union between the Princess of Bavaria and his son-in-law Eugene Beauharnois. At the Bavarian court he stopped upwards of a fortnight; and, in compliment to the union, not only declared Eugene his adopted son, but also announced him as his successor in the kingdom of Italy. His reception at Munich, as might naturally be expected, was extremely flattering, and the grossest adulation was offered to him without scruple. He was compared to Titus; and it was said, that of all persons who had worn the imperial purple, the one most resembling Napoleon was Titus, because Titus had been called "the *delight of the human race!*" and, to convey to him this discovery in a manner sufficiently delicate not to *wound his modesty*, the Opera of "La Clemenza de Tito," from the pen of Metastasio, was performed in his presence, at the Theatre Royal at Munich, when, as was stated, "all eyes were instantly directed to the *Titus of France*, and all voices raised in prayers for his life and happiness!!"

The remainder of his journey was a continuation of this gross flattery; and in all places he received similar homage.

On the 26th of January, 1806, he arrived in the French capital; where he found the people completely dazzled with his splendid victories, and offering, without reserve, every species of flattery that the imagination could invent. Soon after his arrival he convoked the legislative bodies, on which occasion he made a pompous display of his victories; and on the 5th of March, his minister made an extraordinary *exposé*, in which a statement was given of the condition of the French empire. In this document two new cities were promised to the French, both to be called Napoleon Ville; one of them to be raised in the Morbihan, and the other in La Vendée. It was also stated that the Port Buonaparte, which was to be worthy of its name, would soon be an object of terror to England.

The aggrandizement of his family was now the principal object of Buonaparte's attention; and he notified to the legislature, that he was about to marry his niece Stephanie Beauharnois to the young Prince of Baden. He also informed them of the annexation of the Venetian territories to the kingdom of Italy, and of his conferring the kingdom of Naples upon his brother Joseph.

Great interest was excited by the subsequent rupture between France and Prussia; and, in one action at the commencement of the campaign, the French were defeated with the loss of six thousand killed, and fourteen thousand taken prisoners: but, after this, the Prussian army sustained a series of melancholy reverses:—the battles of Jena and Auerstadt were productive of the most distressing consequences;—whole armies and strong fortresses, either from panic or treachery, surrendered without a blow; and Berlin itself was abandoned to the insulting conqueror, who resolved to push his victories into Poland.

A temporary gleam of hope now illumined the cause of his Prussian majesty and his allies:—the Russians, animated by the presence and intrepidity of their emperor, performed prodigies of valour; and the French were compelled to retreat before them with considerable loss. The surrender of Dantzic, however, com-

pletely changed the aspect of affairs; the eagle of victory again perched on the French standards, and subsequent to the fatal battle of Friedland, Napoleon's troops obtained possession of Koningsberg, where they are said to have found several hundred thousand quintals of corn, together with all the warlike stores sent from England, and one hundred and sixty thousand muskets unpacked!

Buonaparte having procured an interview with the Emperor Alexander on the Niemen, induced him to conclude the peace of Tilsit, by which the Russian monarchy was diminished nearly one half, and Russia was rounded by a territory containing a population of two hundred thousand souls.

Napoleon now determined to establish a new kingdom in the north-west of Germany, by the name of Westphalia, which he gave to his brother Jerome; on which occasion he made use of the following remarkable expressions to the senate—"If the house of Brandenburgh, which was the first to conspire against our independence, *yet* reigns, it owes it to my friendship for the powerful *Emperor of the North.* A French Prince shall reign on the Elbe: he will know how to conciliate the affections of his new subjects with his first and most sacred duties."

The next important event in the life of this Corsican adventurer is his attack upon the independence of Spain, and his attempt to fix his brother Joseph upon the throne of that kingdom. This, however, proved an undertaking too difficult to be fully accomplished. He succeeded, indeed, in getting the whole of the royal family into his power, and sending them into the interior of France; his armies were poured into various parts of the peninsula, and his brother assumed the regal dignity in Madrid; but in consequence of the patriotic insurrection of the Spaniards, the ready assistance of Britain, and the splendid victories of a Wellington, all the perfidious arts and determined efforts of Napoleon were rendered abortive, and the plans which he had formed relative to the future destiny of Spain "dissolved like the baseless fabric of a vision," and scarcely left a wreck behind.

The check which Buonaparte experienced in his unprincipled attempt on the Spanish monarchy induced Austria once more to appeal to the sword against this scourge of the human race. The Corsican, however, having contrived to force himself between the principal divisions of the Austrian army, defeated them in several engagements, and soon made himself, a second time, master of Vienna; and, notwithstanding a serious repulse which he received from the Archduke Charles, on the bank of the Danube, the battle of Wagram was so decisive, that the Emperor of Austria was obliged to request a cessation of hostilities, and subsequently to conclude a disadvantageous peace.

However the military fame of Buonaparte might have been raised by his recent achievements, an event now took place, which tended more to his aggrandisement than any which we have yet recorded; and this was his alliance with the Imperial House of Austria, by his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. This event probably took place in consequence of articles to that effect in the treaty with Austria; for, soon after his return to Paris, he adopted measures to bring about the intended union by obtaining a divorce from Josephine, which was very soon accomplished.

As soon as the necessary arrangements were made, he despatched the Prince of Neufchatel to Vienna, on the 25th of February, to demand the hand of the Archduchess; and, on the 27th, he notified this event to the senate, informing them at the same time that a contract had already been entered into with her father for that purpose. The business had been so completely arranged, that, in a very few days after his ambassador's arrival at the Austrian capital, the usual ceremony was performed, the Archduke Charles acting as bridegroom on the occasion, as Napoleon's proxy. The ceremony took place on the 11th of March, with all the splendour usually displayed in alliances with the most powerful monarchs. Soon after which, the new empress set off for Paris.

Having thus strengthened and consolidated his power by an illustrious alliance, Buonaparte would have had little to fear from any hostility abroad, had not his own unprincipled ambition led him into enterprises far beyond his power to accomplish; but, thinking, from his unparalleled fortune, that every thing must yield to his mighty force, he directed all his thoughts and attention to one object—that of making Europe tributary to France.

With this view he projected the invasion of Russia; and his first operations in that empire were crowned with his usual success. On the 23d of June, 1812, he crossed the Niemen, and successively took possession of Kouno, Wilna, Novogorod, Minsk, Witepsk, and Smolensko. His victories also opened him a free passage to Moscow, the ancient capital of the empire. Here, however, the sun of his military glory was doomed to set in darkness and disgrace.

"If," says M. de Chateaubriand, "in the month of October, 1812, he had stopped on the banks of the Dwina, if he had contented himself with taking Riga, assigning cantonments to his army during the winter, and organizing Poland in his rear, he might, perhaps, in the spring, have placed the empire of the czars in a perilous situation. Instead of this, he marched to Mos-

cow by one single road, without magazines, and without any resources. He reached it, and the conquerors of Pultowa set fire to their holy city. Buonaparte continued inactive for the space of a month in the midst of ruins and ashes. He appeared to forget the periodical return of seasons and the severity of the climate; he suffered himself to be amused by proposals of peace. So complete was his ignorance of the human heart, that he supposed a people, who had burnt their metropolis with their own hands to avoid slavery, would capitulate upon the smoking ruins of their dwellings. His generals told him that it was time to retreat. He left Moscow, vowing, like an enraged child, that he would soon return with an army, of which *the van-guard alone should amount to one hundred thousand soldiers.* The Almighty sent a breeze of his wrath; and all perished!"

In this retreat, according to the same intelligent author, "the conquerors of Europe, the glory of France, were seen lingering, wandering among snows and deserts, resting upon branches of firs, for they had no longer strength to carry their arms, and no other covering than the bloody hides of the horses that had served for their last meal. Old captains, their hair and beards studded with icicles, stooped to caress the soldier who had some remnants of food left, to obtain a trifling share of his provisions; so much were they tormented with the cravings of hunger! Whole squadrons, men and horses, were frozen during the night, and in the morning these phantoms were still seen standing on the icy soil! Troops of ravens and of half-wild greyhounds, which followed our army to devour its wrecks, were the only witnesses of the sufferings of our soldiers in these solitudes. The Emperor of Russia had the dead bodies counted in the spring: they amounted to more than *one hundred and sixty thousand;* twenty-four thousand were burnt in one single funeral-pile!"

Whilst Buonaparte, abandoning the remains of the army which he had led into such unexampled sufferings, fled in disguise to Paris, the victorious Russians, profiting by the advantages they had obtained, lost no time in penetrating into the heart of Germany; where the spirit of independence, which had been long smothered, but not extinguished, was again roused into action by the proclamations of the Emperor Alexander. Saxony had already expressed her wishes for neutrality: all Prussia was in arms; and her troops, under the conduct of General D'York, who had gone over to the allies, supported by his sovereign's confidence, were acting with Wittgenstein in Germany. Russia had obtained all those means of supply which Napoleon's commissariat had collected in Poland: Hamburgh and the Hanse Towns were in a state of insurrection: even Denmark, her population at least, was not unfriendly. The Crown Prince of Sweden was daily expected in Pomerania, where he was to oppose the French legions; the German states were wavering; and Austria, in arms, was ready to adopt a decided part, which Napoleon had every reason to fear would not be in his favour; so that nothing remained for him but immediate action and the most strenuous exertions.

On the 15th of April, 1813, therefore, he left Paris, having previously issued letters patent, by which Maria Louisa was constituted Empress Regent of France, with authority to exercise all the functions of state, both legislative and political; and, on the 16th, he passed through Metz, proceeding on rapidly for Mentz, on the banks of the Rhine.

He remained in that city from the 17th to the 25th of April; during which interval he employed himself in the review of such of his forces as were in the neighbourhood, in hastening forward the troops as they arrived, and in establishing depôts, hospitals, and the means of transport and communication.

Nothing shews the activity of Napoleon to a greater advantage, and the immense resources of his mind, than his collecting, after so disastrous and ruinous a campaign, so great an army as he had now assembled, which he again denominated the Grand army, and which consisted of twelve corps, and the Imperial guards, containing thirty-six battalions.

It would be incompatible with the prescribed limits of this article to enter into a detail of the operations of the campaign in Germany. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that after various successes alternately obtained by Buonaparte and the allies, the Emperor of Austria resolved to make common cause with the latter; the battle of Leipsic proved fatal to the hopes of the Corsican; France was invaded in various directions by the victorious confederates; and Paris was doomed to bow her haughty head to the yoke of conquest. Here, however, the allied sovereigns were received as friends and deliverers; and the senate, having pronounced Buonaparte's forfeiture of the throne, recalled Louis XVIII. to the palace of his ancestors.

During these transactions in the capital, Buonaparte remained at Fontainbleau; and, in the morning of the 1st of April, 1814, he reviewed the troops, which he seemed to consider as his own. The marshals and generals, who had learned from the papers the resolutions of the senate and the provisional government, conversed together on the subject loud enough to be heard by Napoleon; but he appeared to pay no attention to what they said, and the review passed quietly. When it was over, Marshal Ney entered the palace with him, and followed him into his cabinet, where he

asked him if he were informed of the great revolution that had taken place at Paris. He replied, with all the composure he could assume, that he knew nothing of it, though he was doubtless well informed of the whole. The marshal then gave him the Paris papers, which he seemed to read with attention; but he was only seeking to gain time to form an answer. Marshal Lefebre then entered the apartment, and, addressing his late emperor in a feeling tone, said, "You are undone; you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants; and now the senate has declared that you have forfeited the throne." These words made such an impression on him, who was used to consider himself above all laws, that he immediately burst into a flood of tears, and, after some minutes, wrote an act of abdication in favour of his son.

On the 5th, about eleven o'clock, several generals sent to the Duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with Napoleon, to dissuade him from appearing on the parade; but he would not refrain from it. About half-past eleven he formed a plan, which he made the Duke of Bassano write and sign with him, to repair, with twenty thousand men that he had still with him, to Italy, and join the Prince Eugene Napoleon. He repeated several times, "If I choose to go there, I am certain that all Italy will declare for me." On the parade, he looked extremely pale and thoughtful; and his convulsive motions shewed his internal struggles; he did not stop above eight or ten minutes. When he entered the palace, he sent for the Duke of Reggio, and asked him if the troops would follow him? "No, sir," answered the duke; "you have abdicated." "Yes, but upon certain conditions." "The soldiers," resumed the duke, "don't comprehend the difference; they think you have no more any right to command them." "Well then," said Napoleon, "this is no more to be thought of; let us wait for the accounts from Paris." The marshals returned in the night between twelve and one. Marshal Ney entered first. "Well, have you succeeded?" exclaimed the emperor. "Revolutions do not turn back," replied the marshal: "this has begun its course; it was too late." "Where shall I be able to live with my family?" "Where your majesty shall please, and for example, in the Isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions." (24,000*l.* sterling.) "Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier, as I am. I see I must submit." He then renounced the sovereignty in the following terms:

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself, and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France. Done at the palace of Fontainbleau, April 5, 1814."

On the 13th, the Austrian, Prussian, and English commissioners were presented to Napoleon, who received them in a polite manner, but particularly Colonel Campbell, to whom he spoke, in terms of the highest praise, of Lord Wellington, and the English nation in general. He could not, however, conceal his dissatisfaction on seeing the Prussian commissioner; as being the envoy of a king, whom, in his projects, *he had erased from the list of sovereigns.*

The following day was appointed for his departure; but Napoleon succeeded, by various subterfuges, in having his journey put off for three days, pretending, amongst other things, that the orders for his reception at the Island of Elba were not sufficiently clear, and that possibly this island would be left to him without the proper means of defence. In alluding to the difficulties he feared to meet with on his arrival in the Isle of Elba, he said, "At all events, I shall have the resource of going to England; though it is true, as I have endeavoured to do the English a great deal of harm, I must expect that they will hate me." To which General Koller, the Austrian commissioner, replied, "As your projects have not been realised, that hatred will not be so strong as to prevent them from receiving you well." Napoleon wanted also that the route which had been fixed upon should be changed, saying, that he had already sent off his equipage, of which he should be in absolute want on the road; though he despatched in this interval sixty covered waggons and other carriages, with books, paintings, plate, and household furniture, together with all his state-coaches.

When the passports and other papers expected from Paris had at last arrived, the departure of Napoleon was definitively fixed for the 16th; but, on the morning of that day, when General Koller, who in his quality of Austrian commissioner was at the head of the commission, presented himself to the Corsican, the latter addressed him in these terms: "I have been thinking on what I ought to do. Last night I have received addresses from more than ten thousand persons, earnestly entreating me to resume the reins of government. It is true, that the army I could assemble for the present would not exceed thirty thousand men; but, in a short time, I could raise ten thousand more, and again place myself in a commanding attitude. My abdication has always been conditional: and, as the allies do not fulfil their engagements with me, I am absolved from mine. I could always tell my guards, that I had thought that the welfare of my country de-

manded the sacrifice of my authority, but that I resume the reins of government as soon as I become necessary to her." General Koller, taking advantage of a momentary pause, asked Napoleon what complaints he had to make; to which he answered, that they were chiefly founded on his having been separated from Maria Louisa, who, he said, had been carried off against her inclination. Upon General Koller's assuring him that, on the contrary, it had been her free choice not to follow him, he agreed to depart, saying, "I have never failed to keep my word, and I shall not fail to keep it on this occasion." The grand-marshal having sent word by an adjutant, that every thing was ready for his departure, he fell into a passion and said, "Does not the grand-marshal know me then?—how long since is it become necessary that I should be regulated by his directions? I shall go when I think proper; and perhaps I shall not go at all."—Continuing the conversation, he said, that he was obliged to the Emperor Alexander, for having offered him an asylum in his dominions; an offer which he had in vain, though with more justice, expected from his father-in-law; whom he also upbraided with having endeavoured to set his children at variance, instead of bringing them together for the purpose of reconciliation; complaining at the same time of the visit the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia had recently paid to Josephine, and which, he said, had the appearance as if it were intended as an affront to the Empress Maria Louisa. General Koller having represented that this visit was merely intended as a mark of respect, Napoleon signified his satisfaction with this explanation, as far as regarded the Emperor Alexander, but persisted in blaming the King of Prussia, whom, he said, he never would forgive, for setting the first example of defection. Then, without paying any attention to those who were present, he entered into conversation with Colonel Bussy, an officer of his staff, and, descanting on the events that had recently occurred, he expressed himself in these terms: "If it had not been for that fool of a general, who persuaded me that I was pursuing Prince Schwartzenberg, and that other blockhead, who fancied that he was engaged with the whole corps of Witgenstein, while it was only a small body of cavalry, I should have marched upon Paris, and things would have been in quite a different state from what they are at present." He complained, at the same time, of the treachery of Marmont and Suchet, the latter of whom, as well as his wife, he called intriguers. He also alluded to his having been reproached for not killing himself, and said, that he did not conceive what honour there could be in destroying one's self, like a *gambler* who had lost every thing; that, on the contrary, to survive a misfortune, which we had not deserved, evinced, in his opinion, much more greatness of soul; and that, besides, he had personally given sufficient proofs of his courage during his military career; adding, that, even in the late battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, he had four horses killed under him. The truth is, however, that he had *one slightly wounded!!*

At half-past eleven, he descended into the court-yard of the Castle, where the imperial guard was drawn up. Having ordered the officers and non-commissioned officers to form a circle, he addressed them with great warmth and animation. Afterwards he embraced General Petit, kissed the eagles, and then entered into his carriage. His Mameluke Rustan and his valet Constant refused accompanying him, and left him, after having drawn considerable sums from their late master. The imperial guard escorted him as far as Moulins, and, accordingly, he was received all the way thither with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and the commissioners from the allied powers were, on the contrary, frequently insulted; but, after passing Moulins, the white cockades began to make their appearance, and the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were changed for those of "*Vive l'Roi!*" and "Long live the brave and generous allies!" Escorts had been stationed along the whole of the road, by order of the commissioners; but Napoleon refused them, saying, "You see that I dont want them."

At Lyons a few voices repeated the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but they proceeded merely from part of the populace who had collected together during the night.

Between Lyons and Valence they met Marshal Augereau. The Emperor and the Marshal having alighted from their carriages, Napoleon took off his hat, and saluted the Marshal very graciously; and, addressing him in quite familiar terms, asked him, "Where are you going?—to court, I suppose." To which Augereau, without paying the least regard to these marks of civility, replied that, for the present, he was only going to Lyons. Napoleon then took him by the arm, and walked with him for about a quarter of an hour on the road to Valence. During that time it was distinctly heard that he upbraided Augereau on account of the proclamation the latter had issued, saying, that he ought to have merely stated that, since the new government had recognised the Bourbons, it became the duty of the army to obey, with *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!* &c. Augereau, who in his turn expressed himself quite familiarly, and, in general, evinced a great deal of coolness in his manner, then took his leave of Napoleon, without even taking off his hat; though, on the contrary, he affected to salute the commissioners with a great deal of politeness. An hour after, Napoleon ad-

dressed himself to the commissioners, and told them that he had just heard of the infamous proclamation of Augereau; and that, if it had come sooner to his knowledge, he would have reprimanded him severely for it.

Further on they met with part of Augereau's army. The troops wore the white cockade; but they received Napoleon, nevertheless, with military honours. A few voices cried, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but that was the last of his triumphs.

As they advanced towards the south, the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" became not only more animated, but the people gave Napoleon the most abusive language, execrating him in the vilest manner, and calling him Corsican tyrant, butcher of the French people, &c. On a post on this side the town of Orange, close to the place where the Corsican was obliged to change horses, the people had suspended the effigy of a man, covered with blood, with this inscription: "*This will, soon or late, be the fate of the tyrant.*" As soon as he had left this place, he put on a round hat with a white cockade, and mounting a poney, he rode on before. At Orange, the people, who were quite enraged, having attempted to break his carriage, the commissioners, not knowing any thing of the expedient he had resorted to, became very much alarmed; but fortunately the mob did not succeed in their attempt, and General Bertrand, who was alone in the carriage, escaped unhurt. Shortly after, the commissioners found Buonaparte alone in a house, situate at some distance from the road, where he had stopt, in a state of the utmost dejection, with his head resting upon his hands, and his eyes full of tears. At this place he had attempted to pass for Colonel Campbell: but it having afterwards been observed to him that this officer was gone on to Toulon, to find a frigate, which, agreeably to his request, was to carry him to the Isle of Elba, Napoleon insisted upon assuming the name of Lord Burghersh; and desired, at the same time, that no particular attention should be paid to him by any of the persons present. It is worthy of observation, that Napoleon had made all his attendants, from the highest to the lowest, wear the white cockade; of which it appears that he had laid in a good stock.

Having resumed his journey, he evinced the greatest alarm on entering Avignon; for the rage of the people was really worked up to the highest pitch—the women demanded, for God's sake, that they might be allowed to plunder him, exclaiming, while addressing themselves to the commissioners, "He well deserves it, as well from us as from you." On the commissioners exerting themselves to quiet the people, they called out, "We will not kill him; but let us, at least, tell him the truth, which he has never heard." Napoleon had scarcely laid aside his first disguise before he assumed another, by putting on a coat of General Koller, the cartridge-box of the Prussian, and the cloak of the Russian commissioner.

On entering an inn, Buonaparte shewed a great deal of uneasiness, talked of precautions which it might be necessary to take in case any attempt should be made to force the house, and turned quite pale when the Prussian commissioner, whom he had desired to see whether there was a possibility of leaping out of the windows, told him that it was impossible, on account of the bars whereby they were secured.

The road to Aix appearing to him extremely dangerous, he persuaded the commissioners to send a messenger to the mayor to desire him to disperse the mob that had collected in various places, and would not proceed till he had received a satisfactory answer. At the same time he insisted upon one of the aides-de-camp of the Russian General Schuwelaff putting on the dress he had taken off, and seating himself in the imperial carriage, although that officer thereby exposed his person to the danger of being assassinated instead of him. Meanwhile he himself entered the calash of General Koller, and requested the general to sing or whistle, while he pretended to be fast asleep, and to desire the servant, who was seated on the box, to smoke his pipe, in order to prevent people from suspecting that any person of consequence was in the carriage. Such was the homage that Napoleon received—such were the acclamations that accompanied him on his journey!

Napoleon having learnt, on his arrival at Luc, that, for the future, he could have an escort of Austrian hussars, he was quite in raptures. The time was past when he refused, with such haughtiness, the protection of the allied troops. Hearing that the sub-prefect had arrived in the town, he inveighed most bitterly against him for having been obliged to assume an Austrian costume, saying, "These provincials are miserable wretches, who, in the course of four days, would treat Louis XVIII. in the same way they use me at present. They are cowards, who know only how to insult an unarmed man, and who never supplied me with a single good battalion."

In the course of conversation during the journey, Buonaparte alluded several times to the bad policy of the recent treaty, by which Austria was left exposed to the attacks of her natural enemies, Prussia and Russia; adding, that the treaty which he had proposed at Frankfort was infinitely better, and that Caulincourt, for certain reasons which were best known to himself, had gone too far, by saying that he (Napoleon) would never agree to the conditions proposed to him at Chatillon, although he had long since renounced all pre-

tensions to Italy and Holland. General Koller having observed that, consequently, he ought to have agreed to the treaty proposed to him at Dresden, as that was still more favourable to him than the one at Frankfort; Buonaparte exclaimed, "What shall I say? I was wrong; but then I had still many resources left!"

Napoleon having arrived at Frejus, and finding that, instead of a corvette, a brig had been sent thither, which he called a *bad rotten vessel*, he fell into such a violent passion, that he exasperated the French naval officer so much as to induce him to return to Toulon with the brig, and the frigate that was to have accompanied her.

Colonel Campbell, having rejoined the other commissioners at this place, now took upon himself the office of interpreter between Napoleon and the Captain of the English frigate, on board of which he was to embark, and with whom the Corsican entered into a spirited conversation, talking about his fleets, his armies, his large mortars, and his project for making Hamburgh a second Antwerp; and raising a military conscription to man his navy, which, if he had not been prevented by his recent disasters, would, he pretended, have enabled him, in less than two years, to have overthrown the power of England.

"On the 3d of May, at five in the evening," says a French writer, "an English frigate, the Undaunted, was seen to moor at a quarter of a league from the town of Porto Ferrajo. In a few minutes a boat was despatched from it, which came to the office of health, requesting admission into the town. Having obtained it, the grand Marshal Bertrand, General Drouet, a Russian general, an Austrian general, a Colonel of the lancers of the guard, an English colonel, and two foragers of the palace, landed, and waited on General Dalesme, to inform him of the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon, and to take possession of the island in his name. This, General Bertrand proceeded to do immediately, putting the seals upon the public chest.

"General Dalesme immediately ordered the garrison under arms, and went, accompanied by all the authorities of the town, on board the English frigate. The emperor could ill disguise his mortification at so pitiful a deputation. After putting some questions relative to the island and its inhabitants, he dismissed them, ordering that all the mayors and ministers of the neighbouring villages should be immediately convened. The inhabitants of Porto Ferrajo assembled upon the port to attend the debarkation of their new sovereign; but at eleven o'clock at night, after having luffed for some time about the island, Napoleon ordered notice to be given to General Dalesme, that the ceremony of his reception should be deferred till the next day at two in the afternoon. The foreign commissioners and the French officers, in the mean time, passed a part of the night, and the next morning, in walking about the town, visiting all the public places, and endeavouring to learn the temper of the inhabitants.

"On Wednesday, the 4th, at noon, the troops were all under arms, and the authorities went down to the port. At three o'clock, the emperor's debarkation was announced by a discharge of twenty-one guns from the frigate, which were answered by a like number from the forts. The emperor was then seen coming in a boat, dressed in a blue great coat, which he wore over a coat embroidered with silver, on which was some particular decoration also of silver. He wore a round hat, with a cockade in it.

"Immediately on coming on shore, he received the keys of the town from the hands of the commandant, and was addressed by the sub-prefect. He afterwards placed himself under a canopy which was brought for the purpose, and proceeded on foot to the parish-church. His countenance was singularly gloomy, his eyes were fixed alternately upon all the people by whom he was surrounded, as if seeking to hide the distrust and fear by which he was agitated; nor did the acclamations he received appear to inspire him with any confidence. When he arrived at the church, a *Te Deum* was sung, during which he appeared extremely affected, even shedding tears as he raised his eyes to heaven.

"This ceremony concluded, the emperor directed his steps, with extreme haste, almost running, to the mayoralty, where apartments were prepared for him. He was followed by a great number of people, who were permitted to enter with him. He began to put questions to those around him, and seemed to recover somewhat from his agitation. Nature soon resuming her rights, he began to reproach the mayor of Marciava upon his effigy being burnt there, and upon the inhabitants having hoisted the English flag. He exhorted the mayor to preserve order in his commune, and charged him to assure the administrators that the liberty of the seas would soon afford them the means of repairing their losses. The ministers were exhorted to preach concord among their parishioners, and the chiefs of the different corps were recommended to preserve a strict discipline. After this audience, he mounted his horse, and rode about the island for some time, notwithstanding that the wind and rain rendered the ride very disagreeable.

"On the 5th, Napoleon went out on foot at five in the morning, to visit all the public establishments. He returned at nine, after having overpowered every one whom he met with questions, and harassed those who accompanied him with fatigue. He directed many

changes to be made: he would have wished that the barracks of St. Francis could be metamorphosed in a moment into an imperial palace for his residence. It was observed to him, however, that the island did not offer resources sufficient for satisfying his wishes so instantaneously He paid particular attention to the salt-works, which occasion the bad air breathed in the country: they are so noxious, that no one can sleep near them without catching a fever. He gave orders for converting the premises into a vast lazaretto.

"The next day, he set out very early in the morning, accompanied by General Bertrand, the Austrian and Russian commissaries, the colonel of the lancers, and an English colonel, to visit the mines at Rio. When arrived there, he examined every thing with great attention, proposed several improvements, and paid a warm tribute of commendation to the chief of the works. At ten o'clock he went to the house of M. Pons, the director of the mines, to breakfast. While he was waiting for the table to be spread, he walked about the room with hasty steps, appearing absorbed in reflection; at length, starting on a sudden from his reverie, he said with much warmth to the Austrian general—'If I had not been deceived, I should have arrived at Paris two hours before you—I should have raised all the people in the suburbs—I should have attacked you, should have crushed you, and driven you beyond the Vistula. I had besides a sufficient number of adherents to have maintained a civil war for three years; but I preferred the peace of France to all the laurels which I might still have gathered.'

"After breakfast, he desired to speak with M. Pons, and told him, that, since it was his intention to come sometimes to Rio, and his house was very convenient for being converted into a palace, he wished him to seek another habitation for himself and his family. He gave a plan himself of the alterations which he wished to be made in the house, and charged General Bertrand with attending to the immediate execution of the plan.

"On the 7th, the emperor took possession of the pavilion belonging to the officers of the *Corps-de-Genie*, and for the interval between that and the departure of the officers, he gave up to them the apartments which he had inhabited at the mayoralty. This pavilion has only one story, consisting of six windows in front, but it stands insulated in a pretty garden, and overlooks the sea and the town.

"At the same time the emperor established his household, which was to consist of four chamberlains, who were also to be counsellors of state; of three officers of ordnance; and of two foragers of the palace.

"The emperor next announced, that he should be at home to receive ladies, twice a week, at eight in the evening. The Elbese fair did not fail to accept the invitation. Napoleon presented himself in the midst of the circle, and asked many questions; in particular he enquired of each lady her name and her husband's profession. The greater part answered, that their husbands were in trade. Napoleon then enquired what trade, when he found that one was a baker, another a butcher, and so on. Little satisfied with the rank of his visitors, he retreated in a very short time; the ladies retreated also, and in a fortnight he found his court wholly deserted.

About the beginning of autumn, a marked change was visible in Buonaparte's manners and habits. Until that period he had appeared completely resigned to his fate. His discourse was rational, and his conduct consistent. He likewise evinced the strongest predilection for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; and seemed willing that his most secret actions might be scrutinized. He now received a visit from some of his family, who had just quitted Paris. What passed at the interview is unknown; but from that hour he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of Sir N. Campbell, and secluded himself from almost all society. He often spent seven or eight hours in his closet, and no one dared to intrude on his retirement; or he wandered on the shore with folded arms and agitated steps. The improvements of the capital, and the embellishments of the island, were neglected, and his mind was evidently occupied with some object of great importance.

On the 25th of February, 1815, Buonaparte presided at a fête which he gave to his little court, and was remarkably cheerful and affable. On the following day he reviewed his army, and, at their dismissal, ordered them to prepare for immediate service, and to re-assemble on the parade at six o'clock in the evening.

At that hour he appeared among them, formed them into a hollow square, and, placing himself in their centre, explained to them his purposes and views. He stated that fortune now afforded them an opportunity to prove themselves worthy of the opinion he had always entertained of them;—that it had been a source of pleasure in his retirement to form them to the discipline and noble daring of soldiers;—that the time was now at hand in which they might shew that his labours had not been fruitless;—that France, Belgium, and Italy, invited him to resume the imperial government, and that he had only to land and unfurl his standard, and the whole military of France would hasten to rally round their emperor.

This harangue was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations; and Buonaparte, placing himself at

the head of his troops, conducted them immediately to the place of embarkation. His whole army comprised seven hundred men of his old guard, three hundred Corsicans, and one hundred and forty Poles: and his fleet consisted of one brig mounting twenty-six guns, and six small transports. With this contemptible armament he invaded a kingdom containing a population of twenty-six millions of souls!!

In the morning of the 28th, about seven o'clock, they discovered the coast of Noli;—at noon, they came within sight of Antibes; and, early in the morning of the 1st of March, they entered the gulf of Juan, at a short distance from Frejus.

Previous to the debarkation, Buonaparte assembled his troops on deck, and ordered them to throw the Elbese cockade into the sea, presenting them with the national colours. They were received amid the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

In the afternoon, the Corsican disembarked the whole of his troops, and, as he again set foot on the French territory, he exclaimed with exultation, "I will dissolve the congress."

He now despatched an officer with twenty-five men to Antibes, to invite General Corsin, the governor of the place, to join him; and this invitation was accompanied by offers of the most seductive kind. The loyal commandant, however, rejected the overture with contempt, imprisoned the officer and his men, and hastened to adopt measures of defence.

Another officer was despatched to summon the place in the name of the emperor; but he, like the former, was arrested and thrown into prison. A third emissary then presented himself to reclaim the prisoners, and to command General Corsin, under pain of military punishment, to repair to the gulf of Juan with the civil authorities. He, however, was likewise detained.

Chagrined at this unexpected failure, at the very commencement of his expedition, and irresolute what plan to pursue, Napoleon bivouacked near the shore, in a vine-yard surrounded by olive-trees; but reflecting on the necessity of proceeding before the news of his repulse had spread through the country, he commenced his march at one o'clock in the morning, and leaving Antibes unmolested, proceeded to Cannes.

His unexpected appearance at this place excited a mingled sensation of astonishment, fear, and joy: all the recollections, in which horror was blended with admiration, and hope with trepidation, produced in the whole of the country which he traversed, a scene of illusion easier to conceive than to describe.

On his arrival at Grasse, he found the town deserted. A report had been propagated that a troop of corsairs had landed, and were ravaging the country; but the fears of the people subsided as soon as they became acquainted with the fact. The mayor was ordered to furnish rations for the followers of Napoleon; but he bravely replied, that he acknowledged no authority but that of Louis XVIII. The inhabitants, however, returning in crowds, opened their shops, and readily supplied the wants of the soldiers. Here Buonaparte left the six pieces of cannon which he had brought from Elba, finding that they only served to incommode and retard his progress. Here, also, he attempted to circulate the proclamations which had been prepared at Elba; but the printer refused to print them, and the Corsican did not deem it prudent to resort to force to accomplish his design.

Intelligence of Buonaparte's landing was known at Marseilles on the same day; and, if a body of troops had been immediately sent against him, his progress might have been completely intercepted. The national guards, and many volunteers, were eager to march; but Massena, who commanded the garrison, would not consent. On the third day, however, when the Corsican had penetrated eighty miles into the country, one regiment was sent in pursuit of him.

On the 4th of March, he arrived at Digne, where the peasants flocked to him from every quarter, and manifested their sentiments in his favour most unequivocally. The alarms which had been spread respecting the probable loss of the emigrant property, which they had purchased at one-third of its value, had alienated the affections of this class of the population from their legitimate sovereign.

After publishing his proclamations to the French people and to the army, the Corsican advanced towards Grenoble; but the commander at that place, faithful to Louis, had despatched six thousand men from the garrison to attack him. Buonaparte, finding that the officer at their head would not listen to the parley of the officer whom he sent to meet him, resolved to try himself what influence he possessed with the soldiers. He therefore dismounted; and, ordering about fifty of his grenadiers to advance with arms reversed, walked quietly towards the troops, the officer commanding whom, crying out, "It is not the emperor," and, ordering his men to fire, the troops were silent and motionless. For an instant they appeared about to raise their muskets, when Buonaparte, ordering his grenadiers to halt, walked calmly up to them, and throwing open his great coat, exclaimed, "It is I, recognise me; if there be amongst you one soldier who would kill his emperor, now is the time." This manœuvre, so truly in the French style, and practised by a man who knew the troops he was addressing, was completely successful; they raised repeated shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

rushed forward to embrace the guard, and enthusiastically mounted the tri-coloured cockade.

Thus reinforced, he advanced to Grenoble. The garrison consisted of the seventh and eleventh regiments of the line, the fourth hussars, and the fourth of artillery. This was the very regiment in which Buonaparte had commenced his military career, twenty-five years before, and in which his memory was still cherished with affection.

The seventh was commanded by Colonel Labedoyère, who had recently received his appointment from Louis, together with the decoration of the legion of honour: yet he traitorously resolved to join the cause of the invader. His soldiers were equally disloyal with himself, and he had no sooner intimated his design than he was cheered with deafening shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

General Devillers, hearing from a distance the shouts of the troops, hurried to the ramparts; but the regiment had then cleared the gates, and was almost out of sight. He immediately hastened to pursue the deserters, and, overtaking the rear of the column, he induced about one hundred to return to their duty. But, when he reached the head of the corps where was the colonel surrounded by his officers, neither his entreaties nor his menaces were regarded.

Buonaparte's forces being nearly doubled by the addition of Labedoyère's regiment, he boldly marched towards Grenoble, and, at nine o'clock in the evening, arrived at the suburbs. The gates were shut, and the ramparts were lined by the troops which composed the garrison, whom the commandant, General Marchand, earnestly exhorted to resist the invader. On the keys being formally demanded, it was said, that Marchand had carried them away. Some little delay occurring, a tumultuous movement took place among the troops and the inhabitants who occupied the ramparts. Buonaparte was recognised at a short distance; the intelligence was rapidly communicated. A sudden shout burst from the deluded populace, and the cannoneers, who stood at their pieces, extinguished their matches in an instant, and joined in the acclamations.

Napoleon's engineers now prepared to force the gates; but they had no sooner commenced their operations, than the whole garrison threw down their arms, trampled the white cockade in the dust, and, rushing to the gates, tore them open. Buonaparte entered the town at ten o'clock, amidst an immense crowd, composed of the populace and the soldiers, who thronged from every quarter to gaze upon him, and salute him with the imperial title.

In a few minutes every soldier had mounted the national colours. These cockades were not new, nor supplied by Buonaparte; they were the old colours under which they had formerly marched to victory, and which they had carefully concealed at the bottom of their knapsacks. The tattered and faded ribands were now exhibited with enthusiasm. "See," cried the military rebels, "they are the same which we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo!"

The mayor and civil authorities now presented themselves, and wished to conduct Napoleon to the government-house: but he chose to proceed to the hotel of the Three Dolphins, which was kept by one of his old soldiers, to whom he had formerly been attached, and where the conspirators had been accustomed to hold their meetings. Scarcely had he entered his apartments, when the approach of an immense crowd uttering some unintelligible shouts drew him to the balcony. There he beheld the deluded mob dragging along the remains of the gate through which he had entered. "We were not permitted," they exclaimed, "to present you with the keys, but, instead of them, here are the gates."

Buonaparte now proceeded to Lyons, where he spent two days, in issuing his proclamations, and presiding at the fêtes and balls given by the civil authorities in honour of his arrival. He then set out for Villefranche, and arrived at Maçon in the evening. On the 15th, he slept at Autun, and, on the 16th, he reached Avallon.

Such was his temerity, that he travelled in an open carriage, seldom escorted by more than a dozen dragoons, and sometimes without a single attendant. He was often more than a league before his advanced-guard, and it would have been easy for the smallest detachment to have arrested him in his career, and thus to have secured the repose of France and of Europe.

A few stages from Lyons he met a regiment of cavalry who had been sent to arrest his progress. He no sooner discovered the dragoons at a distance, with the king's standard and colours, than he quitted his carriage, mounted a led-horse, and, attended by one aide-de-camp, advanced to meet them. He rode up to the colonel, and, without any introduction, ordered the regiment to break into columns and follow him;—an order which was obeyed with the utmost promptitude and cheerfulness.

As the report of Napoleon's approach preceded him, immense crowds assembled in many of the towns, and abandoned themselves to various excesses. A furious and intoxicated mob ran through the streets, destroying every symbol of the Bourbon government, insulting all persons who appeared with a white cockade, and even plundering the houses, and threatening the lives of those who were most distinguished for their attachment to their legitimate prince. The moment the Corsican appeared, they thronged round him; and deafen-

ed him with their acclamations. He smiled upon one; addressed another; distributed crosses of the legion of honour among the most violent, and actually exclaimed to the vagabonds of St. Jean de Losne, "It was for *you*, my friends, that I instituted the legion of honour, and not for the emigrants pensioned by our inveterate foes."

The number of national guards, volunteers, and other troops, collected at Melun, to stop the march of Buonaparte, was not less than one hundred thousand men. They appeared devoted to the cause of the king, and eager to repel his antagonist. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the town, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainbleau, unguarded; preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of their army might act at once against the comparatively small band of the invader. On the 19th, Buonaparte reached and occupied Fontainbleau, without the least opposition. He had at that time with him only fifteen thousand veteran troops; but other divisions were either following him, or advancing to support his right and left flanks on parallel lines of march.

Early in the morning of Monday the 29th, preparations were made on both sides for the encounter which was expected to take place. The French army was drawn up in three lines, the intervals and flanks being armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainbleau to Melun is a continual declivity; so that, on emerging from the forest, a clear view of the country presents itself; whilst, on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence, broken only at times by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops by repeating the royal airs of *Vive Henri Quatre*, and *La Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of the commanders and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was now anxious expectation; the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops, perhaps secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainbleau no sound, as of an army rushing to battle, was heard. If the enemy were advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. If so, France was saved, and Europe was free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached: an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning: it reached the advanced posts. "*Vive l'Empereur!*" burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bare-headed, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Buonaparte continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country, he came to restore." All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted; the commanders-in-chief took to flight; thousands rushed on his passage; acclamations rent the sky. At that moment his own guard descended the hill—the imperial march was played—the eagles were once more exhibited, and those whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these greetings, Napoleon passed through the whole of the royal army, pursuing his course to Paris.

At nine o'clock, Buonaparte entered Paris, in his travelling-carriage, almost without escort, and was not recognized until he arrived at the Thuilleries. There he was received by his soldiers, and by the populace with an enthusiasm bordering on madness. They pressed around him till he was in danger of suffocation, and his officers were obliged to carry him in their arms along the staircase and into the state-apartments, where his sisters Julia and Hortensia, with some of his former ministers, and the officers of his household, were assembled to hail his return.

The subsequent conduct of Buonaparte, the measures adopted by the allied sovereigns in consequence of his second usurpation, the signal defeat which he sustained on the plains of Waterloo, his surrender to the British government, and his deportation to the island of St. Helena, have already been laid before the reader. It only remains, therefore, to express our fervent hope that he will no more be permitted to agitate and distract the world by that restless ambition which seems to be inseparable from his very existence.

INDEX.

THE END.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

☞ *Cut the Preface from this Half-sheet, and place it after the printed Title-page.*

NEW AND ELEGANT PUBLICATIONS,

Printed for T. KELLY, No. 53, Paternoster Row, London, and sold by most Booksellers and Venders of Publications in the British Empire.

1. KELLY's HISTORY of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, and the WARS produced by that memorable Event, to the Deportation of Buonaparte to St. Helena: handsomely printed in Quarto, and embellished with upwards of Sixty interesting Engravings. Completed in Twenty Parts, price 3*s.* each; or, 120 Numbers, price 6*d.* each; or with the Plates coloured, the Parts at 4*s.* and Numbers at 8*d.* each.

2. KELLY's New System of UNIVERSAL GEOGRAPHY; or, an authentic History and interesting Description of the whole World, and its Inhabitants: comprehending, a copious and entertaining Account of all the Empires, Kingdoms, States, Republics, and Colonies, of ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, and EUROPE: elegantly printed in Quarto, with numerous Engravings, and a set of entirely new Maps, forming a beautiful Atlas; to be comprised in 14 parts, or 168 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

3. The GRAND NATIONAL HISTORY of ENGLAND, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the earliest Period of genuine Record to the year 1816; comprehending a faithful Narrative of Historical Occurrences from the first Sources, their Causes, and the Consequences and Events therewith connected; founded on the best Information and Authority; with superb Engravings, in large Folio, by the Rev. J. MALHAM, and other eminent Historians; completed in 144 Numbers, price 8*d.* each.

4. KELLY's STANDARD EDITION of MATTHEW HENRY'S FAMILY BIBLE; containing the sacred Texts of the Old and New Testaments at large; with Notes and Annotations; handsomely printed in grand folio, embellished with elegant Engravings; and completed in Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

5. MALHAM's HISTORY and LIFE of our Blessed LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, &c. To which are subjoined, EVIDENCES of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION; including the Faith and Duties of a Christian; by Dr. PORTEUS, late Lord Bishop of London; in folio, with fine Engravings; complete in 60 Numbers, price 8*d.* each.

6. FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS, or the Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church; being a complete History of Martyrdom, from the Commencement of Christianity to the present Time: including the Trials, Tortures, and triumphant Deaths of the English Martyrs in the Reign of Queen Mary, &c. Revised and improved by Malham, in large folio, with many striking Copper-plates; comprised in 100 Numbers, price 8*d.* each.

7. KNIGHT's EVANGELICAL FAMILY BIBLE, in grand folio, very large Print.—The Notes selected from Matthew Henry, Brown, Gill, Doddridge, &c. Embellished with upwards of Fifty superior Engravings; complete in 154 Numbers, including the Apocrypha, price 8*d.* each.

8. MALHAM'S CHRISTIAN's FAMILY BIBLE; or, Library of Divine Knowledge, in small Folio, with beautiful Engravings, complete in 173 Numbers, price 8*d.* each.

9. MALHAM's COMMON PRAYER-BOOK, very large Print, 8vo., containing the Articles of Religion, Companion to the Altar, the New Version of the Psalms, &c. illustrated by Notes and useful Directions: embellished with 13 Engravings, in 32 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

10. HERVEY's MEDITATIONS and CONTEMPLATIONS, with the Life of the Author, and his Funeral Sermon by the Rev. W. ROMAINE, A.M. Neatly printed in 8vo., with fine Engravings, and comprised in 18 Numbers, price 6*d.* each; or, neatly bound, price 11*s.* 6*d.*

11. HERVEY's DIALOGUES and LETTERS, or THERON and ASPASIO; being a Series of Dialogues and Letters on the most important and interesting Subjects of the Gospel: printed uniform with the above, with fine Engravings, and completed in 40 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

12. The NEW WHOLE DUTY OF MAN, containing the Faith as well as Practice of a Christian; with Devotions proper for several Occasions; also a Help to reading the Scriptures: printed in 8vo. embellished with Engravings, and comprised in 23 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

13. BUNYAN's PILGRIM's PROGRESS, from this World to that which is to come; delivered under the Similitude of a Dream: in three Parts: with MASON's explanatory Notes, and evangelical Reflections by the Rev. J. Newton, J. Bradford, and Dr. Hawker; embellished with fine Engravings, and comprised in 18 Numbers, 8vo. price 6*d.* each.

14. RUSSELL's SEVEN SERMONS on the unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost, &c. With Prayers for every Day in the Week, and on several Occasions. Printed in octavo, on a large Type, embellished with Seven Engravings, and completed in 20 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

15. BAXTER'S SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST; or, a Treatise on the blessed State of the Saints in their Enjoyment of God in Heaven. Also, a CALL TO THE UNCONVERTED to turn and live, and accept of Mercy while Mercy may be had. And NOW OR NEVER; or the serious Believer justified, encouraged, excited, and directed. Embellished with Engravings, and completed in 27 Numbers, 8vo., price 6*d.* each.

16. WATTS's WORLD TO COME; or Discourses on the Joys and Sorrows of departed Souls at Death, and the Glory or Terror of the Resurrection. In which is prefixed, an ESSAY toward the Proof of a Separation of the Soul after Death. To which is added, the Life of the Author. Embellished with Engravings, and completed in 18 Numbers, in 8vo. price 6*d.* each.

17. The DEATH of ABEL, (in Five Books,) translated from the German of Solomon Gessner, by Mrs. Collyer; with Memoirs of the Author. To which is added, the DEATH of CAIN, the LIFE of JOSEPH, and DEATH, a Vision; neatly printed in 8vo., embellished with Engravings, and comprised in 20 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

18. DRELINCOURT's CHRISTIAN's DEFENCE against the FEARS of DEATH; with seasonable Directions how to prepare ourselves to die well: including the Life of the Author, with an Account of his last Minutes. Beautifully printed in 8vo. with 11 elegant Engravings, and completed in 24 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

19. The DIAMOND POCKET PRAYER-BOOK, published by Authority of His Majesty's Printer. Illustrated with fine Engravings, by Thurston, Pye, and Armstrong. Beautifully printed, in 16 Numbers, price 6*d.* each, or bound in morocco, price 12*s.*

20. BURKITT on the NEW TESTAMENT of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Neatly printed in Quarto, embellished with numerous Engravings, and completed in 108 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

21. NEWTON's LIFE of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST: with Critical and Explanatory Notes. Printed in Quarto, illustrated with Engravings, and comprised in 50 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

22. MRS. ROWE's LETTERS ON FRIENDSHIP IN DEATH, from the Dead to the Living; with Letters moral and entertaining, in Prose and Verse. To which are added, *Devout Exercises of the Heart*. Printed in 8vo., embellished with elegant Engravings, and completed in 18 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

23. TIME and the END of TIME.—The First Part, on the Redemption of Time;—the Second, on our latter End. By JOHN FOX. With a Portrait of the Author, in 12mo., price 3*s.* bound.

24. BUCHAN's DOMESTIC MEDICINE; or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases, by Regimen and simple Medicines. Including the LIFE of the AUTHOR, and his ADVICE to MOTHERS on the Subject of their own Health, and the Means of promoting the Health, Strength, and Beauty of their Children. Embellished with Eight Plates, and completed in 28 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

25. SELECT NOVELS; or, Gentleman and Lady's entertaining Library: being a Collection of universally approved Novels, Histories, Adventures, Tales, &c. By the most esteemed Authors. Neatly printed in Octavo, and embellished with elegant Engravings and Vignette Title-pages. Each Volume will consist of about 20 Numbers, price 6*d.* each, and may be bound separately.

26. The ARABIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS; or, the Thousand and One Nights; translated from the French of M. Galland, by G. S. BEAUMONT. Neatly printed in 8vo., embellished with eight elegant Engravings, and comprised in 24 Numbers, price 6*d.* each.

27. PAMELA, or VIRTUE REWARDED: in a Series of Letters from a beautiful Young Damsel to her Parents: published in order to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the minds of Youth of both Sexes. To which are prefixed, Extracts from several curious Letters written to the Editor on the Subject. Embellished with numerous superb Engravings, and completed in 25 Numbers, 8vo. price 6*d.* each.

28. The OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA; or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature: including, in distinct Treatises, an accurate view of the Arts and Sciences in their modern and improved State. Handsomely printed in Quarto, and embellished with numerous illustrative Engravings; to be completed in about 250 Numbers, price 8*d.* each, forming Five Volumes.

Printed by Rider and Weed Little Britain, London.