



## Acerca de este libro

Esta es una copia digital de un libro que, durante generaciones, se ha conservado en las estanterías de una biblioteca, hasta que Google ha decidido escanearlo como parte de un proyecto que pretende que sea posible descubrir en línea libros de todo el mundo.

Ha sobrevivido tantos años como para que los derechos de autor hayan expirado y el libro pase a ser de dominio público. El que un libro sea de dominio público significa que nunca ha estado protegido por derechos de autor, o bien que el período legal de estos derechos ya ha expirado. Es posible que una misma obra sea de dominio público en unos países y, sin embargo, no lo sea en otros. Los libros de dominio público son nuestras puertas hacia el pasado, suponen un patrimonio histórico, cultural y de conocimientos que, a menudo, resulta difícil de descubrir.

Todas las anotaciones, marcas y otras señales en los márgenes que estén presentes en el volumen original aparecerán también en este archivo como testimonio del largo viaje que el libro ha recorrido desde el editor hasta la biblioteca y, finalmente, hasta usted.

## Normas de uso

Google se enorgullece de poder colaborar con distintas bibliotecas para digitalizar los materiales de dominio público a fin de hacerlos accesibles a todo el mundo. Los libros de dominio público son patrimonio de todos, nosotros somos sus humildes guardianes. No obstante, se trata de un trabajo caro. Por este motivo, y para poder ofrecer este recurso, hemos tomado medidas para evitar que se produzca un abuso por parte de terceros con fines comerciales, y hemos incluido restricciones técnicas sobre las solicitudes automatizadas.

Asimismo, le pedimos que:

- + *Haga un uso exclusivamente no comercial de estos archivos* Hemos diseñado la Búsqueda de libros de Google para el uso de particulares; como tal, le pedimos que utilice estos archivos con fines personales, y no comerciales.
- + *No envíe solicitudes automatizadas* Por favor, no envíe solicitudes automatizadas de ningún tipo al sistema de Google. Si está llevando a cabo una investigación sobre traducción automática, reconocimiento óptico de caracteres u otros campos para los que resulte útil disfrutar de acceso a una gran cantidad de texto, por favor, envíenos un mensaje. Fomentamos el uso de materiales de dominio público con estos propósitos y seguro que podremos ayudarle.
- + *Conserve la atribución* La filigrana de Google que verá en todos los archivos es fundamental para informar a los usuarios sobre este proyecto y ayudarles a encontrar materiales adicionales en la Búsqueda de libros de Google. Por favor, no la elimine.
- + *Manténgase siempre dentro de la legalidad* Sea cual sea el uso que haga de estos materiales, recuerde que es responsable de asegurarse de que todo lo que hace es legal. No dé por sentado que, por el hecho de que una obra se considere de dominio público para los usuarios de los Estados Unidos, lo será también para los usuarios de otros países. La legislación sobre derechos de autor varía de un país a otro, y no podemos facilitar información sobre si está permitido un uso específico de algún libro. Por favor, no suponga que la aparición de un libro en nuestro programa significa que se puede utilizar de igual manera en todo el mundo. La responsabilidad ante la infracción de los derechos de autor puede ser muy grave.

## Acerca de la Búsqueda de libros de Google

El objetivo de Google consiste en organizar información procedente de todo el mundo y hacerla accesible y útil de forma universal. El programa de Búsqueda de libros de Google ayuda a los lectores a descubrir los libros de todo el mundo a la vez que ayuda a autores y editores a llegar a nuevas audiencias. Podrá realizar búsquedas en el texto completo de este libro en la web, en la página <http://books.google.com>

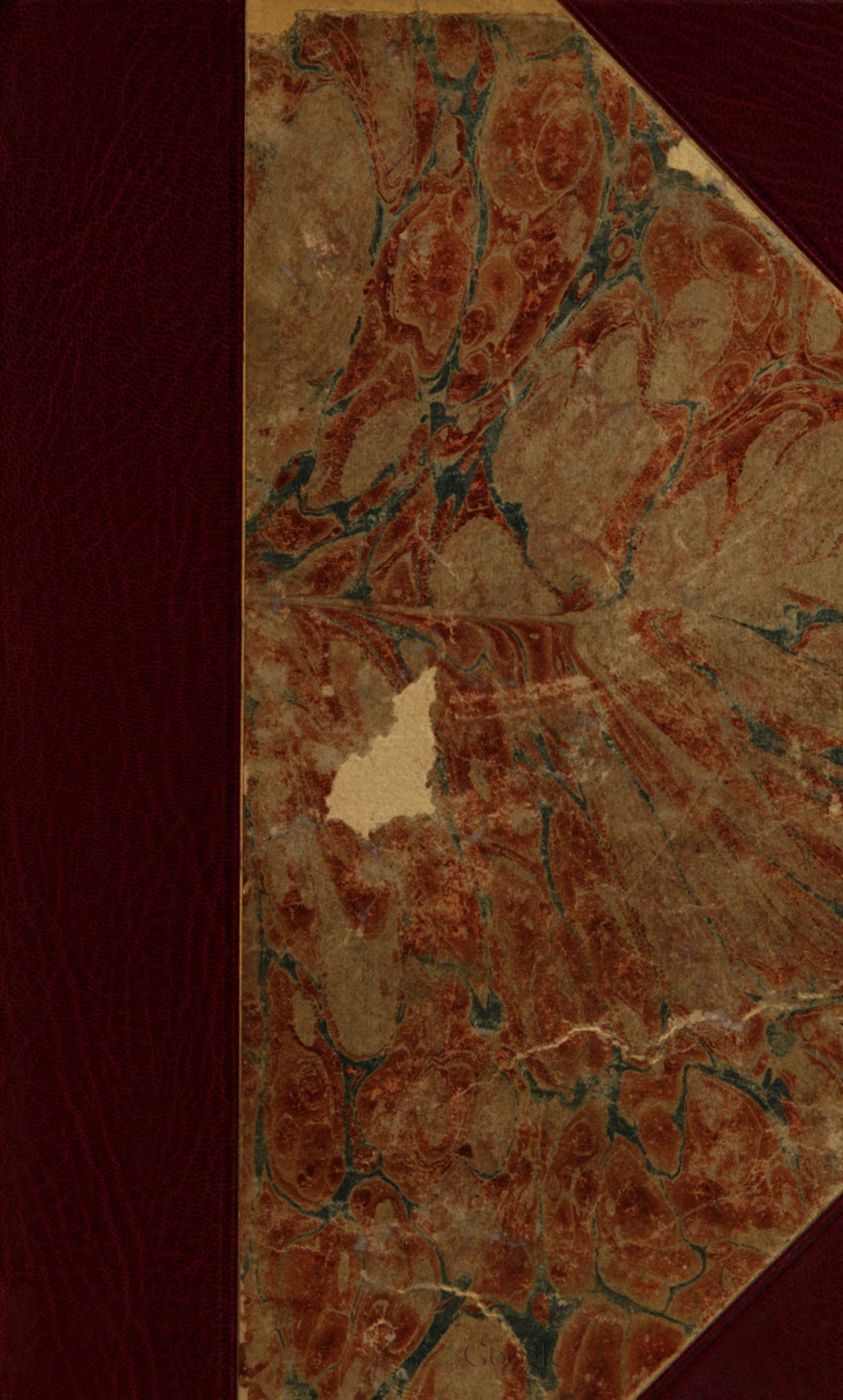
---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>





GOD

*This Book formed a part of  
the Library of*

**George Stokes, Esq.**

the Founder (A.D. 1840), while  
living at Colchester, of

“**The Parker Society,**

for the publication of the works of  
the fathers, and early writers of  
the Reformed English Church.”

—o—

HE DIED AT HIS SUBSEQUENT  
RESIDENCE,

**Tyndale House,**

CHELTENHAM,

**MAY 31, 1847.**

—o—

(Galatians vi. 14.)
















Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is illegible due to fading and bleed-through.

Page 107

10816. c. 2

**MEMOIRS**  
OF THE  
LATE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL  
**SIR JAMES LEITH, G.C.B.**  
WITH   
**A PRECIS**  
OF  
**SOME OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS**  
OF THE  
**PENINSULAR WAR.**

---

---

BY A BRITISH OFFICER.

---

---

“ Idoneus quidem mea sententia, præsertim quum et ipse cum audiverit, et scribat de mortuo ; ex quo nulla suspicio est amicitie causa eum esse mentitum.”  
CICERO.



**BARBADOS :**  
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,  
BY W. WALKER.

---

1817.



**MEMOIRS**  
OF  
THE LATE LIEUT.-GENERAL  
*SIR JAMES LEITH, G. C. B.*





## P R E F A C E.

---

---

**I**N attempting to detail the events attending the military career of an illustrious Officer, it is of importance to record, however imperfectly, the progress of the armies with whom he served, under circumstances where the immediate object of the Memoir was not personally concerned. It is with this view that the Author of the following pages has endeavoured to give a *Precis* of the most remarkable occurrences of the Peninsular War,—not arrogating to himself the talent or information requisite to produce an historical work worthy of a period so fraught with great events, but in order to

introduce, with regularity, the scenes in which Sir James Leith became conspicuous for his valour, and eminent from the possession of a superior understanding.

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

---

---

**F**EW periods in the history of any Country have produced so great or so rapid a change in its military importance, as that from the commencement of the Spanish Revolution in 1808, to the Treaty of Paris in 1815, did with regard to Great Britain. For a series of years, its army had been only known upon the Continent of Europe from the occasional expeditions fitted out to make descents on the coasts of the enemy, which were not unfrequently attended with disaster, and (with the exception of the Egyptian campaign) not of a nature to afford opportunities whereby the troops could prove

the extent of those qualities that greater experience and a wider field of action demonstrated to the world, as worthy the character of the Nation, and rivals in fame with a navy which had so long maintained its pre-eminence.

For a length of time, a desponding feeling accompanied the commitment (as it was conceived) of a British force upon the Continent, which gradually dispelled as success produced confidence, and custom reconciled the losses inseparable from the service on which it was employed.

Victory, possessing unbounded influence over the minds of every race of human beings, operated as a stimulus to the exertions of the Country in forwarding supplies, and recruiting the ranks of an army that had fully established its claim to public favour ;—the military policy of the Nation became extended ; each successive campaign was opened with more efficient means than the former, and those campaigns closed upon the army of Lord Wellington without its having been once vanquished in action, and

with establishing a renown calculated to satisfy the most sanguine expectations of its countrymen, and brilliant in the eyes of Europe.

It was in this glorious field that the talents and bravery of so many British officers became known to the world, and amongst others the subject of the following Memoir.

*MEMOIRS, &c.*

---

---

CHAP. I.  


**JAMES LEITH**, the third Son of John Leith, Esquire, of Leith-Hall, was born at the Seat of his Ancestors, in Aberdeenshire, upon the 8th August, 1763.

The early part of his education was conducted by a private tutor, after which he studied at the University of Aberdeen. Having chosen the Army as a profession, he was sent to a Military Academy at Lisle, where he remained a considerable length of time, and perfected himself in those sciences connected with the

education of an officer. His talents, the elegance of his manner and address, made him, at this commencement of his life, distinguished and courted. Possessed of a commanding figure, and an intelligent, handsome countenance, he added to generosity of disposition a warmth of heart and polished deportment that stamped him as a person of no common promise.

In the year 1780, Mr. Leith returned from Lisle to join the 21st Regiment, to which he had been appointed, and immediately commenced his duties as Second Lieutenant in that corps:—he was soon after promoted to a Lieutenancy in the 81st Highland Regiment; and, having subsequently obtained the rank of Captain, served with it until the Peace of 1783, when the 81st were included in the reduction of the army, which took place in consequence of that event.

Captain Leith was not destined to remain long unemployed, and in a few months was appointed to the 50th Regiment, then at Gibralt-

tar, to which garrison he repaired without delay. He soon after became Aide-de-Camp to Sir Robert Boyd, K. B. then Governor of the Fortress, and continued upon that officer's Staff during the subsequent period of his command.

For several years Captain Leith continued, with little intermission, to do duty at Gibraltar, either upon the Staff or with his regiment ; and, upon General O'Hara being placed in command, he became his Aide-de-Camp, in which situation he accompanied him to Toulon, and took an active part in the warfare carrying on between the Republican army and that of Great Britain and her allies in 1793.

Toulon became the base of the line of operations the most advantageous possible against the South of France, taking in reverse all the defences which Nature or Art had produced on the side of the Alps, and affording the best means of communication with the Royalist departments on the Rhone.

The Republicans were fully aware of the importance of Toulon to their opponents, and



made great exertions to dispossess them of it. General Dugommier, with 40,000 men, was employed on this service.—The details of the important siege which followed, present a series of attacks upon exterior works in the possession both of the allies and of the enemy, and which became the scenes of frequent and sanguinary conflict.

Napoleon Bonaparte first became distinguished during these operations, where he served as an Officer of Artillery, and gave such proofs of genius as to be admitted to the Councils of War in the Republican Army, at which his presence was deemed essential.

On the 30th November, 1793, a sortie was made by the British, and in the first instance attended with success; but the troops having continued to pursue the enemy, got into confusion, and were driven back.

General O'Hara having unfortunately been made prisoner upon this occasion, Captain Leith was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Major-General David Dundas, with whom he conti-

ned for a few months, and the British force soon after evacuating Toulon, he returned to England.

Having been previously promoted to the rank of Major by Brevet, he (in 1794) received orders to raise a Fencible Regiment, which he accomplished in his native county, notwithstanding his brother and the Marquis of Huntly having raised regiments of the line in the same part of Scotland a short time previous.

Colonel Leith embarked for Ireland with his regiment, styled "The Aberbeenshire Fencibles," and served in that Country for several years. During the Rebellion he was conspicuous for his activity and firmness of mind, and those qualities that found full scope for developement in the mercy and forgiveness extended to many of the unfortunate objects of mistaken feeling, whom circumstances placed in his power;—and it is no slight eulogium, that, during scenes where so much bloodshed was inevitable, Colonel Leith's humanity never

became in the slightest degree questioned.— His regiment was in the highest state of discipline, and its appearance upon every occasion evinced the professional knowledge of its Commanding Officer.

When most of the other fencible regiments were reduced, the Aberdeenshire was continued upon the establishment, and was ultimately disbanded when His Majesty's Government determined to do away that description of force entirely, and new-model the army in Ireland.

The state of Ireland at this period, although open rebellion had been suppressed, was considered very unsettled: a lurking and strong feeling of disaffection pervaded the minds of its inhabitants, and a numerous armed force was deemed necessary to prevent the recurrence of those events which a few years previous had plunged it into all the horrors of civil war.

In 1803, Colonel Leith having attained that rank permanently in the Army—received the

**Commission of Colonel of the 13th Battalion of Reserve—and the following year was placed upon the Staff in Ireland as a Brigadier-General.**

## CHAP. II.

---

ON the 25th April, 1808, Brigadier-General Leith was promoted to the rank of Major-General; and soon after was destined to commence the brilliant career which the Spanish Revolution afforded scope for, and enabled him to display those qualities on active service that so fully established his reputation, and finally placed his name amongst the most distinguished officers of the British Army. His Majesty's Government having determined upon sending officers to assist in organizing the Spanish levies, forming to oppose the usurpation of the Ruler of France, he was ordered to proceed to the North Coast of Spain; on which service he embarked at Portsmouth the 19th, and landed at Santander on the 23d August.

After ascertaining the measures which had been adopted to collect and arm the peasantry in the Province of Las Montañas, he re-embarked in the *Peruvian* sloop

of war, and proceeded to Gijon, and subsequently to Oviedo, the chief town of Asturias, where the Junta of that Province resided;—a Council guided by good feeling towards the cause, but without the means or the ability of giving force to measures calculated to produce beneficial effects, or to ensure the liberation of their Country: enthusiastic in opposition to the change of Government which had been forced upon them, and cordial in their feelings towards Great Britain, to whose powerful alliance they looked for support and assistance.

General Leith pointed out the necessity of energy and activity; and so successful were his exertions, that in a month from the period of his landing in Spain, General Azevedo had collected the Asturian corps, amounting to ten thousand men, and proceeded to join General Blake's army, which had penetrated into Biscay.

General Leith, while employed on this service, had under his command Captains Lefebure, Birch, Paisley, and Jones, of the Royal Engineers, who were actively employed in obtaining information respecting the communications of a Country but little known in a military point of view; which presented great

obstacles to the movement of troops, from the mountainous and rugged features that characterise the Northern Provinces of Spain.

The advance of General Blake towards the quarters of the French Army, made Santander again a point of great interest; and, with a view of affording British assistance, in arms and supplies, to the Spanish troops, General Leith proceeded without delay to that town;—from thence he arrived at Bilbao, which had been occupied by a Spanish division commanded by the Marquis de Portago. General Blake, by this movement, endangered part of his army, committed himself, and enabled the enemy to bring him to action, at no distant period, under circumstances extremely disadvantageous to the cause.—Marshal Ney, aware of the unsupported situation of Portago's division, broke up from Vittoria, and with a corps of eight or nine thousand men re-occupied Bilbao, compelling the Spanish troops to retire to Valmaseda, a village three leagues in rear of the former town.

The army of Galicia was perfectly unfit to take the field, being composed of new levies, and half armed peasantry, without discipline or organization; it became, therefore, most impolitic to commence offensive operations against

troops accustomed to warfare, especially in a Country whose natural difficulties presented a serious obstacle to any advance which the enemy might have made in order to come in contact with their opponents, and which would have prevented him engaging in a mountain warfare, the only one that could have afforded the Spanish troops the least chance of success.

General Blake, however, continued to advance, and having received fresh confidence from the arrival of the Marquis de la Romana's corps, which had been armed and equipped at Santander by General Leith, he attacked the enemy's post in front of Zornosa, but without making any impression: this was the commencement of a series of disasters. The Spanish divisions, from the injudicious arrangements of General Blake, were so separated as to admit of their being overthrown in detail, which error the enemy speedily availed himself of. A French corps attacked the division at Valmaseda, and compelled it to retire in confusion; Captain Birch, of the Engineers, was wounded upon this occasion, in the act of endeavouring to rally a Spanish regiment which had given way. At Reynosa, the corps of Romana, after a severe affair, was driven back with great loss. The Conde de San Roman, a very brave officer, who



had the temporary command of it, was mortally wounded; and finally, at Espinosa de los Monteras, General Blake was completely defeated, and his force dispersed in the mountains. Leon was given as a rallying point for the fugitives; to which city General Leith accompanied the Marquis de la Romana, who had too late arrived to supersede General Blake in the command of the Gallician army. (*Appendix No. 1.*)

The defeat of the Estremadura army at Burgos, the disastrous battle of Tudela, and the occupation of Madrid by the Emperor Napoleon, followed in rapid succession; and before the British corps, under Sir John Moore, could be assembled to act offensively, no Spanish army was in a condition to keep the field.

General Leith having received orders from Sir John Moore to join the British army, proceeded to Astorga, the head-quarters of Sir David Baird's division, and was immediately appointed to command the brigade consisting of the Royal, 26th, and 81st regiments; but a subsequent arrangement of the Staff having again placed Major-General Manningham at the head of his former brigade, General Leith was posted to that consisting of the 51st, 59th, and 76th

regiments, and continued to serve with it during the remainder of the campaign.

The rapid march of Napoleon from Madrid, and Marshal Soult having been strongly reinforced on the Carrion, determined Sir John Moore to retreat from Sahagun, after the troops had actually been under orders to march and attack the French corps posted at Saldanha.—The late season of the year, the intense cold, and heavy rains which fell, rendered the commencement of this celebrated retreat an operation of difficulty and privation. The passage of the Esla, at Valencia de Don Juan, by Sir David Baird, was accomplished with hazard and delay, from the want of pontoons, and the flooded state of the river.

The British cavalry became engaged with that of the enemy at Benevente, where some squadrons of the red chasseurs of the imperial guard were driven into the Esla by the British hussars;—and the rapid advance of his troops rendered it necessary to continue the retreat of the army on Astorga, through which town the head-quarters, the cavalry, and the divisions of Sir David Baird, Sir John Hope, and General Fraser passed, pursuing the great road to Coruna. The Marquis de la Romana, with the

weak and inefficient force which he had been enabled to collect from the remains of the army of General Blake, made a similar movement, and retired into the mountains of Galicia.

The presence of Napoleon being necessary in the North of Europe, he did not accompany his army into Galicia, but ordered Marshals Soult and Ney to follow up the retreat of the British; which the state of the weather, the want of information, and the precipitancy considered necessary, rendered severe, and which nearly occasioned the disorganization of a very fine and well-appointed army.

On the evening of the 6th January, 1809, Sir John Hope's division marched in advance of Lugo, and occupied a position to keep in check the French corps which had arrived within two leagues of that town, and was pressing the British rear. The following morning, at day-break (after a night of incessant rain), the enemy were seen bivouaced on the heights opposite, and soon after commenced a reconnoissance, attacking Major-General Leith's brigade with his light troops, under cover of four pieces of cannon, placed on an eminence, on the side of the ravine which separated the positions of the two armies; this attack was immediately repulsed; the Major-General placing

himself at the head of the light companies of his brigade, charged the enemy, drove them into the ravine with loss, and made some prisoners. Sir J. Moore, during the 7th, placed his whole army in position, and, on the 8th, offered battle to the enemy, which was declined, probably on account of his not having a sufficient force yet arrived to warrant his attacking the British, strongly posted as they then were.

After dark, the troops recommenced their march on Betanzos.

It is unnecessary here to detail the events that occurred previous to the army arriving at Coruna, which it effected on the 11th January, in a state of great disorganization, distress, and want of equipment; but it becomes a subject of regret that so little was known of the real state of the country, and of the possibility of the communications being cut off, as to occasion a rapidity of retreat unnecessary, and attended with the worst consequences: from the moment the British divisions had passed through Astorga there was nothing to endanger their safety: they retired upon their supplies, had the ports of Vigo, Coruna, and Ferrol, open to them; nor was there any practicable route by which a body of French troops, with artillery, could have penetrated through the mountains

and fallen on the supplies, or obstructed the march of the British army. The Marquis de la Romana's force would have prevented any attempts on the right flank of Sir John Moore's army; and had there been a corps of the enemy in a situation to have operated on the left, it must have encountered all the difficulties attending a march through the mountains of Asturias and Galicia in the depth of winter, a movement it could not have executed without expending more time than would have been sufficient for the British to retire upon Coruna, without making forced marches in a country every league of which afforded the finest possible ground for a rear-guard to defend itself, and impede the progress of an advancing enemy.—The fleet from Vigo not having appeared, it became necessary for Sir John Moore to take up a position in front of the town, covering the harbour, the cantonments of the cavalry, and the civil departments of the army. This ground, which became afterwards celebrated by the signal repulse of the French army, he occupied as follows:—Lieut.-General Hope's division on the left, with a brigade upon the great road leading to Coruna;—Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird, with the guards, Major-General Manningham and Lord William

Bentinck's brigades, extended along the centre, and were appuied upon Major-General Leith's brigade, forming the right of Sir John Hope's;—the reserve, under the Hon. Major-General Paget, formed, during the action, the extreme right; and Lieutenant-General Frazer's division was stationed a short distance to the rear, nearer to Coruna. The army, weakened by its losses during the retreat, and from a light corps, under Brigadier-General Crauford, having been sent to Vigo, while the main body kept the route to Coruna, did not exceed fifteen thousand infantry: the accoutrements of the soldiers lost or damaged during the retreat; the arms, in many cases, out of repair, and nearly rendered unserviceable, from the constant snow and rain which had fallen, when no time could be granted for putting them in a better state; the minds of officers and men harassed and dispirited by the disastrous aspect of affairs, or feeling the effects of excessive fatigue, encountered in the depth of winter, under circumstances of peculiar hardship, rendered the prospect of an action not so desirable as usual with British troops.

On the 13th January, the enemy having passed the river, occupied the heights above the village of Burgo, with his right upon the great

road from Betanzos, and his left resting on a wood above the village of Elvina. On the 14th, he tried the range of two guns, placed in rear of a village occupied by his advanced posts, and directed against the bivouac of Major-General Hill's brigade; but a well-directed fire from the British artillery compelled him to withdraw; and it was evident that nothing serious was intended that day.

On the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kenzie, 5th regiment, was killed in an affair of posts, endeavouring to get possession of two guns the enemy had again placed in advance, in front of the left of the British position. During these operations, the cavalry, commissariat, sick, &c. of the army had been embarked; and the fleet under Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, conveying the transports, having joined Admiral De Courcy on the evening of the 14th, the Commander of the Forces determined upon the embarkation of the infantry during the night of the 16th.

The rapid retreat of the British, the wretched state of the roads, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, had so retarded the progress of the enemy, it was not until the forenoon of the 16th that the arrival of a French corps placed Marshal Soult in a situation to venture an attack.

The morning of that day having passed without any indication of movement, Sir John Moore, after reconnoitring the enemy, rode to Coruna to complete his arrangements, and to ascertain the progress which had been made in embarking the stores, horses, and baggage of the army.

About one o'clock, P. M. however, the enemy moved some troops to his left, having previously advanced eleven pieces of cannon in front of his position ;—it was evident that he was forming columns of attack, and soon after the British line got under arms. The left of the enemy rested on a wood of considerable extent (as has been stated), sloping into the ravine, and terminating a short distance from the village of Elvina ;—two of his columns descended into the valley,—one skirting this wood, the other debouching from it and attacked Lord William Bentinck's brigade, which was posted on the weakest part of the British position.

Sir John Moore, who in returning from Coruna had received intelligence of the attack about to commence, rode to this point; where the enemy, after a very heavy fire of musketry, were charged and driven back by the 50th regiment; which corps carried the village of Elvina at the point of the bayonet, and overcame



every obstacle opposed to it ;—the 42d and 4th regiments also distinguished themselves, by repelling the impetuous attacks made upon them.

The enemy kept up a heavy fire from his cannon, which, placed on a commanding situation, plunged and ricocheted, occasioning loss not only to the troops engaged, but also to those in reserve, particularly the 26th regiment, which continued for a considerable length of time exposed to the guns on the right of the enemy's position. During the cannonade, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, of that corps, had his arm carried off by a ball.

A third column of the enemy descended from his centre, and came in contact with the left of the guards and the 81st regiment, forming part of Major-General Manningham's brigade.

A column, moving on the El Burgo road, threatened the British left, but confined its operations to occupying the village on that road, and, by a demonstration, preventing any reinforcements being sent to the points where the serious attacks were made.

It was evidently the intention of the French Marshal to force the British right, and by so doing bring a strong corps between the place of

embarkation and the army: the nature of the position, and the manner in which he believed it to be occupied, gave grounds for supposing this result within his reach, but events proved otherwise; — a well-contested conflict, on ground nearly equal in point of advantage to the assailants and the assailed, convinced him that out-flanking was the only means of compelling the British regiments to retire; while a rapid and well-executed movement, made by Major-Gen. Paget with part of the reserve, not only extended his own, but threatened to render insecure the flank of the enemy.

The cannonade, which continued without intermission, and wherein the enemy had a decided superiority both from the number and weight of his guns, did great execution. The rebound of a shot struck Sir John Moore from his horse, while animating the troops by his example, and directing them with that judgment and coolness which, on many former occasions, had established his renown, and pointed him out as an officer of the highest reputation. Previous to this unfortunate event, Sir David Baird had been carried from the field, after having had his arm shattered by a musket ball. Lieutenant-General Hope, being next in seniority, succeeded to the command,

and brought the action to its close with a result which the steady conduct of the troops had from the first rendered probable—the repulse of the enemy at every point of attack.

About the middle of the action, Major-General Leith was ordered to relieve the 81st (which corps had suffered severely) by one of the regiments of his brigade;—he immediately placed himself at the head of the 59th, and advanced to the attack. A well-directed fire, and charge made by the grenadiers of the regiment, put the enemy to flight, and finally compelled him to desist from his efforts to force that part of the British position. Nearly at the same moment, the village on the El Burgo road was carried by part of the 14th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, and the enemy driven out at the point of the bayonet. Darkness now prevented any further operations on the part of the victors; the French retired to the commanding position from whence they had made the attack, and the British advanced posts were placed where they had been previous to being driven in by the enemy's columns. (*Appendix No. 2.*) Thus terminated an affair which did great honor to the troops engaged, and which was of essential importance to the undisturbed embarkation of the army.

The British loss was estimated at eight hundred killed and wounded ; that of the enemy, by his own confession, exceeded two thousand five hundred.

The embarkation closed a campaign commenced with ill-grounded hopes of success ; conducted by an officer of ability, commanding an army brilliant in appearance, possessing qualities natural to British soldiers, but without experience, and deficient in the species of knowledge to be alone acquired by practice, and by the instructions that habit and circumstances afford to all ranks, but which are very essential in the Staff; and without which no force, however composed, can expect to keep the field with any probable chance of success, against an enemy inferior in many respects, but whom a long system of methodical warfare has perfected in every thing connected with the existence of troops during a campaign.

The defeat of the Spanish armies ; the moment that was chosen to make an effort at co-operation, when a short-lived tranquillity in the North of Europe enabled the Emperor Napoleon not only to send large reinforcements to his armies in Spain, but to proceed there in person ; when the invincibility of his name con-

veyed unbounded confidence to the French soldiers; together with want of information which could be relied on, contradictory reports and ideal victories and dangers (the constant theme of the Spanish Government), and the credulity of the Spanish Nation, rendered the situation of Sir John Moore one of peculiar difficulty.

Under circumstances where the inexperience of his army was likely to produce more serious effects than are even incidental to retreat in all cases, particularly when accompanied by snow, roads in the worst state that a severe winter could place them in, and the supposed necessity of making forced marches to which the physical strength of a large portion of the soldiers was unequal, Sir John Moore shewed firmness of mind; nor did he ever appear to despond during a tedious and distressing service, wherein he had been placed in command with great expectations formed of the glory to be acquired by his army, but not a possibility of these hopes being realized.

It has been the theme of reproach to the troops, recorded by ignorance, and borne out, unfortunately, by strong but ill-explained facts, that their conduct during the retreat was marked by every species of excess; that their insubordination bordered on a denial of all

authority to restrain them; and that their conduct to the inhabitants was, in many cases, marked with violence, outrage, and inhumanity.

That this accusation cannot be fully repelled, is undeniable; but when investigated into, it will appear, the first instances of the kind proceeded from men unable to make the daily marches of their regiments, being left without other means of subsistence than they could acquire from the inhabitants; and it is well known to every officer of observation, how little the application of a fatigued and half-starved straggler was likely to be attended to;—this produced a warmer appeal, and generally ended in an endeavour to obtain by force those provisions which were denied to an application, never made with too much conciliation or urbanity of conduct on the part of the British soldier.

As the period of fatigue was prolonged, the number of stragglers consequently increased; the evil became greater, and more difficult to avert. The confusion occasioned by commissariat stores falling into the hands of these men at a later period of the retreat (particularly at Nogales), placed them in possession of the means of adding to the intoxication they were previously in, and rendered them incapable of

again incorporating themselves with their respective regiments. But, in justice to the troops, it must be told, that when possessed of strength to encounter the fatigues to which they were exposed without falling to the rear, their conduct was marked with regularity of behaviour, and affords a strong reason for believing, that necessity first occasioned excesses that became notorious, and have cast a reproach upon the army by whom they were committed. The march which occasioned the greatest irregularity (that from Lugo to Betanzos) was commenced at ten o'clock on the night of the 8th January, and was one of the most arduous ever executed. The road from the bivouac to the walls of Lugo, was of the worst possible description, and the darkness of a tempestuous winter night rendered it perilous in a high degree. Many accidents occurred by the soldiers getting falls among the rocks, which in several instances incapacitated them from pursuing their march with the column. It was, in consequence of these circumstances, daylight before the whole army had passed the walls of Lugo. The roads, rendered extremely deep by the great fall of rain, were increased in difficulty by the cars, baggage, &c. which preceded the army on its retreat; the accumulated

mud rendered it difficult for the soldier, loaded with his accoutrements and heavy knapsack, to extricate his feet ; added to this, a gale of wind, with excessive cold ; a march of eleven Spanish leagues (forty-four miles), performed without a halt, except for a few hours on the evening of the 9th, when the army bivouaced near the villages of Valmeda and Gutteriz, in the fields saturated with rain, which continued to fall in torrents ; and it is not to be wondered at, that many of the soldiers dropped from the ranks, exhausted by fatigue, and totally incapable of further exertion ;—lying in the ditches up to their knees in water, with the head reclining on a wet bank, no effort or persuasion could arouse them to energy, or make them sensible of the dangers to which they were exposed by the rapid advance of the enemy.

These facts being properly estimated, together with the want of shoes (which was the case in many instances), it will not be considered extraordinary that many stragglers should have been left in the rear.

The army halted a day at Betanzos ; and the march from thence to Coruna, performed under favourable circumstances as to weather ; from the distance being within the scope of every soldier's strength to accomplish, and being the last they



had to make, was conducted with regularity. Had the troops been more experienced in campaigning, and consequently better prepared for encountering hardships and fatigue, the former marches might have been performed with less irregularity; but no army could have made that from the position in front of Lugo, to Betanzos, having the same difficulties to encounter, without its organization being affected by it, and its discipline shaken.

## CHAP. III.

---

**U**PON his return to England, Major-General Leith was placed on the Home Staff, but the expedition to the Scheldt again called him into active service; and, being appointed to a brigade consisting of the 11th, 59th, and 79th regiments, he assisted at the siege of Flushing, and, with the latter corps, took possession of that fortress upon its surrender.

Severely attacked by the fatal fever of the country, and rendered incapable of serving, he embarked, and was conveyed to Harwich in a state of dangerous illness, which, although overcome for the moment, shook a constitution not naturally strong, and had a baneful effect throughout his future life.

Early in the following year, being partially recovered from the effects of the Walcharen campaign, he was appointed to the Staff in Spain and Portugal, and resumed a dista-

gushed situation in scenes that have placed the troops of Great Britain in the first rank as to bravery, and which enabled them, by experience in the art of war, and long habit of being successfully and judiciously commanded, to defeat the enemy whenever brought in contact with him, and to perform services far beyond what could have been executed by a much more numerous army, without that practical knowledge so essential in the field.

Twenty years of success, and the brilliant military reputation of their leader, had rendered the French armies formidable:—eminently acquainted with the art of war, and having been invincibly opposed to the nations of the Continent, — it became an object worthy the great Warrior destined to break the spell, and of incalculable interest in the minds of the youth of Britain serving in his army, to prove, that, when fairly opposed, these troops were to be defeated; and that the military character of the Nation, supported from the days of Cressy and of Agincourt, was not only to be upheld, but raised, by the lustre cast upon its arms in the Peninsula.

As obstacles overcome, are valued by the difficulties surmounted, so is the glory of a victorious action to be estimated by the

quality of the troops opposed. Every circumstance tending to heighten the reputation of the French army had been published with exaggeration; every means which could add to its "*esprit*" had been practised; dazzled by its renown, troops of the highest reputation had sunk before its legions. The Imperial establishments, magnificent in themselves, were pointed out to the troops as accompaniments of a victorious army; and the man who led them was considered the greatest Captain of the age. To overthrow such an enemy, made the service in the Peninsula one of chivalrous interest, and each succeeding campaign added to the glory of the British arms.

Enthusiastic in the cause, and confident in the talents of Lord Wellington, the officers under his command zealously learnt their duty; and a Staff was formed which daily improved in knowledge, and became capable of conducting the details of an army in the field with judgment and accuracy.

Major-General Leith arrived at Lisbon in 1810, where he again experienced a severe attack of intermittent fever; but recovered so much as to be enabled to take the command of a corps of ten thousand men, assembling at Thomar. Lord Wellington being then at

Viseu, with the light, 1st, 3d, and 4th divisions of the army cantoned on the Coa, at Guarda, &c.; while Sir Rowland Hill, with the 2d division, was stationed at Portalegre, to observe the movements of General Regnier's corps d'armée, in Spanish Estremadura. Marshal the Prince of Essling having assembled the 6th and 8th corps of the French army, commanded by the Duke of Elchingen, and General Junot, Duke of Abrantes, drove the light division across the Coa, and invested Almeida on the 24th July. He subsequently obtained possession of that place in consequence of an unfortunate explosion that took place on the evening of the 26th August, from which accident the Garrison were left without powder; and the works being seriously damaged, the Governor surrendered by capitulation on the 27th. In conformity to the plan of operations which had been concerted, General Regnier crossed the Tagus at the Barca de Alconete early in July, and cantoned his corps at Zarza Mayor, Penamacor, Monsanto, &c. preparatory to his forming a junction with the army destined to invade Portugal. Sir Rowland Hill made a similar movement, and occupied Sobriera Formosa, &c. In the middle of September, Massena marched his whole army into the valley of the

Mondego, to the north of that river. Lord Wellington retired by its left bank ; but having ascertained the direction taken by his opponent, he crossed and occupied the strong position of Busaco. Sir Rowland Hill and Major-General Leith broke up from their cantonments, and by a well-regulated movement (having crossed the Mondego at Pena Cova), arrived at Busaco previous to the French army coming in front of the Serra. Major-General Leith's corps was formed on the right of the 3d division, and Sir Rowland Hill's to his right, having his flank on the Mondego. The whole French army was collected in front of the position, and a reconnoissance made by the enemy on the 26th.

At day-light on the morning of the 27th September, a cannonade from the guns at the convent of Busaco announced an attack on the left of the position ; and a heavy fire of artillery and musketry from the 3d division, posted on that part of the Serra where the great road to St. Antonio de Cantara passes, bespoke a serious attack at that point.

Major-General Leith, whose instructions were (if not himself attacked), to support with his corps either of the divisions on his flanks that might be assailed, immediately moved by his left towards the position of the 3d divi-

sion ; but finding a strong column of the enemy advancing in support of his troops already engaged, he advanced Colonel Barnes' brigade, consisting of the Royal, 9th, and 38th regiments, in double-quick time, to the head of the column ; and, after a well-directed fire, charged the enemy at the head of the 9th regiment, and drove them from the position with great loss. At the moment Major-General Leith got into action, the light troops of the 3d division were driven back, and the enemy had actually obtained a temporary possession of the heights ; but before he had time to form, or to collect in force, the brilliant charge made by the 9th regiment speedily ensured the favourable result of the affair. On this occasion, Major-General Leith evinced that decision of character which was remarkable throughout his military life. A wavering determination, or a slowly-executed attack, by giving the enemy time to take advantage of his temporary success, would have occasioned great loss in regaining the point he was most eager to force, — but which, the rapid movement made by the Major-General deprived him of all hopes of accomplishing ; and General Regnier desisted from any further attempt. (*Appendix, No. 3.*)

The attack on the left of the British position

was equally unsuccessful on the part of the enemy; and, after sustaining a very severe loss, his troops were driven into the valley, leaving General Simon and a considerable number of prisoners in the hands of the light division.

Marshal Massena, by this severe check, had seven thousand men put *hors de combat*, and his direct communication with Lisbon obstructed, without hopes of being enabled to force a passage. Had the force under General Trant arrived on the position of Sardao, as Lord Wellington calculated it would have done (but which, from a misconstruction of orders, became impossible), the French army would have been placed in very critical circumstances, and must either have endeavoured to force a passage in that direction,—which, from what it had seen at Busaco, of the conduct of the Portuguese troops, became at least problematical,—or it must have endeavoured to penetrate by the passes of the Serra de Estrella, difficult and hazardous in the extreme.

Marshal Massena, having ascertained, that the mountains near Sardao were not occupied, put his army in motion, and turned the British position during the night of the 28th September. It became, therefore, necessary for Lord Wellington to retreat, and get upon the great



road to Lisbon, by passing through Coimbra, previous to the arrival of the enemy. Sir Rowland Hill, at the same time, recrossed the Mondego, and retired upon the lines by the route of Thomar.

The march of the main body of the army was conducted with great regularity, notwithstanding the crowded state of the road, from the whole population of Coimbra and the villages on the route, retiring, as had been previously directed. The conduct of the rear-guard was very conspicuous; and, upon every occasion where the enemy pressed, he was attacked and sabred by the British cavalry.—A circumstance, unknown in the history of retreats, occurred, that reflects the highest honor upon the troops: the number of prisoners taken from the enemy, and brought into the lines, was greater than those left in his possession by the British and Portuguese.

On the 8th of October, the celebrated position covering Lisbon, was occupied; and on the 13th, the French army arrived in force in front of it—having obtained possession of the village of Sobral, and driven in part of Major-General Sir William Erskine's brigade of the 1st division, posted there.

In consequence of reinforcements having ar-

rived, an alteration now took place in the formation of the army: Lord Wellington added two divisions to those already employed; the 5th, commanded by Major-General Leith, and the 6th, by Major-General Alexander Campbell.

The 5th division, consisting of Major-General Dunlop's, Major-General Hay's, and Brigadier-General Sprey's brigades, was encamped to the rear of the Great Redoubt of Sobral, and nearly in the centre of the position which was fully occupied by the Allied Army. Signal stations were erected along the whole line, from Alhandra to Torres Vedras; gun-boats were stationed on the Tagus to protect the right flank; the troops were regularly and abundantly supplied with provisions, and Lord Wellington awaited the effect which he calculated would be produced by the Enemy's Army exhausting its supplies, or being destroyed by attacking the finest fortified position which the ingenuity of man had ever discovered or rendered perfect.

Marshal Massena established his Head-quarters at Alenquer, having one corps of his army in advance, and his posts close to the British videttes. It is difficult to account for the length of time which he passed in front of the lines after he had reconnoitred and ascertained

the impracticability of carrying them; a delay which daily added strength to his opponent, and made his own situation more critical.

The two armies remained in a state of inaction until the night of the 14th November, when the enemy broke up from his bivouac, and retired. Lord Wellington, on being apprized of this movement, immediately put his troops in motion; the 5th division halted at Alenquer on the 16th, and continued its route on Cartaxo the following day. It is impossible to describe the state of wretchedness in which the French troops had left the country where they had been quartered and through which they had passed; nor is it to be supposed that the accumulation of filth of every description was accidental, but the result of a wanton determination to leave their quarters in the worst possible state for the pursuing army, and as a species of revenge for the difficulties they had encountered, in consequence of the judicious arrangements previously made to remove the inhabitants—a measure tending to increase the obstacles met with in drawing forth the resources of an enemy's country: perfectly acquainted as the French were with the most successful mode of exaction, it would have been impossible for the peasantry to have withheld from them the grain and other

articles of provision they were possessed of, had they been on the spot; their removal, therefore, added to the distress of the French army, and accelerated its retreat from the front of the fortified position, which Marshal Massena found he could not attack with any prospect of success, without a much more numerous army; and consequently, that unless largely reinforced, the attempt to get to Lisbon must necessarily fail.

The light, 1st, and 5th divisions of the British army, continued their march upon Cartaxo, where they arrived on the evening of the 17th, having, on their route, taken above 300 sick and emaciated specimens of the French troops. The enemy occupied the strong position of Santarem, which he had rendered more formidable by retrenchments and abbatis. The great road crosses a morass of considerable extent (in the centre of which runs the Rio Mayor), by a causeway walled on each side, and elevated above the plain. A strong abbatis, lined with tirailleurs, formed the French advanced post upon this road; and a height, close to the end of the causeway on the Santarem side, was armed with artillery, which swept the whole extent of it;—the approach was further defended by breast-works, and trees cut down,

which rendered it extremely difficult, and ensured a serious loss to the troops that might endeavour to force it. Lord Wellington threatened this position on the evening of the 17th, and early next morning the allies marched to execute the following movements:—Major-General Hay's brigade of the 5th division, and Brigadier-General Pack's Portuguese brigade, were to ford the river and turn the enemy's right, driving in his posts and advancing until they formed a junction, or communicated with the centre column, consisting of the first division under Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer, and two brigades of the 5th, commanded by Major-General Leith;—these troops were to proceed in column along the causeway, until across the Rio Mayor, when they were to leave the road, incline to their left, and march direct to the enemy;—the light division to cross the river farther to the right, and manœuvre in that direction as events might render advisable.

The heavy rain which fell during the night, rendered the fords impassable, and consequently prevented the attack being executed as had been ordered; but, independent of this circumstance, it would probably not have been carried into effect, from Lord Wellington having received intelligence that the main body of the French

army had gone into cantonments in the valley of Thomar, occupying Torres Novas, Goligao, Punhete, &c. and that the movement made from in front of the lines was only a change of position, no further retreat being intended for some time. The allies, therefore, went into cantonments also, occupying Cartaxo, Alcoentre, Azambuja, &c. During these operations, the boats of the fleet at Lisbon, under the direction of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Williams, transported Sir Rowland Hill's corps to the left bank of the Tagus, to prevent the French army from obtaining supplies in the Alentejo, or passing the river without a serious loss; and it became quartered at Chamusca, &c. Abrantes having been secured from a *coup-de-main*, the enemy, after frequent reconnoissances, gave up all idea of obtaining possession of the bridge at that place, by which he might have communicated with the Alentejo;—and fortunately, the Duke of Dalmatia was too much occupied in the Andalusias, to make an incursion to the South of Portugal; which might have been very serious in its effects, had he, by a well-timed and rapid movement, arrived opposite Lisbon at the moment when the "Army of Portugal" came in front of the lines.

Massena, aware of the difficulties in which

he was placed, and of the impracticability of effecting the conquest of Portugal without very large reinforcements, and a supply of provisions, which the country around his cantonments could not be expected much longer to afford, dispatched General Foy to Paris with a representation of the state of his army; but after all his efforts, a corps of ten thousand men, under General Drouet, which had been assembled at Valladolid, and formed the 9th corps d'armée, was the only reinforcement he received.

Major-General Leith, with the 5th division, had been stationed at Alcoentre and at Torres Vedras during this period of inactivity. At the latter place he again experienced a severe attack of the Walcheren fever, and was reluctantly compelled, by the advice of the Medical Staff, to quit the army; he therefore proceeded to Lisbon, and subsequently returned to England for the recovery of his health.

The French army, weakened by sickness and desertion, dispirited by inaction, and having exhausted the country from whence it drew its supplies, after passing the whole winter without making any movement of consequence, was at length put in motion. On the night of the 5th of March, the corps at Santarem was with-

drawn, and the following day that town became the British head-quarters; — a strong force under Major-General the Honorable William Stewart at the same time marched upon Thomar, where it at first appeared the intention of the enemy to assemble his army.—Marshal Massena retired his whole force upon Pombal, with the exception of General Regnier's corps, which marched by Espinhal; and the division of General Loison, which took the route of An-ciao. He had previously sent his sick and baggage to the rear, and by concentrating his troops at Pombal (apparently with an intention of making a stand), he gave time for these incumbrances to be moved on without obstructing his route, or endangering their being of necessity abandoned.

Marshal the Duke of Elchingen was placed in command of the rear-guard, composed of ten thousand infantry, and all the light cavalry of the army.

Lord Wellington followed up the retreat with the greatest alacrity;—he drove in the enemy's posts in front of Pombal on the 11th March, and made his arrangements for a general attack on the following morning; but the French having withdrawn during the night, he continued the pursuit, and came up with the



6th and 8th corps, strongly posted in advance of Redinha, having their right resting on a wood near the river Soure, and their left extending to the high ground above the river of Redinha. From this position the enemy was dislodged on the 12th, but not until he had occasioned a considerable loss of time to the allies, and thereby enabled the incumbrances of his army to be retired without precipitation.

The retreat of the French, from its commencement to its termination (upon reaching the frontier), was conducted with great ability; nor could all the exertions of Lord Wellington occasion the enemy a severe loss. Wherever the rear-guard was overtaken, it was found posted in a situation to ascertain a serious struggle, if directly attacked,—and a great detour and consumption of time, on the part of the allies, if turned. When turned, it fell back with rapidity upon the main body, without risk of losing its artillery or equipment of any description. Being composed of the *élite* of the army, very few men fell to the rear; and the certainty of being murdered by the peasantry, if they did so, repressed straggling in the French columns.

A circumstance occurred in one of the mountain villages, that strongly marked the exaspe-

rated feelings of the Portuguese people, and proved how well founded were the apprehensions of the enemy on that account:—Exhausted with extreme cold and fatigue, a French soldier got into one of the large ovens (which still retained some heat), and was discovered in that situation by a peasant, after the corps to which he belonged had marched, who left the house without awakening the unfortunate soldier, and, in the street, met Capt. Todd, of the Staff Corps, to whom he expressed great anxiety that he should accompany him,—a request immediately complied with,—and, to his astonishment, the soldier was drawn from his extraordinary retreat, and stabbed by the peasant before Capt. Todd had time to intercede for his life. Had this act been committed unseen, half the satisfaction would have been lost; but to have it in his power to shew a British Officer that he had put a French soldier to death, appeared a great instance of good fortune.

On the morning of the 14th March, the allies advanced from their bivouac a league from Condeixa, and passed through that town, which had been burnt by the enemy. The 6th and 8th corps d'armée were soon after discovered posted near Casal Nova, and Lord Wellington manœuvred to dislodge them. Major-General

Picton, with the 3d division, turned the left flank of the enemy; while Major-General Cole, with the 4th division, marched upon Pannella, for the purpose of securing the passage of the river Esa, and the communication with Espinhal, where Major-General Nightingale was in observation of General Regnier's movements. Sir Wm. Erskine, with the light division, turned the right of the enemy; and the advance of the light and 6th were engaged in a tirailade, which continued for some time—after which, in consequence of the flank movements of Major-General Picton and Sir William Erskine, Marshal Ney retired to within a league of Miranda de Corvo. General Regnier, with the 2d corps d'armée, rejoined the Prince of Essling this day.

The light and 3d, supported by the 1st and 6th divisions, and two brigades of cavalry, drove the rear-guard of the enemy in confusion across the Ceira, near Foz d'Arouce, on the evening of the 15th, with great loss; — many were drowned in the fords, and a considerable quantity of baggage, ammunition, waggons, &c. were taken in the town. A delay now occurred, which enabled the French army to get considerably in advance of its pursuers:—the bridge over the Ceira having been destroyed, and the

commissariat supplies not arrived, Lord Wellington halted the army on the 16th, on which day he detached Major-General Cole with the 4th division, and Colonel de Grey's brigade of cavalry, to join Marshal Beresford in the Alentejo. The following morning, however, the troops forded the Ceira, and recommenced the pursuit. On the 18th, the allies advanced towards the Ponte de Marcella; but finding the enemy had also destroyed that bridge, and left a considerable force to guard the ford, Lord Wellington moved upon Pombeiro, and fixed his head-quarters there. The Alva was forded by the first division, at five o'clock on the evening of the 19th; and from that day to the 25th, the allies bivouaced on the position of Moita, —anxiously expecting the arrival of the provisions, which, having to follow up, could not keep pace with the rapid movements of the troops, and unavoidably occasioned the only interruption of consequence the army experienced between Santarem and the frontier. Upon the supplies being received, Lord Wellington again advanced in pursuit of the enemy, taking the road to Celerico, upon which route the French army had retired. With the exception of General Regnier's corps, that marched by the mountains upon Guarda, where subse-

quently the Prince of Essling assembled a very large force. The British head-quarters arrived at Celerico on the 28th, and on the 29th Massena retired from Guarda, upon the appearance of the allies.

A well-conducted movement made by Major-General Picton across the Serra de Estrella, upon the enemy's left, by the mountain track from Monteigas, the light division advancing upon his right by Frexadas, and by the 5th and 6th divisions marching along the high road through the valley of Mondego, and ascending in front of the city, from its admirable combination as to time and precision of manœuvre, so impressed the French Marshal, that he instantly commenced his retreat towards the Coa, by Sabugal, pursued by the cavalry and light troops of the allies, who took three hundred prisoners.

General Regnier halted behind the Coa, at Sabugal, until the 3d of April, in which position the light division became engaged with the whole of the 2d corps d'armée. Colonel Beckwith's brigade three times repulsed the attacks of fresh troops very superior in number; and upon the arrival of the other brigade of the light division to support him, a fourth column of the enemy, with a body of cavalry, was attacked and driven back. General Regnier was in the

act of forming for a renewed assault, when he perceived the 5th division, which, having crossed the bridge of Sabugal, crowned the heights upon his right, the British cavalry, at the same time, appearing on the elevated plain in rear of his left; he therefore commenced his retreat by the mountains towards Rendo. In this gallant and unequal contest, the allies occasioned a loss to the enemy of a howitzer, four hundred dead upon the field, with three hundred and thirty prisoners and a considerable quantity of baggage.

At Alfaiates, on the 5th April, the British General gave up the pursuit of the French army, which continued its march upon Ciudad Rodrigo, and arrived there in a state of wretchedness, disorganization, and misery. Not a French soldier (with the exception of the garrison of Almeida) now remained in arms in Portugal; and Lord Wellington had the satisfaction of seeing the invasion of the enemy completely defeated by his wise combinations, and by the valour of the army that had the good fortune to be commanded by him.

## CHAP. IV.

---

ON the 9th April, 1811, Villa-formosa became the head-quarters of the allied army; and Lord Wellington reconnoitred Almeida, which he found secured from a *coup-de-main*, and strongly garrisoned; he therefore determined upon a blockade, and posted the troops to prevent supplies being introduced.—Not supposing it possible for the French “Army of Portugal” to be in a state to resume active operations for some time, his Lordship proceeded to the Alentejo, to ascertain what measures were necessary to be adopted in that quarter.—Badajos, after holding out for forty days, and its garrison, under General Menacho (who was unfortunately killed), having made a very honorable defence, was surrendered by General Imaz; who succeeded to the command, and signed terms of capitulation with the Duke of Treviso, on the 10th March, under very inexplicable circum-

stances—he being at the time in communication, by telegraph, with Lord Wellington, apprised of the retreat of the Prince of Essling, and with an immediate prospect of being relieved. Previous to this serious misfortune, another event of a disastrous nature had taken place, in the surprise and defeat of a Spanish corps posted on the Gevora, and commanded by General Mendizabal, a brave officer, but without talent or instruction. The route upon this occasion was complete, and the whole of the Spanish troops (with the exception of a small number saved by the gallantry and exertion of Don Carlos de Espana) were either killed or made prisoners.

To add to the gloomy aspect of affairs in this part of the Peninsula, Campo Mayor was taken on the 23d March.

Lieutenant-General Hill having, from illness, been compelled to relinquish the command of the corps he had for a length of time so ably conducted, Marshal Sir William Beresford was the senior officer in the Alentejo; and, having under his orders the 2d and 4th divisions, a Portuguese division commanded by Major-General Hamilton, the 13th light dragoons, Colonel de Grey's brigade of heavy cavalry, and two brigades of artillery, he arrived at Campo



Mayor two days after its surrender. The enemy, considering it of little consequence, had just evacuated the place, and were still in sight when the British cavalry came before it. General Latour Maubourg, who commanded the escort of the convoy, was immediately attacked and driven to the walls of Badajos by the 13th light dragoons, after a very brilliant and decisive charge made by that regiment.

Olivenza was taken by Major-General the Honorable G. L. Cole, on the 15th April, and the enemy had no longer any of his troops on the right bank of the Guadiana.

On the 20th April, Lord Wellington arrived at Elvas, from the north; and having reconnoitred Badajos, ordered Marshal Beresford to undertake the siege, and on the 22d again set off to join his troops near Almeida — his presence being rendered essentially necessary in that quarter, from Marshal Massena having collected a force with the evident intention of endeavouring to relieve that fortress, which he considered himself in sufficient strength to accomplish: the temporary absence of his great antagonist also appeared a favourable circumstance; and, previous to moving in advance, the Prince of Essling announced to his army, after enumerating all the circumstances which promised

success to their operations, that, to crown the whole, " Lord Wellington was in the Alentejo."

The unexpected and rapid return of the British Commander of the Forces took place four days before the advance of the enemy, who, having concentrated his force at Ciudad Rodrigo, moved on the 2d May with forty thousand infantry, and a considerable force of cavalry, to throw supplies into Almeida. This attempt was frustrated by the repulse of the French army in the battle of Fuentes de Honor; where a bad position was successfully defended, and an enemy with a large body of cavalry defeated under circumstances of great danger to the allies, in consequence of their deficiency in that arm, and the plain of Nava de Aver affording an opportunity for the French cavalry to manœuvre upon their right flank, and to turn the position. Fortunately, General Monbrun shewed little enterprise in his movements. The attack on the village of Fuentes was repelled, and instead of profiting by local circumstances, the French Marshal directed against the British infantry efforts which were unsuccessful, and threw away the most favourable opportunity that occurred during the Peninsular war, of carrying a position defended by British troops.

Finding the relief of Almeida impracticable,

the enemy retired across the Agueda, leaving the garrison to its fate.

On the evening of the 10th, General Brenier effected his escape, notwithstanding the precautions taken to prevent his being enabled to pass the piquets of the corps investing the place; and after sustaining some loss near Barba del Puerco, he crossed the Agueda, and joined the 2d corps d'armée, formed on the opposite bank to support him.

During these operations, important events continued to mark the progress of the war in Spanish Estremadura:—Badajos was invested on the left of the Guadiana, without loss, by Major-General the Hon. Wm. Stewart, on the 4th May; and on the north side by Major-General Lumley, on the 8th. The operations of the siege continued until the night of the 12th, when Marshal Beresford, having received information of the advance of the Duke of Dalmatia on Llerena, with an intention to relieve the place, he determined to raise the siege, and march to oppose him. The batteries were dismantled, the materials removed or destroyed, and on the night of the 15th some Spanish troops alone remained before Badajos.

The following day, Marshal Soult attacked the allies with twenty-three thousand men and

fifty pieces of cannon, in the position of Albuera;—the conflict was one of the most sanguinary that ever occurred; and after a very serious reverse (occasioned, in the first place, by the Spanish troops giving way, and secondly, in consequence of a brigade of the 2d division being attacked in the act of deploying by the enemy's cavalry, and thrown into confusion), victory declared for the allies, and the French army retired with great loss across the Albuera. The 12me légère alone had one thousand men killed and wounded. General Count Gazan was entrusted with the convoy carrying the French wounded to the rear, and by intercepted reports to the Duke of Dalmatia, stated their numbers at from four to five thousand.

All the British Regiments suffered severely. The 29th added, during the conflict, to the high reputation of that distinguished corps;—it went into action little more than four hundred strong, and sustained a loss of eighteen officers, with three hundred and twenty rank and file killed and wounded: a strong instance of the unshakeable firmness of British soldiers,—that, under a fire which could occasion such destruction, not a foot of ground was lost, or an attempt to recede made by any individual belonging to it.

The admirable conduct of this corps, and of the Fusileer brigade, first checked the enemy, and turned the fortune of the day.

Lord Wellington having previously detached the 3d and 7th divisions to reinforce Marshal Beresford, arrived at Elvas on the 19th; and ascertaining the retreat of Marshal Soult after the battle of Albuera, he ordered preparations to be made for resuming the siege of Badajos.

The place was re-invested between the 25th and 27th May, and on the 30th the allies broke ground before it. On the night of the 6th June, Fort St. Christoval was assaulted without success;—on the 9th it was again attempted by storm, and (not being carried) Lord Wellington, aware of the inadequate means he possessed for the reduction of so considerable a fortress as Badajos, and also of the junction about to take place between the French armies of “Portugal and of the South,” determined to raise the siege, and the guns and stores were all removed by the 12th.—Marshal Marmont, who had taken the command of the “Army of Portugal,” and put himself in motion to join the Duke of Dalmatia, continued his march towards the Guadiana. His advanced guard arrived at Merida on the 17th, and on the 20th

The two Marshals entered Badajos. The allied corps in the north made a similar movement, and the army was assembled on the Caya, ready to prevent the advance of the enemy, should he attempt to penetrate into Portugal; but abstaining from any further operations tending to interrupt his entering Badajos and reinforcing that garrison, which his superiority of numbers now enabled him to effect.

The two armies remained in a state of inactivity until about the middle of July, when the Duke of Ragusa, having exhausted the country south of the Tagus, crossed that river and marched into Castille. Lord Wellington left Lieut.-General Hill (who had rejoined the army) to watch the enemy's motions in Spanish Estremadura; and on the 10th August established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo, with the army cantoned in the villages of Martiago, El Bodon, &c. A position in front of Fuente Guinaldo was intrenched; in consequence of reports that Marshal Marmont intended to assemble a large force at Salamanca, to escort a convoy into Ciudad Rodrigo, then much in want of provisions; and as a precautionary measure, should the French army cross the Agueda, and extend its operations towards the Portuguese frontier. The light division alone remained on

the right bank of the river, the 3d occupying the heights of El Bodon, with its advance near Pastores, and both being ordered to retire on Fuente Guinaldo, should the enemy appear in force with an intention of attacking them.

On the 24th September, the expected convoy of the enemy entered Ciudad Rodrigo, a large force remaining in bivouac without the walls. The following day, he crossed the Agueda with from thirty-five to forty squadrons of cavalry, a body of infantry and artillery accompanying this formidable reconnoissance, which in the first instance appeared intended to force the position of El Bodon, by Pastores, on its right; but having executed this feint, he rapidly pushed his cavalry on its left, and prevented the allied troops at Pastores from retiring upon Fuente Guinaldo, as had been directed;—they therefore forded the Agueda, and, marching along its right bank, recrossed at Robleda.

On the left, the only troops to oppose the enemy's advance, were the 5th and 77th British, and 19th Portuguese Regiments, under the Hon. Major-General Colville, with the 11th dragoons and the 1st German hussars. Major-General Colville immediately ordered two squares to be formed; he then put himself in retreat, and with admirable firmness resisted

repeated charges of the French cavalry, made on three sides of his squares, and with very trifling loss retired so small a body in the face of an overwhelming force of the enemy's troops. Upon this occasion, Lord Wellington passed an eulogium on the conduct of the Major-General, which proved the high opinion he entertained of his services. It appearing the intention of Marshal Marmont to extend his operations beyond the provisioning Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington occupied the position in front of Fuente Guinaldo, by moving the third and fourth divisions into it on the 25th, and the light division on the 26th, keeping at the same time a corps to manœuvre in the plain to his left, and to prevent the enemy crossing the Agueda higher than Fuente Guinaldo. During the 26th, from fifty to sixty thousand infantry, including twenty battalions of the Imperial guard and six thousand cavalry, appeared in front of the three British divisions. The great superiority of force brought against him, and the nature of the position not admitting of advantageously employing his whole army in the defence of it, determined Lord Wellington to retire, which he did during the night. The enemy followed up on the 27th, and the village of Aldea de Ponte was warmly contested;—the



4th division twice lost and as often retook it, ultimately remaining in possession: but, after dark, the army continued to retreat, and the following morning offered battle to the enemy near Sabugal. The Duke of Ragusa having accomplished his object of relieving Ciudad Rodrigo, and having compelled the allies to retire from the Agueda (by which he could move upon Salamanca without his retreat being molested), declined the contest, and commenced a retrograde movement, which continued until he again established his head-quarters on the Tormes. Lord Wellington placed his army in cantonments, and prepared for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

The Duke of Ragusa's army, weakened by the recal of the Imperial guards from Spain, retired to Valladolid, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of that city. From this period, the war in the Peninsula assumed a different character: the allied army, which had hitherto acted upon the defensive, from an alteration of circumstances became in a situation to attack the frontier fortresses, without the enemy being enabled to make movements of consequence to obstruct its operations. The moment was too favourable for Lord Wellington to omit taking advantage of; and, notwithstanding the

snow that had fallen, he invested Ciudad Rodrigo on the 8th January, 1812, and during the night the redoubt of the upper Teson to the north of the place was assaulted by Lieutenant-Colonel Colbourne, 52d Regiment, and taken. The siege continued to be successfully carried on until the 19th, when the breaches being practicable, orders were issued for the assault to take place at seven in the evening.

The resistance at the great breach was formidable, and occasioned considerable loss to the 3d division, which stormed it; but the light division having penetrated at the lesser, the whole of the enemy's troops gave way;—they were pursued into the city, and the allies obtained complete possession of the place.—Major-General Crawford, commanding the light division, was mortally wounded soon after he debouched from the convent of San Francisco; and Major-General M'Kinnon killed by the explosion of an expense magazine, as he proceeded along the curtain, after having forced the great breach at the head of his brigade. Marshal Marmont's march to the relief of the place was interrupted by the accounts of its fall, which he received on the 22d, at Salamanca.

Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo having been placed in a defensible state, and the battering

train of the "Army of Portugal" captured in the latter place, Lord Wellington was aware that no movement of consequence could be made against Portugal while these fortresses remained in the hands of the allies, without the enemy being possessed of the means of reducing them; he therefore determined to move the main body of his army to the south, and besiege Badajos.

Lieutenant-General Leith having rejoined the army, marched the 5th division into Ciudad Rodrigo upon the 20th January, and commenced the permanent repairs of the walls, making additions to the out-works and improving the defences. Having accomplished these works, and endeavoured to deceive the enemy by various devices, calculated to conceal as much as possible the movements of Lord Wellington, he gave over the fortress to the Spaniards upon the 5th of March, and proceeded with his division to join the main body of the army before Badajos, the siege having commenced upon the 16th.

On the 22d March, the 5th division marched from Campo Mayor, and Lieutenant-General Leith completed the investment of Badajos on that side. During the day, the rain fell in tor-

rents, and the pontoon bridge across the Guadiana was carried away.

It being resolved that the Picurina fort should be attempted, on the night of the 25th arrangements to that effect were made by Major-General Kempt, commanding in the trenches. The troops destined to perform this service moved at ten P. M. : the attack succeeded, and the garrison were either bayoneted or made prisoners.

On the 31st of March, Lieutenant-General Leith moved from Elvas, and encamped his division behind the Sierra del Viento, near Badajoz, in readiness to co-operate in the ultimate operations of the siege.

The Duke of Dalmatia having advanced to Llerena with the intention of relieving the place, Lord Wellington was induced to hasten the assault; and having reconnoitred the breaches in the face of the bastion of La Trinidad, and flank of that of Santa Maria, he ordered the place to be attacked at ten o'clock on the night of the 6th of April.

The disposition of the troops for the different points of attack was as follows :—Lieut.-General Picton, with the 3d division, to cross the Revillas and escalade the castle; the 4th division to mount the breach of La Trinidad, and the

light division that of Santa Maria ; the 5th division to make a false attack on the Pardaleras ; and Lieutenant-General Leith received discretionary orders to escalate the bastion of San Vicente, if that should be found practicable.

The 3d division crossed the Revillas under a very heavy fire from all the enemy's works on the eastern side of the place ; and, having forced its way to the castle after a most determined resistance and severe loss, succeeded in placing the ladders and effecting a lodgement.

The light and 4th divisions encountered obstacles in their attacks that were insurmountable ; and, after being exposed to a concentrated fire of a most destructive description, were driven back from the breaches, and retired upon their reserves, posted in the quarries.

The 5th division moved from its bivouac about eleven, the false attack on the Pardaleras was executed, and Lieut.-General Leith moved on with rapidity to the west angle of the place. Having arrived opposite the left face of the bastion of San Vicente, he forced the barrier of the covered way, descended into the ditch, and, placing ladders against the wall, succeeded in escalating it, notwithstanding it being in a perfect state, thirty-one feet high, and lined with the enemy's troops prepared for defence. He

soon after sent a report to Lord Wellington, that the whole of the 5th division was in the town, while his bugles sounded the advance in all directions, distracting the enemy's attention. He then marched direct to the breaches, and opened the communication for the light and 4th divisions, who entered without further obstruction.

Lieutenant-General Picton having obtained possession of the castle, ensured the capture of the place ; but that could not have been effected until the following morning, had not the escalade of San Vicente also succeeded, and Lieut.-General Leith, by the promptitude of his operations, dispersed the enemy, and prevented his assembling or making further resistance. This escalade must ever be considered as a very extraordinary effort, only to have been performed by British troops, whose exertions were stimulated by the example of their leader ; who, upon this, as upon former occasions, manifested a bravery and judgment that could not fail to acquire for him the approbation of his Country, and the unanimous applause of the Army.

A very gallant and able Officer has, in his work on the Sieges in the Peninsula, given this part of the service, performed on the night of the 6th April, the pre-eminence, as to difficulty

and improbability of its being accomplished, in the following terms:—

“ In ordinary military reasoning, such a spot  
 “ would be considered as secure from assault,  
 “ but the efforts of British troops occasionally  
 “ set all calculation at defiance; and when a  
 “ few years shall have swept away the eye-wit-  
 “ nesses of their achievements of this night,  
 “ they will not be credited,—particularly the  
 “ escalade made by General Leith, which is  
 “ here minutely detailed, not as an undertaking  
 “ generally to be followed, but as marking  
 “ what it is possible for brave men to effect.

“ The bastion of San Vicente, which Major-  
 “ General Walker’s brigade, and subsequently  
 “ the whole of the 5th division, escaladed, had  
 “ an escarpe thirty-one feet six inches high, de-  
 “ fended by a flank with four guns in it, at the  
 “ ordinary distance; the palisades of the covered  
 “ way were entire, the counterscarp wall eleven  
 “ feet nine inches deep, and in the ditch was the  
 “ commencement of a cunette five feet six inches  
 “ deep by six feet six inches broad. The  
 “ troops were discovered when yet on the  
 “ glacis, and a destructive fire opened upon  
 “ them. The enemy were fully prepared, and  
 “ behaved well, inasmuch as no one gave way  
 “ till overpowered; yet the troops successfully

“escaladed the face of the bastion, neglecting  
 “entirely the flank. There were only *twelve*  
 “*ladders* originally supplied for this attack,  
 “and some of that number were not brought up.”

The 5th division suffered very severely, having near seven hundred killed and wounded.

Badajos thus captured, after a regular siege, and when the points of assault (as in other operations of a similar nature) did not facilitate the entrance of the besieging army, will ever be celebrated as one of the most extraordinary instances of successful escalade; — it will also afford an example of the possibility of rendering breaches extremely formidable, by an ingenious application of temporary difficulties and obstacles in the way of the assailants. The light and 4th divisions displayed their accustomed gallantry, and (although repulsed) maintained the high reputation their former achievements had gained for them.

Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia received the unwelcome tidings of this important fortress being in possession of the allies, at Villa-franca, on the 8th April, and at day-light of the 9th commenced his retreat towards Andalusia.— Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton was directed to follow with the allied cavalry, and, coming up with a body of the enemy, consisting



of 2500 dragoons and *chasseurs à cheval*, at Villa-Garcia, he charged them, and made 150 prisoners—the enemy retiring in confusion close to Llerena, and under cover of his infantry and artillery. Lord Wellington having ascertained the retreat of the “Army of the South” from Spanish Estremadura, put his army in motion for Castille, and the advance arrived at Castello Branco on the 16th April.

Availing himself of the opportunity offered by the temporary absence of the Allied Army employed at Badajos, Marshal Marmont made an excursion into Portugal, which was not attended with any success whatever, and terminated in his evacuating that country the moment the siege was concluded; and Lord Wellington had it in his power to march against him—thus throwing away the advantages to have been derived from a well-timed junction with Marshal Soult previous to the assault of the place.

Aware of the importance of obstructing the communication between the armies “of the South” and “of Portugal,” Lord Wellington determined to take the works and destroy the bridge at Almaraz, and thus remove the only means of crossing the Tagus with an army (unless by a great detour), which the enemy was

possessed of. Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill was entrusted with the execution of this service, which he accomplished in the most effectual manner, carrying forts Napoleon and Ragusa by assault ; and, having completed the destruction of the works and the bridge, he retired to Truxillo, with very inconsiderable loss.

CHAP. V.

---

---

**L**ORD Wellington having completed the equipment of his army, moved from his cantonments in the North of Portugal, crossed the Agueda on the 13th June with thirty-five thousand infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and marched upon Salamanca.

Lieut.-General Leith, with the 5th division, encamped near Sanmunóz on the 14th, and on the 17th arrived on the Tormes.

The British cavalry in advance discovered the enemy on the Valmusa at day-light of the 16th, when they drove his piquets of *chasseurs à cheval* and hussars close to Salamanca, then the head-quarters of the Marshal Duke of Ragusa; who had anticipated this movement, and earnestly demanded reinforcements to counteract the effects of being assailed by the powerful means with which he conceived Lord Wellington would be enabled to open the campaign.

Upon coming in sight of that city, some of the French infantry were seen on the left bank; but, only the cavalry being up, nothing further was attempted until the following morning, when the allies patrolled to the bridge, the infantry being at the same time advanced to the heights above the Tormes and halted, except the 6th division, which proceeded to the vicinity of the town. Lord Wellington having ascertained that it was evacuated during the night (with the exception of the three forts), entered the market-place at the head of the 14th dragoons, about noon, and the 6th division soon after marched in. The greatest enthusiasm was shewn by the inhabitants, who crowded about his Lordship, and evinced their delight at the arrival of the allied army.

Salamanca being a place of importance as a depôt for the "Army of Portugal," was also, from its local situation, considered by the French Engineers worthy of labour and expense to make it a formidable *place d'armes*;—for this purpose the large convent of San Vicente, standing on a perpendicular cliff over the Tormes, was converted into a fort, and two redoubts formed from the ruins of the convents of Gayetano and La Merced.

The Duke of Ragusa, when he retired during

the night of the 16th, left a garrison of eight hundred men in these works, and it became necessary to reduce them previous to the further advance of the allied army. With this view, the 6th division was ordered to carry on the operations of the siege, and the rest of the army, placed in position on the heights of St. Christoval, in front of the town, prevented the enemy approaching to interrupt its progress.

The French Marshal having collected about sixteen thousand men, arrived before the position on the 20th June; and, after manœuvring for some time, bivouaced his army in the plain near the village of Villares.

This appeared a favourable moment for striking a decisive blow against the French corps; but Lord Wellington did not think it advisable, situated as he then was, with the forts unsubdued in his rear, and the bridge of Salamanca commanded by them, to attempt any thing that admitted of a doubt as to the successful result; he therefore continued on the defensive, and, possessed of the fine position of St. Christoval, remained perfectly secure of not being compelled to forego the primary object of his advance—getting complete possession of Salamanca, and destroying the fortifications which

the enemy had bestowed so much time, labour, and expense in erecting.

On the night of the 22d, Marshal Marmont withdrew from in front of the St. Christoval position, and the following morning crossed the river three leagues above Salamanca, by the ford of Huerta. Lord Wellington conceiving this movement to be made with a view of carrying off the garrisons of the forts, ordered two divisions to march and pass to the left bank of the Tormes, by the ford of Santa Martha, to counteract any attempt the enemy might make to communicate with the town.

In the evening, the redoubts of Gayetano and La Merced were unsuccessfully attacked by escalade, and Major-General Bowes, who commanded the assault, was mortally wounded.

The enemy continued to manœuvre in the direction of Huerta, without attempting any thing; and the operations against the works made little impression until the 26th, when Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgeon, of the Staff corps, having proposed to try the effect of hot shot upon the convent of San Vicente, his suggestion was adopted, and at seven, P.M. the roof was in flames. The enemy, however, by great exertion, prevented the fire from extending, and

finally succeeded in extinguishing it. The cannonade, which continued all night, rendered unavailing the efforts made by the garrison to counteract the effects of the hot shot, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th, the whole convent was again in a blaze. Some difficulty and delay still occurring in the Governor delivering up the works, Lord Wellington ordered the troops to advance. The redoubt of Gayetano was carried by assault. During the confusion occasioned by the fire, the troops succeeded in penetrating into the fort of San Vicente, and the three were taken possession of by the allies.

Salamanca, formerly celebrated for its colleges and other public edifices, now exhibited, in many parts, the ruin which the French army had occasioned, and which extended to most of the convents and buildings of the University. The city, with its cathedral, and the bridge over the Tormes, retained, however, the exterior semblance of former splendour; and the Plaça, or market-place, is one of the handsomest in Spain.

During the Peninsular war, greater devotion to the cause was never manifested by the inhabitants of any town; and that wavering policy, which was directed by the absence or approach of the enemy's army, never exhibited itself.

Abhorrence of the French name, and a desire to assist the allied army, invariably marked the feelings of the people of Salamanca.

Although it was important to wrest the forts from the enemy, they were of no consequence to the allied army, as, in the event of operations being carried on successfully, they were unnecessary; and if circumstances rendered its retreat unavoidable, they were not of a description to leave garrisons in, without a prospect of being speedily relieved; nor was it probable that the "Army of Portugal" would make any movement towards the frontier, which could have rendered the obstruction they might have occasioned of much importance; Lord Wellington, therefore, gave orders for their destruction, and continued the operations of the campaign by marching with an intention to force the Duke of Ragusa from the left bank of the Douro.

Lieut.-General Leith, with the 5th division, arrived at Fuente-la-Pena on the 30th June, and the same day marched to Torrecilla. The Duke of Ragusa continued his retreat upon Tordesillas as the allies advanced, and on the 2d July his rear-guard was driven across the river, after sustaining some loss near the village of Rueda.

Rueda became the head-quarters of the army.



Lieut.-Gen. Picton, with the 3d division, was stationed at Pollos, opposite one of the fords; the 4th occupied Castro Nuno; the 5th and 6th divisions encamped near Foncastin; Sir Thomas Graham, with the 1st division, was at Medina del Campo; and the cavalry were cantoned in the rich and plentiful valley of the Douro.

The French army concentrated on the right bank of the river, with its head-quarters at Tordesillas, extended in the direction of Toro, having strong corps posted to guard the fords at Pollos, Castro Nuno, &c.

Detachments at Toro and Zamora occupied the temporary works which had been constructed at these places, and the peasantry were employed in repairing the bridge at the former, the centre arches of which had been previously destroyed.

In possession of the bridges, and aware of the difficulties attending the passage of such a river as the Douro, by its fords, in face of an enemy, Marshal Marmont remained at Tordesillas without any apprehension of being attacked, and until the arrival of General Bonnet's division and other reinforcements enabled him in safety to repass, and endeavour to regain the country he had been compelled to retire from.

During this interval, the repairs of the bridge of Toro were carried on with alacrity, and a report was industriously circulated, that the French army intended to recross the Douro in that direction, and proceed to Salamanca.

Intelligence having been brought to Lord Wellington that the bridge was passable, and that the enemy were in motion on the right bank, he removed his head-quarters from Rueda to Nava del Rey on the 15th, and the whole army changed its ground to the left, occupying Alaegos, Fuente la Pena, &c. On the morning of the 16th, two divisions of the French army marched from near Tordesillas, under General Bonnet (who had joined the army on the 7th), and, moving along the river, crossed the bridge of Toro in the evening. Having executed this feint, the enemy's column re-passed the Douro after dark, and early next morning joined the main body of the army, in the act of crossing by the bridge of Tordesillas.

The object of the Duke of Ragusa was in some measure accomplished by his movement upon Toro, which certainly had every appearance of being serious; and consequently, when intelligence was brought to the British head-quarters, of the enemy having returned to the right bank of the river, and again destroyed the

bridge, Lord Wellington ordered the divisions at Canizal to advance to Nava del Rey, and a corresponding movement to be made by the left of the army on Alaegos. The cavalry, with the light and 4th divisions, were at Castrajon.

At day-break on the 18th, Lieut.-General Leith left Canizal, and, with the 5th and 6th divisions, commenced his march upon Nava del Rey. Soon after, a cannonade was heard in the direction of Castrajon, and it was ascertained that the enemy had arrived on the Trabancos, and attacked the advanced corps of the allied army.

The Duke of Ragusa, who was now very largely reinforced, marched with rapidity to take advantage of the false information which his movement upon Toro might have occasioned to the allies, and to make a decisive attack. He turned the troops at Castrajon, by advancing his right, and obliged the allies to retire upon the position of Canizal. So rapid were the movements of the enemy, that the light division was obliged to quit the main road and descend into the valley of the Guarena, by a track to their left; and the 5th division having halted to obtain water from that stream, the enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery upon it from the

heights above. Lieut.-General Leith immediately deployed to prevent the loss which his retiring in column might have occasioned, and with very few casualties, in the most perfect order, took up his ground on the heights of Canizal.

The only further movement of consequence which the enemy attempted this day, was, by passing a corps of cavalry and infantry to the left of the British position, and endeavouring to obtain possession of an important height above Castrillos, at the junction of the rivulet of Canizal with the Guarena. Lieut.-General Cole vigorously attacked these troops with a brigade of his division and some light cavalry, and they were driven back with great loss. General Carriér was made prisoner on this occasion.

Lord Wellington ordered the position to be strengthened by some field works, and at night a party of the 5th division commenced throwing up cover for its artillery, under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel Sturgeon, of the Staff corps. The enemy, during the 19th, shewed no disposition to attack; but in the evening he put his columns in motion and moved to his left, which occasioned the light and 5th divisions to march to their right. During the night, the whole allied army moved in that direction,

and next morning offered battle to the enemy on the plain of Vallesa. This did not appear to be his object, and he continued to move in column along the range of heights extending towards Salamanca. The course pursued by the allies was a similar movement, and the two armies marched parallel to each other the whole forenoon, frequently cannonading, and occasionally the light troops being engaged. Nothing could be more novel or imposing in its appearance than the line of march above stated:—the circumstance of 70,000 men, composing two hostile armies, moving in columns close to each other without coming seriously in contact, presented one of those spectacles in war which, unless well authenticated, would be disbelieved.

The baggage having fallen considerably to the rear, and the cavalry not yet passed a narrow defile where the enemy were within cannon shot, the 5th division was halted to cover these movements. This was the moment when the French General Bonnet conceived a serious impression might have been made upon the rear of the British column; but the Duke of Ragusa resisted his repeated suggestions and solicitations for permission to descend into the

M

valley, and attempt to cut off the artillery and baggage which had not yet passed.

The 8th Portuguese caçadores having driven the enemy's voltigeurs from a village they had occupied, close to the line of march : no further obstruction was placed in the way of the rear of the allied column ; and soon after (the range of heights over which the French army were proceeding to the fords of the Tormes inclining to the left, while the route of the allies upon the San Christoval position took a different direction), the two columns lost sight of each other, and the British and Portuguese troops arrived at Pitiegua after a fatiguing march, during a day of excessive heat.

In the evening a false alerte took place, in consequence of the brigade of Portuguese cavalry, under Brigadier-General D'Urban, appearing on the plain in front of the village, being dressed very like the French *chasseurs à cheval*, and, advancing with considerable precaution, induced a belief that they were some of the enemy's light cavalry ; and before the mistake was discovered, a discharge from the artillery of the 3d division brought two men and three horses to the ground. After dark, the army resumed its march, and came in front of

the San Christoval position on the morning of the 21st; in the course of which day the Duke of Ragusa passed the Tormes with part of his army, by the fords of Huerta and Aldea Lengua, leaving a strong corps on the right bank of that river, near Babilafuente.

Lord Wellington, calculating with the judgment and accuracy of an Officer possessed of great talents, was aware of the extent to which he could with propriety carry his operations. His career since the commencement of the campaign, taking into view the force under his orders, and that of the enemy's armies in Spain, had been attended with the most brilliant success. Since the beginning of the year, he possessed himself of the important fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos—destroyed the works at Salamanca—cantoned his army in a plentiful country, from whence he had driven the enemy—and created a diversion not only in the North, but in the march of Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid with the “Army of the Centre.”

The Duke of Ragusa (whose army was now superior in force to the allies) expected the cavalry and horse artillery of the “Army of the North” to join him on the 22d or 23d, and the 12,000 men from Madrid would, without

difficulty, do so by the 26th. Lord Wellington saw no prospect of being enabled to produce any further favourable results against a force so greatly superior, without sacrifices which it would have been impolitic to risk; he therefore determined to retire upon Ciudad Rodrigo—at the same time, occupying a position covering the Matilla road to that place, prepared to avail himself of any opportunity that might occur, of striking a decisive blow against the enemy's army.

It being ascertained that the main body of the French army were on the left bank of the river, the allies crossed by the ford of Santa Martha before dark, on the 21st, with the exception of the 3d division, under the Honorable Major-General Pakenham; the division of Spaniards, commanded by Don Carlos de Espana; and the Portuguese cavalry, who passed the Tormes by the bridge of Salamanca on the following morning.

At day-break on the 22d, the allied army were in position to the left of the heights of Arapiles, the enemy being directly in front, and in possession of Calvarasa de Ariba, and the height of Nuestra Senora de la Pena, on which he threw out a large body of light troops; and a warm tirailade was kept up for some time be-



tween them and the advance of the 7th division, and of Brig.-General Pack's brigade, during which General Victor Alten was wounded.

When the position was first occupied, the two Arapiles were not taken possession of; but subsequently the allies moved to their right, placed troops on the nearest of these remarkable heights, and were in the act of advancing towards the other with the same intention, when the enemy's infantry were discovered on the summit.

General Maucun having possessed himself of this important point, the Duke of Ragusa assembled his force (formed in columns of attack) in rear of it, his left resting upon a very extensive wood. This movement appeared to promise two results—either to ascertain his being enabled, by a rapid march to his left, to operate upon the communication of the allies with Ciudad Rodrigo, or, in the event of Lord Wellington moving to his right, to seize a favourable opportunity of attacking him, by debouching from behind the Arapiles, and separating the corps of his army.—Early in the forenoon, the allied divisions moved to their right, and the enemy kept up a very heavy cannonade, and fire of light troops. The Duke of Ragusa, observing his motions strictly-

watched, and that all his intentions were rendered unsuccessful by the measures adopted to counteract them, determined to draw the attention of his antagonist to a different point:—with this view, he marched a strong force to his right, and formed columns of attack opposite the ground of the 5th division. Lord Wellington soon perceived that nothing serious was intended by this manœuvre, and immediately returned to direct the operations of his right, which was of necessity thrown back from the ground of position, to that side of the Arapiles forming nearly a right angle with that occupied by the allies in the morning.

As soon as the effect of the demonstration in front of the 5th division was ascertained, the French Marshal pushed forward his columns along the heights to his left, and in a direction nearly parallel with the ground upon which the right of the allied army then stood. This movement was accompanied with a fire from a large force of artillery, and a body of cavalry, who pressed forward and drove the British dragoons and light troops before them.

The French army, either from a false movement having been directed by the Duke of Ragusa, or (as he afterwards declared) the Generals of Division having misunderstood and ill-

executed his intentions, was now extended in a manner that promised a successful result to an attack on the part of the allies.

Lord Wellington, who had watched with anxiety for such a moment, eagerly grasped at it, and issued his orders for attack.

Previous to the commencement of the action, the allied army was posted in the following order:—to the extreme right, on the Ciudad Rodrigo road (upon which it had commenced its retreat), was the 3d division, and the Spanish corps of Don Carlos de Espana.

Major-General Le Merchant's brigade of heavy cavalry formed on the right of Brigadier-General Bradford's Portuguese brigade, and on his left the 5th and 4th divisions (in two lines) extended to the foot of the Arapiles in possession of the allies, where was stationed Brigadier-General Pack, with the 1st and 16th Portuguese regiments. The 6th and 7th divisions were in reserve to the 4th and 5th, and the light and 1st in position to the left of the Arapiles.

The attack commenced by the 3d division making a rapid movement across a valley to the left of the enemy, coming upon that flank before he was aware, and driving back his troops

in confusion;—a simultaneous movement was made by the 4th and 5th divisions, and the heavy cavalry.

Lieut.-General Leith was ordered to appui himself upon Brig.-General Bradford's brigade, when it arrived parallel with his front line, and then to march direct up the heights opposite, and attack the enemy's columns.

The 5th division had been exposed for upwards of an hour to a heavy cannonade, which was kept up without intermission from the enemy's position;—the order for attack was therefore doubly welcome, and the enthusiasm of the soldiers left no doubt of the result. Lieut.-General Leith rode through the ranks, and pointed out to the troops the glory now within their reach;—he then placed himself in front of the first line of his division, and advanced to the attack, which was executed with the most perfect order. The distance to the enemy was above a mile, up a steep height crowned by twenty pieces of cannon, the fire from which could not fail to penetrate one or other of the lines as they advanced. The village of Arapiles, through which the left had to pass, formed a considerable obstruction, but which was quickly overcome by the 9th regiment;

It appearing that the late Insurrection of the Slaves in the Parishes of St. Philip, St. George, Christ Church, and St. John, was principally caused by the misrepresentation and instigation of ill disposed Persons, who have been endeavouring to induce a belief that the Slaves were actually made free. but that the Manumissions were improperly withheld from them; I think it my duty, at once to remove all misconception on a Subject of so great importance to the Tranquillity of this Colony, and for the well being of the Slaves themselves.

I do not mean to enter into the origin and nature of Slavery, further, than to prevent you from erroneously supposing, that Bondage is your particular or exclusive lot.

Slavery is not the Institution of any particular Colour, Age, or Country:—it has ever existed, and does still exist among White, as well as Black Men, in every quarter of the Earth.—That the Blacks of Africa have continued Slavery, and with the Whites have been its joint authors in the West Indies, is a fact personally known to all of you who have come from Africa, under the compulsive transfer of your Persons by your own Countrymen, by whom you were held in Bondage in your Native Land, and were there disposed of as Slaves.—That our humane and equitable Sovereign, and the British Nation, disapprove of the Traffic in Slaves from Africa, is known to all; as well as that it has consequently been prohibited by the Law, and has long ceased:—

It is equally a fact, that Black People of Africa still continue Slavery, not only among themselves, but that they daily, barter their Fellows of every age, and Sex, to any Person who chooses to buy them; while Great Britain alone exerts her Power to prevent an encrease of Slavery, and to render those, who now are unavoidably in that state, every practicable Service which benevolence suggests.—But the most wise and just Men

the most humane and zealous Advocates of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, who possess practical knowledge—and the most sincere Friends of those who are actually in Slavery, have considered their Emancipation (except in particular cases, as the reward of Fidelity and good conduct) to be morally impracticable; whether such a Measure should regard the good order of the Community at large, or the well-being of the generality of the Slaves themselves.

What would be the fate of the old, the infirm, the sick, the helpless Children, and a large proportion of your whole Body, who have been brought up to depend entirely upon your Masters for your Subsistence? and from that circumstance, as well as from the want of knowledge as Artificers, and in other respects, would be little able to provide for your wants, if a rash measure of Emancipation were at once to throw the mass of the Slave Population into a new State of Society, under the flattering but fallacious name of Freedom; in reality however, presenting only the dangers of general Disorder and producing (except to a few), the miseries of confusion and want, leading to the Commission of Crimes, and to the absolute subversion of Public order and Tranquillity:—After contemplating such danger to the Community, it is not necessary to go into the Origin and nature of Slavery, in order to decide on the impracticability of its Abolition where it actually exists, excepting by a wise and unremitting system of Amelioration, by which it will gradually produce its own Reformation. By such means alone, and not by the attempt of a rash and destructive Convulsion, has Slavery imperceptibly, safely and happily changed in every Country where it had ever existed, but has now ceased, from the beginning of the World to the present time.

I have learned that a general belief had been mischievously propagated amongst you, that, I was in possession of your *M*

admissions, and that my return to Barbados would have put you in possession of your Freedom. I can solemnly assure you, that my arrival has been one of the most painful periods of my Life; when, in performing my duty, I have not only had to inform you of the cruel deception, which the Enemies of the State, and still more, your own bitter Foes, have practised on both, but to feel myself called on by the offended Laws to seek out and still to punish the Guilty.

Perhaps, never was there a more delicate subject to touch on with you than your condition as Slaves, especially under the unhappy circumstances in which too many of you have involved yourselves, and by which, the Guilty had planned so much mischief to this Colony:—but I shall never be deterred from promulgating Truth, when my duty points out the necessity, however difficult it may appear to give it effect.

I conjure you all, then to return with cheerfulness to your Duties, where it will be infinitely more consistent with my desire to see you act from reason, than from force. Every thing which the paternal Government of the Prince Regent can practically effect for your well-being, your progressive prosperity, and happiness, has been and will continue to be done.—I appeal with confidence to yourselves, whether your Proprietors also, have not generally done much to render your situations comfortable.

In that which regards my Authority, you may rely on a strict and watchful execution of my duty, in whatever regards your interests:—but do not allow me, in expressing the benevolent feelings which I shall ever entertain towards you, to mislead you into a belief, that I could for a moment permit you to resist with impunity, the just exercise of that authority which the Law has placed over you.

It is melancholy to think on the numbers of Men who in the late Insurrection, lost their lives, in the rash, and wicked contest against the Laws into which they allowed themselves to be hurried, without a shadow of hope, that their efforts would have been successful, against the powerful means within my command, for the preservation of public Tranquillity.

I cannot omit to express my satisfaction at the good sense and feeling, of so large a proportion of you, who rallied round your Masters and their Families, when your deluded Brethren, so shamefully forgot the Ties of duty and gratitude, where Benefits had been conferred on them.

I trust however, that the example of that fidelity I have justly commended, even more than the fate of those who have lost their lives, and the returning reason of the deluded, will save me from the painful task of using the ample power, at all times in my hands, to crush the refractory, and punish the guilty.

It will indeed be to me a source of true gratification, to witness the speedy return of general confidence and industry, and of that comfort, and cheerfulness which so large a portion of you seemed to enjoy.

(Signed)

JAMES LEITH

*Government-House. 26th April, 1816.*

*Extract from the Minutes of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Barbados, at a Meeting on Tuesday the 6th August, 1816.*

“ Mr. MAYERS, introduced a Bill of settlement for His Excellency the Governor, and moved that it be read, which was seconded by Mr. HAYNES, and the Bill was read accordingly—



On Mr. MAYER's motion, seconded by Mr. HAYNES, the House went into a Committee on the Bill, Mr. WILLIAMS in the Chair.

The Bill was read, Clause by Clause, in the Committee; the blank filled up with the Sum of £4000 Currency, and the Bill was agreed to unanimously by the Committee.

The House resumed, Mr. Speaker took the Chair, and the Bill was read a second and third time, and passed *nem. con.* and was sent up to the Council by Mr. JORDAN, and Mr. COBHAM.

The Governor's settlement Bill was returned, passed by the Council.

Mr. Speaker, at the head of the House, presented the Bill of settlement to His Excellency for his assent, and addressed him as follows:—

“ I am to present for your Excellency's assent, a Bill entitled  
 “ An act for the better support of His Excellency Sir JAMES  
 “ LEITH, K. G. C. B. His Majesty's Captain General, Governor  
 “ and Commander in Chief of this Island, Chancellor, Ordinary,  
 “ and Vice Admiral of the same during his Administration of  
 “ the Government of this Island.”

“ Notwithstanding the sufferings of the Inhabitants from the late dangerous Insurrection of the Slaves, which at its commencement, threatened the destruction of the Island; and notwithstanding it will be necessary to lay heavier Burthens upon the People; the House of Assembly could not think of making your Excellency a sharer in their losses; they have therefore, Sir, unanimously voted the same settlement which they had granted during your Excellency's late Administration; and they only regret that the circumstances of the Country would not allow

them to make your Excellency an offer better worth your acceptance;

*To which His Excellency replied—*

“*Mr. Speaker*—I have to express the high sense I entertain of the liberality and kindness of the Assembly in originating, and of the legislative Council in concurring in the Bill which you now present to me; and for which, I beg of you to convey to the Assembly, my acknowledgment and thanks.”

“Under the circumstances, however, of the late calamitous events, which unfortunately occurred, I should neither do justice to my official situation, nor to my own personal feelings, if I were to remain the only Person of the Colony over which I have the honour to preside who should not in any degree be a sharer in the losses which have fallen on the Community.”

“In withholding my Assent, from this Bill, which has been framed for my personal advantage, I have however to assure the Assembly, that I would receive as an additional mark of their kindness, that they should reconsider the Amount of the Salary, and by a new vote diminish it one Fourth.”

“I ought to be the last Person to throw any Gloom on the Affairs of this ancient and loyal Colony; and notwithstanding the untoward circumstances, to which allusion has been made, I see, with great satisfaction the appearance of general Prosperity, with which the Bounty of Providence by a most favourable Season, promises to reward the Industry of Agriculture, and Commerce. But however happy I am, to have just cause to join with you, in congratulations on this part of the Picture, it leaves my Motives unchanged; for it is fitting, that, he who is highest in Authority, should be most sensitive in whatever even threatens to press on a Community over which he is placed to govern.”

No 7

GENERAL ORDERS.

*Head-Quarters, ANTIGUA, 7th February 1817.*

The following Notification in the *London Gazette* of the 23d November 1816, altho' received subsequently to the Death of the late Commander of the Forces, is inserted in the General Orders of this Army, as a tribute justly due to departed merit, and the last honorary mark of consideration paid to the deserving exertions of that distinguished Officer.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, to give and grant unto Lieutenant-General Sir JAMES LEITH, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the West Indies, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, and Honorary Knight Commander of the Portuguese Royal Military Order of the Tower and Sword. his Majesty's Royal Licence and Permission, that he may accept and wear the Grand Cordon of the Order of Military Merit of France, with which His Most Christian Majesty hath been pleased to honor him, as a mark of the high sense entertained by that Sovereign of the great zeal, ability and energy manifested by the said Sir JAMES LEITH in the month of August 1815, throughout the arduous operations, whereby, with the Forces under his command, he effected the Surrender of the important Island of Guadeloupe, and secured the French Colonies in the West Indies to the Crown of France.

And His Royal Highness hath been further pleased to command, that the said Royal Concession and Declaration be registered in His Majesty's College of Arms.

1 0062





and the men of that corps rejoined the line of their brigade the moment they had debouched from the houses.

It is impossible to describe the effect of this brilliant attack. No troops could have executed it with greater firmness, or in a more orderly manner;—the lines advanced with as much precision and strict observance of discipline, as if performing manœuvres at a review; their progress was never checked, nor was there a shot fired by the division until it had gained the summit, and had received that of the enemy, formed into squares to resist it. The cannon which had annoyed the troops in advancing, were now retired with precipitation, to prevent their falling into the hands of the assailants.

Lieutenant-General Leith, who, in front of the centre of his first line, conducted and regulated the attack, when about thirty yards from the enemy, gave orders to fire, and that the troops should charge. This being carried into effect instantaneously put the French squares into confusion: the heavy cavalry coming up on the right, increased the consternation of the enemy, who fled with precipitation; and, to add to their defeat, they were joined by the remains of the troops to the extreme left of the French army, flying before the victorious 3d

division, led by the gallant Major-General Pakenham.

The intrepidity of Lieut.-General Leith on this memorable day was so conspicuous, that it is worthy of being held up as an example to Officers leading troops into action.

During the cannonade to which the 5th division was exposed previous to the commencement of the battle, the Lieut.-General rode in front of the line, regardless of personal danger, spoke to and encouraged the soldiers, who were lying on the ground to avoid its effects; and when ordered to become the assailant, he congratulated the Regiments upon the fortunate opportunity which then presented itself of distinguishing themselves, and the certainty of victory. Having equalized the two lines into which his division was formed previous to giving the order to march, he detached Officers of the Staff to different points to regulate the advance, and preserve an equal and compact line. He then posted himself in front of the colours of the 38th Regiment, and having detached an Aide-de-Camp to desire the light infantry in his front to clear his line of march of the enemy's voltigeurs, and (if possible) to take some of the most advanced of his guns, he gave the word, and the whole division instantly



moved. Certain of the discipline of the troops when close to the enemy, he did not alter his station, but remained between the hostile fires; and, in the act of breaking into the French squares at the point of the bayonet, received a severe wound: he notwithstanding pressed forward, and would not for some time yield to the solicitations of the Officers near him, who anxiously urged his quitting the field.

The attack above detailed, added to that of the third division, decided the fate of the day: the left of the enemy were in the greatest confusion, and flying in all directions. The rapid and complete discomfiture which overtook the French army, is one of the great features which particularizes this memorable action. After having cannonaded the allies with an appearance of superiority and confidence of success during the early part of the day, the French Marshal was attacked; and the duration of uncertainty as to the fate of *his* army, was confined to the space of time occupied by the assailants in coming to close contact with his columns, which were broken and dispersed with electric rapidity.

A howitzer shell struck the Duke of Ragusa early in the action, broke his right arm, and wounded him severely in the side.

Generals Bonnet and Clausel, who took the command in succession, were also wounded; but the latter, although compelled to quit the field, retained the subsequent command, and, from a litter, gave those orders which secured the retreat of an army in the greatest possible state of deroute, and established his reputation as an officer of energy and resource.

Lieut.-General Leith was carried to a village in rear of the field of action, and the following day was conveyed into Salamanca. The loss of the 5th division was eight hundred killed and wounded; and, of his personal Staff, his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Leith Hay, was severely wounded, after having two horses killed under him; and Captain Dowson, of the Inniskillen Dragoons, had his foot shattered by a ball.

The enemy fled with rapidity all night; but the Spaniards not having secured the passage of the river by the bridge of Alba, he was enabled to escape by that means, and to remove all his artillery, with the exception of eleven pieces left on the field of battle.

The number of prisoners was immense, but the darkness which prevailed enabled many to make their escape, and only seven thousand were ultimately collected. The field was covered with dead bodies, and it is probably under-

rated when the total loss of the French army is estimated at twenty-two thousand men. The Generals of Division, Thomier and Ferré, were killed; and General Degraviers died of his wounds, after having been made prisoner by the allies.

The "Army of Portugal," previous to the action, consisted of eight divisions of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon—a force amounting to from forty-six to fifty thousand men.

Lord Wellington had with him seven divisions of his army, and the Spanish corps of Don Carlos de Espana, with two thousand cavalry, and from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon—the whole amounting to thirty-six thousand men, of which four divisions of infantry and part of the cavalry were alone engaged.

The loss on the side of the allies amounted to five thousand killed and wounded;—amongst the latter (exclusive of Lieut.-General Leith), were Marshal Sir William Beresford, Lieut.-Generals Sir Stapleton Cotton and Cole.

Sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded after the close of the action, by a sentinel, who in the dark mistook him for an enemy, and fired.

Nothing could exceed the joy which the re-

sult of the battle occasioned in Salamanca. The idea of the danger and distress which they had escaped, and the improbable return of the French army to persecute them, appeared to be fully appreciated by its inhabitants, who evinced the greatest care and anxiety in relieving the wounded of the allied army, and cheerfully prepared for the large hospitals which were of necessity to be formed within the city.

The enemy, after passing the Tormes, assembled a body of infantry to act as a rear-guard, which was come up with by the allied advance on the 23d, two leagues in front of Alba; and, although advantageously posted on high ground, the heavy dragoons of the German Legion executed a charge, broke through the square, and took a thousand prisoners.

General Clausel could not, from this moment, present any opposition to the pursuit of the allies, but the French retreated with a rapidity that prevented the possibility of an army which marched with regularity and brought up its supplies, being enabled to occasion any further loss of consequence: it is, however, a circumstance highly creditable to the arrangements made after the action, by the French General, that an army in such confusion, and closely fol-

lowed up, should have sustained no greater loss of artillery than what occurred on the field of battle.

Valladolid was indicated to the fugitives as the point of assembly, and the remains of the "Army of Portugal" passed through Arevalo on the 25th, pursuing its route to that city.

Joseph Bonaparte, who had marched from Madrid with the "Army of the Centre," to the assistance of the Duke of Ragusa, received (at Blasco Sancho) intelligence of his having been totally defeated;—he therefore immediately put himself in retreat, and, passing the Guadarama, again arrived in the capital in a state of consternation and well-founded alarm.

Lord Wellington continued the pursuit of the defeated army, and entered Valladolid on the 30th—the enemy having previously evacuated that city and marched for Burgos, leaving eight hundred wounded, who fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Having driven the French army immediately opposed to him from the field, with the loss of nearly half its numbers, and incapacitated it from speedily being in a situation to recommence offensive operations, Lord Wellington determined to take possession of Madrid; and

with this intention, (having left Lieut.-General Clinton, with the 6th division and some weak battalions, at Cuellar), he marched in that direction on the 6th of August, arrived at St. Ildefonso on the 9th, and crossed the mountains by the passes of Guadarama and Naval Serrada on the 10th and 11th.

Joseph Bonaparte having been informed of this movement, marched from Madrid, and reconnoitred the allied army on the evening of the latter day. Upon this occasion the Portuguese cavalry conducted themselves ill, in the act of making a charge in front of the village of Majalahonda: a panic struck them—they wheeled about before coming in contact with the French troops, and, galloping back in disorder, occasioned a loss of three guns to the British horse artillery.

Elated with this success, the French cavalry continued to advance, until they encountered the heavy dragoons of the German Legion, who, although unprepared for this unexpected assault, formed with the greatest coolness, and checked the further progress of the enemy, who made a retrograde movement during the night; and, being aware of the inadequacy of his force to prevent the allies obtaining possession of Ma-

drid, Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan placed a garrison of two thousand men in the Retiro, and marched to Aranjuez.

On the 12th August the allied army entered the capital, amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants; and when the British Regiments filed through the streets, enthusiasm was at its height—all ranks rushed forward and welcomed the troops they had so long desired to see within their walls.

The China Manufactory, which the French had surrounded by an octagonal star fort, was incapable of any protracted defence, and was much the weakest of the temporary constructions of the enemy that the allied army encountered in its operations during the course of the war; it is therefore inexplicable that Marshal Jourdan should have committed so fine a garrison in a work of such a description, at a time when he must have been aware it was impossible to relieve it.

Without case-mates of any description, and having a large quantity of ammunition exposed to the effects of a bombardment, Colonel La Foud (the senior officer) was also acquainted with what had recently occurred at the forts of Salamanca, and dreading the effects of the hot shot; which had been so successfully made use

of in that instance, he surrendered by capitulation on the 14th of August; when two thousand and fifty-five officers and privates, one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of cannon, nine hundred barrels of powder, twenty thousand stand of arms, above three million of ball cartridges, and two eagles, fell into the hands of the allies.

This was the first splendid result of the battle of Salamanca; a victory which finally produced so entire a change in the state of affairs throughout Spain, and formed the great feature of the campaign of 1812.

It will not be irrelevant to recapitulate the situation of the French and allied armies previous to Lord Wellington crossing the Agueda in June, 1812, and to delineate the consequences of that movement, in order that the difficulties he had to encounter may be even imperfectly appreciated, and that a just estimation should be formed of the limited means and disproportioned force with which he made this brilliant campaign, and afforded to Europe an example of what may be effected by a small number of good troops, when commanded with energy and judgment.

The British and Portuguese force in June, 1812, amounted to about sixty thousand men;



of whom thirty-five thousand were with Lord Wellington, thirteen thousand under Sir Rowland Hill in Spanish Estremadura, and the remainder either in garrisons or sick.

Sir Rowland Hill having to observe the motions of a detached corps of the "Army of the South," commanded by the General of División Comte d'Erlon, could not be withdrawn from that service; nor was it until the battle of Salamanca occasioned the concentration of the army of the Duke of Dalmatia, and consequently the removal of the enemy's corps from his front, that the force under his orders became disposable.

The enemy's armies were situated as follows: that of Portugal, commanded by the Duke of Ragusa, had its head-quarters in Salamanca, and was forty thousand strong; the army of the North, under General Caffarelli, sixteen thousand, occupied the Asturias, Biscay, &c.; Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan were at Madrid with the Spanish guards, some French battalions, and the dragoons of General Trelliard (forming the "Army of the Centre"), thirteen thousand men; the "Army of Arragon," at Zaragoza, ten thousand; the "Army of the South," commanded by the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, was fifty-five thou-

sand strong, forming the blockade of Cadiz, occupying the Andalusias, and having the Comte d'Erlon's corps at Llerena ;—the “ Army of Cataluna,” under Suchet, Duke of Albufera (exclusive of the garrisons of Barcelona, Gerona, &c.), had twenty-eight thousand men in the field.

Surrounded by these armies, did Lord Wellington penetrate into the heart of Spain, take possession of Madrid, compel Joseph Bonaparte to retire to Valencia, and occasion Marshal Soult to raise the siege of Cadiz, evacuate the Andalusias, resign the dominion of the only part of Spain which the French arms had succeeded in subjugating, and march his whole force to form a junction with the “ army of the centre,” in order to move upon the Capital with any hopes of success.

Having created this splendid diversion, Lord Wellington left the light, 3d, and 4th divisions at Madrid, and proceeded to the North with the 1st, 5th, and 7th ; and, having been joined by Lieut.-General Clinton and the 6th division, drove the troops of the “ Army of Portugal” from Valladolid (to which city they had again advanced upon the 7th September), and, having pursued the enemy with as much velocity as circumstances (including the obstruction oc-

caused by the explosion of the bridges) would admit of, he arrived at Burgos on the 17th September, and on the 19th invested the Castle. Sir Rowland Hill was ordered to march upon Toledo with the corps under his command, and arrived there early in October.

The enemy's armies of the "Centre" and of the "South" formed a junction at Albacete, on the great route from Valencia to Madrid, upon the 28th September, and proceeded without obstruction towards the Capital, with the exception of the resistance made by a small body of Spaniards, forming the garrison of the Castle of Chinchilla, who defended themselves gallantly, and occasioned a delay of several days before they surrendered.

A great effort was now to be made by the French armies to recover possession of the Capital, and force Lord Wellington back upon the Portuguese frontier. That the enemy was in possession of the means of doing this, was evident, provided he resolved to sacrifice his former conquests in the South of Spain, abandon the immense battering-train at Seville and in front of Cadiz, and employ nearly all his disposable force for the attainment of that object: but when it is considered that the allies, in this campaign, took two important fortresses (exclu-

sive of the forts at Salamanca and the Retiro) —nearly destroyed an army much superior in force—raised the siege of Cadiz—occasioned the evacuation of Andalusia and Spanish Estremadura—and obtained possession of the Capital in the very centre of the Kingdom, and of an hundred and fifty thousand enemies—it must ever be considered as a very splendid service, to have been accomplished by fifty thousand men, and more than could, by any calculation, have been supposed within the reach of probability.

When Marshal Soult and Joseph Bonaparte arrived upon the Tagus, Sir Rowland Hill took up a position upon the Jarrama, covering Madrid, with his head-quarters at Cienpuzuelos, and having assembled the light, 2d, 3d, and 4th divisions of the army, with Major-General Hamilton's Portuguese division, the Spanish corps of Murillo, the division of cavalry of Lieut.-General Sir William Erskine, and General Victor Alten's brigade of light dragoons, he awaited the attack of the enemy.

During these operations, the siege of the castle of Burgos had proceeded under circumstances of extreme severity of weather;—the troops were unavoidably much exposed, and the defence made by the garrison highly honorable to General Dubreton, who conducted it. The

lateness of the season, want of a battering train, and the circumstances of the war in other parts of Spain, determined Lord Wellington to raise the siege; a measure rendered more necessary by the advance of the "Army of Portugal," under General Souham, now reinforced and greatly superior in numbers to the allied force under the immediate command of his Lordship. The allies, therefore, moved from before Burgos on the 23d October, and commenced their retreat upon Tordesillas.

The loss of the British and Portuguese during this siege, amounted to upwards of two thousand killed and wounded; among the former was the Honorable Major Cocks, of the 79th regiment—an officer of the greatest promise, possessed of all the requisites to form a distinguished soldier—brave, intelligent, active, and indefatigable; enthusiastic in his profession, and possessed of precision and ability, he lost no opportunity of making himself known and distinguished.

During the night of the 21st, the allies crossed the Arlanzon, and at five in the morning of the 22d, the rear-guards were retired. The same evening, the enemy's whole army, amounting to upwards of thirty thousand infantry, a large body of cavalry, and a hundred pieces of

cannon, passed the river, and advanced in pursuit. On the 23d, an affair of cavalry took place, which was unsuccessful to the allies, and the enemy's *gens d'arme a cheval*, pressing forward until they encountered the German light infantry, commanded by Colonel Halkett, received a severe check from these battalions, who firmly withstood the onset, brought many to the ground by a well-directed fire, and finally obliged the enemy to withdraw.

On the evening of the 24th, the whole army was behind the Carrion: some difficulty occurred in exploding the bridges, as had been directed, and the enemy obtained possession of those at Palencia and Tariejo in a perfect state. In the course of the day, the French troops, in considerable force, passed the river by the fords of Villa Muriel, but were attacked and compelled to recross by the 5th division.

On the 26th, the army crossed the Pisuerga at Cabezon, and on the 29th passed the Douro at Tudela and Puente de Douro; after which the bridges were destroyed, as were those at Cabezon, Valladolid, Tordesillas, and Quintanilla.

Lord Wellington established his head-quarters at Rueda on the 30th, the enemy occupying nearly the same ground on the opposite

bank of the river, which the Duke of Ragusa had done previous to the battle of Salamanca. These reverses having occurred in the North, Lord Wellington determined to withdraw from Madrid, and concentrate his force on the Tormes; he therefore dispatched orders to Sir Rowland Hill, who commenced his retreat on the 31st October; and, having passed the Guadarama without loss, he moved in one column on Fontiveras, and crossed the Tormes at Alba on the 8th November, the same day that the army from Burgos arrived on the St. Christoval position.

The allied army now assembled, consisted of nine divisions of infantry, exclusive of the Spanish corps, with about six thousand cavalry, and from sixty to seventy pieces of cannon. Head-quarters were at Salamanca, the right at Alba de Tormes; Sir Rowland Hill encamped opposite the fords of Huerta, &c.; General Long's brigade of cavalry in the direction of Babilafuente; Brigadier-General Pack's brigade at Aldea Lingua; and a reserve at Calvaraza de Abajo.

The enemy's armies of the "South," of the "Centre," and of "Portugal," assembled on the right bank of the Tormes on the 11th No-

ember, their united force amounting to eighty thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of artillery. The Duke of Dalmatia, being on the left with the "Army of the South," made an effort to obtain possession of Alba, and accordingly opened a very heavy fire upon that town; which, although surrounded with an old Moorish wall, has no cover for the troops quartered there, and who consequently became exposed to a bombardment. Those excellent regiments, the 50th, 71st, and 92d, with some Portuguese, formed the garrison, and, by the firmness of their conduct, soon convinced the enemy of the impracticability of gaining possession of the post, and the attack ceased.

The enemy passed the Tormes on the 14th, by the fords of Galisancho, above Alba;—a large force of cavalry and infantry had crossed before Lord Wellington had it in his power to make a reconnoissance, which he did with the 2d division of infantry and some artillery, and found the whole cavalry of the "Army of the South," supported by infantry, strongly posted near Mozarbes.

The unobstructed passage of the river being secured to the French armies, the allies march-



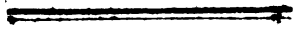
ed to occupy the position of Arapiles (the field of their former glory), and there await the attack of the enemy. The weather had become extremely inclement, and, during the assembly of the French armies in front of the position, the rain fell in torrents, attended by a heavy gale of wind.

Prepared to defend his ground, if attacked, Lord Wellington made a reconnoissance early on the 15th, and ascertained that the enemy had commenced his movements upon the communications with Ciudad Rodrigo: his own operations, therefore, became no longer optional, and orders were instantly given to evacuate Salamanca, and for the whole army to retire by the route of Matilla, San Munoz, &c.

The roads were extremely deep, in consequence of the rain which had fallen, and the weather cold and boisterous; notwithstanding which, the allied army arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo on the 18th November, without the loss of a gun, and having only three hundred killed, wounded, or missing.

Thus, after a series of operations in the face of a very superior force, during which he had occasioned the liberation of half the Spanish territory, and drawn nearly the whole dis-

possible force of the enemy to the North, Lord Wellington withdrew his army to the Portuguese frontier, and closed a campaign which added to his glory, and accelerated the final expulsion of the French armies from the Peninsula.



## CHAP. VI.

**T**HE Spring of 1813 was passed by the allied army in its cantonments on the Douro and in Spanish Estremadura, recovering its discipline and organization, perfecting its equipment, and receiving those reinforcements which had arrived from Great Britain ; as also the sick and wounded who were restored to health, and again in a state to take the field.

The French " Army of the South," with its head-quarters at Toledo, occupied La Mancha and New Castile ; the " Army of the Centre" was stationed at Madrid ; and that " of Portugal" returned to its former cantonments at Salamanca, &c.

Thus situated, the enemy continued without making any movement, except those which the difficulty of procuring provisions rendered necessary, and awaited the opening of the campaign, at the period Lord Wellington found

himself enabled to commence offensive operations, without the risk of being checked or interrupted in the course of a service which, for the first time, he was possessed of adequate means to undertake, compared to the strength of the enemy whom he had to contend with.

Lieut.-General Leith (whose wounds had occasioned his temporary absence from the army and return to England) had, in reward for his brilliant conduct at the battle of Salamanca, received the insignia of the Bath on the 1st February, 1813; and upon the 6th April following, in commemoration of the assault of Badajos, of the share he had in the battles of Coruna and of Busaco, an honorable augmentation to the Arms of his Family (*Appendix, No. 4*).—Still feeling the effects of the Walcheren fever, and of his wound, he was reluctantly compelled to forego taking the command of the division he had so often led into action, and to remain separated from the army during the early part of the campaign of 1813.

Lord Wellington continued in his cantonments until his army was in the highest state of efficiency—its cavalry numerous, and in great order—the infantry refreshed, and in the most serviceable condition—the artillery well horsed

—the Commissariat augmented and improved—  
a pontoon train added to the *materiel*—and  
all ranks enthusiastic, and anxious to meet the  
enemy.

Anticipating the great force with which the  
allied army would open the campaign—the im-  
possibility of reinforcements being sent from  
France—the necessity of acting on the defen-  
sive—and of preserving, as perfect as possible,  
the troops he was possessed of in Spain, the  
enemy resolved to resort to his former plan of  
retiring behind the Ebro, there to wait until  
circumstances should again place him in a situa-  
tion to advance and carry on the war as he had  
hitherto done, by means of his numerous ar-  
mies, and exactions upon the inhabitants.

Preparatory to this measure, Joseph Bona-  
parté quitted Madrid, and the whole “ Army of  
the South,” with the exception of General Dar-  
ricau’s division, and the vanguard under General  
Soult (brother to the Marshal), moved from La  
Mancha and marched to the North of the  
Tagus.

Valladolid became the temporary residence  
of the Usurper of the Spanish Throne; and the  
passage of the Agueda, by Lord Wellington,  
the signal which was once more to restore liberty  
to the capital, and occasion the assembly of the

armies of the enemy, previous to a retreat upon Vittoria.

Lord Wellington having completed his arrangements, advanced with his whole army, crossed the Agueda, and arrived at Salamanca on the 26th May, where General Villatte, with his division of the "Army of the South," three squadrons of cavalry, and some artillery, were attacked by the allied cavalry under Generals Fane and Alten, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with considerable loss.

In the course of the 27th and 28th, a junction was formed with Sir Rowland Hill's corps, which had advanced from Coria and Placentia, and which was established between the Tormes and Douro.

Lord Wellington himself proceeded to ascertain the passage of the Esla by the left of his army, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, who had his right at Carvajales and his left at Tabara, in communication with the army of Galicia, commanded by General Giron.

The passage of the Esla was effected on the 31st May, by a bridge, which it was necessary to throw over, and by which the infantry crossed; for the river was so deep and rapid, that some of the cavalry were drowned in fording it.

The enemy's troops who retired from Sala-

manca, Avila, &c. formed a junction at Nava del Rey, with those which were at Arevalo, Medina del Campo, &c.; General Lavallé, with the divisions from Madrid and the valley of the Tagus, made a rapid movement, passed the Guadarama, and marched to Segovia; from thence he proceeded to Cuellar, passed the Douro at Puente de Douro on the 3d June, and joined the main body of the "Army of the South" at Valladolid.

Lord Wellington passed the Douro on the 1st and 2d June, the Carrion on the 7th, and the Pisuerga on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, with an hundred thousand men (including the Army of Galicia), of which force ten thousand were cavalry. The 10th hussars, supported by the 18th, charged a body of French dragoons near Morales, drove them back upon their infantry and artillery, and made two officers and two hundred and ten men prisoners.

The enemy's armies were in full retreat; and, whenever the allies came up with his rear, they occasioned it severe loss, and accelerated his march, which was encumbered by an immense quantity of baggage of every description, waggons loaded with the plunder of the Andalusias, of Madrid, &c. and by the convoys of Spaniards who had espoused the French cause, and fled

with the army to escape the vengeance of their exasperated countrymen. Aware of the fatal turn which affairs had taken in Spain, and of the error in calculation which they had in the first instance committed by joining the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte—insulted and despised by the French officers, who no longer concealed their opinion of them—nothing can be imagined more deplorable than the condition of these miserable people; but, as no motive other than that derived from selfish policy had, in the commencement of the revolution, actuated their conduct, and led them to become traitors to their country, they were little to be pitied; more especially as, in the short-lived moments of success which attended the French arms in Spain, they had invariably acted with presumption, and added to the distresses of those who remained faithful to what they considered a hopeless cause, when opposed to the power and resources of the Emperor Napoleon. The system of warfare pursued by the Guerillas, had occasioned the French and their partizans never to remove from one part of the country to another except in convoys escorted by a body of troops;—these singular assemblages presented an extraordinary line of march, and, when obliged to bivouac (as was frequently



the case), appeared like a large gipsy encampment, and were put in motion by the peremptory, and not always very conciliatory, orders of the officer commanding the escort.

At Burgos the French armies were assembled. Having a strong rear-guard upon the heights to the left of the Hormaza, posted with its left in front of Estepar, Lord Wellington reconnoitred this force upon the 12th, with the right of the allied army, consisting of the light and second divisions, the Spanish division of Murillo, the Portuguese of the Conde de Amarante, and five brigades of cavalry. His Lordship dislodged the enemy without sustaining any loss, who was compelled to retire across the Arlanzon, and in the course of the night continued his retreat upon Miranda de Ebro, after having destroyed the works of the castle.

Lord Wellington marched his army by a route to the left of the great communication between Burgos and the Ebro, and which presented obstructions that the French Generals considered insurmountable; they therefore found it difficult to account for the undisturbed manner in which they were permitted to retire along the great road without being pressed, or losing a carriage of any description; more especially, as the British advance had appeared in

front of Burgos previous to the explosion of the castle.

The "Army of the South," which formed the rear of the enemy's column, arrived at Pancorbo on the 15th June, and halted until the night of the 18th, when it was put in motion, in consequence of intelligence being received that the left of the allied army, under Sir Thomas Graham, had already crossed the Ebro, which he did on the 14th, by the bridges of St. Martin and Rocamonde,—the other corps passing during the 15th by those bridges, and that of Puente Arenas.

The rapid and well-conducted movements of Lord Wellington were instantly developed, and the hurry and confusion occasioned thereby in the enemy's army proved how judicious they were, and what exertions were necessarily made to avoid the immediate consequences attending them.

General Comte Gazan, upon whom the command of the "Army of the South" had devolved by the removal of the Duke of Dalmatia to Germany, having left a garrison of eight hundred men in the fort of Pancorbo, fell back upon the "Army of the Centre" at Miranda de Ebro, and the whole of the enemy's force arrived at Vittoria on the 19th; on which day

Lord Wellington arrived on the Bayas, having driven the French rear-guard (which he found posted with its right covered by Subijana, and its left by the heights in front of Pobes) back upon the main body, then on its march to Vittoria.

The distance from Pancorbo to Vittoria is thirty-two miles, and was performed by the French troops without a halt, except for a few hours in the middle of the night, near Miranda.

Vittoria, upon the 19th of June, crowded with French troops and renegade Spaniards, illuminated by order, in honor of the presence of Joseph Bonaparte—a ceremony which was executed in silence, corresponding to the feelings of its inhabitants, stimulated by the certainty that the French influence (which only derived the very partial popularity it was ever possessed of in Spain from its power) was unquestionably on the wane, formed a remarkable contrast to the scene which it presented upon the entrance of the victorious army of Lord Wellington, when it became the head-quarters on the night of the 21st.

It was now evident that Lord Wellington had no intention of confining his operations to driving the enemy across the Ebro, and that he was in sufficient force to prosecute the great and

ultimate object of compelling the French armies in his front to evacuate the Spanish territory. Marshal Jourdan, therefore, commanding the enemy under the nominal controul of the Usurper, determined to cover Vittoria, and for that purpose placed eighty pieces of cannon in battery near the village of Gomecha during the night of the 19th. The French armies occupied the position which extends from the heights of La Puebla to Gamarra Mayor, the head-quarters of the "Army of the South" being at Arinez, a village on the great route from Miranda to Vittoria; the "Army of Portugal" formed the right of the line, that of the "South" on the left, with the cavalry and the "Army of the Centre" in reserve.

The allied army marched at day-break of the 21st to attack the whole extent of this position, and operations commenced soon after by Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, upon which the enemy's left rested;—he detached on this service part of the Spanish corps of General Morillo; but the French troops ascending, and reinforcing to a great extent those already there, it became necessary to send some British to support the attack. The wooded and rocky heights were obstinately defended, and a considerable loss

occasioned to the assailants, particularly in the fall of the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Cadogan; but resistance was vain and the enemy driven, the allies continuing in possession of this important point throughout the course of the subsequent operations of the day.

Sir Rowland Hill then passed the Zadora, and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava. It was calculated that the centre columns, under the Earl of Dalhousie and Sir Thomas Picton, would have arrived by the time these services had been carried into execution; but the difficult nature of the country through which they had to pass, prevented their arrival upon the Zadora until some time after. During this interval, the enemy made several fruitless attempts to recover possession of Sabijana de Alava.

About one P. M. it being reported to Lord Wellington that Lord Dalhousie's column had reached Mendonza, he ordered the centre of the army to pass the Zadora and attack the enemy, which was effected in the following manner :

The fourth division crossed at Nanclaus—the light by the bridge of Tres Puentes—the third and seventh divisions by a bridge higher up the river:

The smoke of Sir Thomas Graham's artillery at the same moment announced his having

attacked the French right in the direction of Gamarra. The enemy having weakened his line by the large bodies of troops detached to his left, no sooner saw the allied columns across the Zadora, than he commenced his retreat upon Vittoria.—It was at first conducted with regularity, and the advance of the allies attempted to be checked by the immense force of artillery posted near the village of Gomecha; notwithstanding which, the British infantry advanced rapidly and in the most perfect order.

The day before the action, the enemy had dispatched a very large convoy on the road to Irun; he had still, however, an enormous quantity of baggage, treasure, and *materiel*, of all sort, with his army, conveyed in heavy waggons ill-adapted for rapid removal, and dreadful incumbrances when compelled to adopt a nearly impracticable route for carriages of any description.

Sir Thomas Graham having arrived, after successfully attacking every thing which came in his way, upon the communication with Irun, the only line of retreat left for the French army was by Salvatierra, and from thence to Pampluna.

The British and Hanoverian cavalry pressed rapidly upon his retreating columns, and when-

ever the infantry had time to come up, he fled with precipitation. The crowds rushing from Vittoria to effect their escape — the roads choked up with artillery, waggons, carriages, &c. &c. which the enemy had abandoned, added to the confusion, and his army soon became a mass of disorganization, and no longer retained a semblance of formation.—Lord Wellington led the pursuit, and the British horse artillery, galloping from height to height, cannonaded the crowds of infantry and cavalry mixed, and flying through the valleys below.

It has been made an accusation against Marshal Jourdan, that the defeat at Vittoria, and the immense loss of artillery which the French army sustained, was in great measure owing to his bad arrangements, and deficiency of talent as a General; and this opinion is strengthened by the want of confidence which the French Officers evinced as to his ability in extricating them from the critical situation in which they were placed;—but, however much he may have erred in his primary arrangements, the rapidity with which the alteration in the line of retreat (in consequence of the Bayonne road being in possession of the allies) took place, and the trifling loss in prisoners which was sustained

under circumstances of complete defeat, will rather afford an example of his talent in saving an army by sacrificing its *materiel*; and certainly, circumstanced as the enemy then was, from the tremendous losses he had sustained in the Russian campaign of 1812, his great object ought to have been directed towards withdrawing his force, with the least possible diminution of its numbers, resigning his artillery and baggage to its fate.

One hundred and fifty-one pieces of the French cannon were taken in the action, and subsequently many were discovered in the fields near Vittoria, which augmented the captured artillery, when parked in the neighbourhood of that city, to nearly two hundred pieces.

The ammunition and baggage of the enemy's armies all fell into the hands of the conquerors, whole families were left on the field, and an enormous booty was gained by the soldiers.—Independent of the treasure brought from Andalusia and Madrid, a large sum had arrived from France for the payment of the troops, but had not been distributed, and which was also taken. The inhabitants of Vittoria and the neighbouring villages flocked to the field and enriched themselves. Jewels, pictures, rich cloathing,



books, &c. were scattered about in all directions; and it is computed that the specie alone amounted to several millions of dollars.

The French, accustomed to routing the indisciplined Spanish armies, never witnessed any thing more complete, in point of confusion, than the spectacle which the celebrated soldiers of Napoleon themselves presented on this memorable day.—The heavy rain which fell after the battle, impeded the pursuit, and favoured the escape of the enemy; who, disencumbered from every species of carriage (with the exception of one gun and a howitzer), fled with rapidity, and arrived at Pampluna without suffering any loss of consequence subsequent to the night of the 21st,—except in a trifling affair with the light division, in which the only remaining gun was captured.

The French troops passed the Pyrenees by Roncesvalles, having left General Cassagne with a large garrison in Pampluna. From this moment the result of the struggle in the Peninsula became certain; nor was it possible for the enemy to wrest from Lord Wellington the superiority he had gained.

The armies now driven back upon their own territory, comprised nearly all the French

troops which remained of five hundred thousand soldiers that had entered Spain since the year 1808. These, discomfited, worn out by incessant, harassing, and unpopular warfare, returned to France with tarnished reputation, undeceived as to the invincibility which former successes, aided by the vanity of the national character, led them to suppose accompanied their Eagles, and had been one of the causes of their hitherto splendid career in nearly every part of Europe.

On the left of the line of operations, General Foy, with the division of the "Army of Portugal" under his command (who had, during these occurrences, been in the neighbourhood of Bilbao), made rapid marches to get upon the high road to Irun; and, having formed a junction with some troops in that direction, attempted to arrest the progress of the left column of the allied army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, who was advancing to follow up the victory of the 21st, and (if possible) to overtake the immense convoy which had left Vittoria for Bayonne the day preceding the battle.—Sir Thomas Graham attacked him at Tolosa, dislodged him, and continued his march towards the Bidassoa.

General Rey, with four thousand men, was left in San Sebastian, and the remainder of General Foy's corps entered France.

The reduction of Pampluna and San Sebastian now became the object of Lord Wellington's operations: the former he determined to blockade, and besiege the latter. The 5th division of the army, and two Portuguese brigades, were ordered to undertake this service, and the direction of it confided to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

San Sebastian, situated so near the French coast that no vigilance on the part of the British navy could (with certainty) prevent supplies being introduced into it, and being not considered a place of great strength, was also with less difficulty laid siege to than Pampluna could have been, on account of the land carriage necessary in transporting stores, &c. to the latter being obviated, in the instance of San Sebastian, by the possession of the neighbouring port of Passages, from whence the allies could receive their battering-train, and with certainty remove their heavy artillery and implements of siege, should any future operations of the enemy render such a measure necessary. Aware also of the difficulty which had occurred in obtaining possession of former fortresses in

the Peninsula, and which would naturally be increased at Pampluna (a place incomparably stronger than any other before which the allied army had appeared), Lord Wellington had no hesitation in choosing the protracted but certain result of a blockade, and by that means saving many lives, and getting into his power one of the best fortified towns in the Peninsula, with its defences entire.

San Sebastian is built upon a peninsula, at the eastern extremity of which rises a remarkable rock;—upon it the castle stands: the northern wall of the place is washed by the river Urumea, the southern by the sea, and the western defences (which are constructed on the isthmus connecting the town with the main land) consist of a double line of works. The island of Santa Clara is situated to the south of the castle, within half cannon-shot, and enfilades its outer line. The heights on the right bank of the Urumea command the northern face of the place, at the distance of seven hundred yards. In front of the town, rises the eminence upon which the Convent of St. Bartolomeo is built, and is seven hundred and fifty yards from the works. San Sebastian is a more formidable place than was imagined; and the circumstance of a large garrison having a short

line of works to defend, adds to the difficulties attending an assault, from the facility with which the besieged can concentrate, and (without danger) bring their main strength within a narrow compass.

The allies attacked the place on the 13th of July, 1813. They erected batteries on the hills to the right of the Urumea, for the purpose of breaching the sea-wall; and the following day, to the left, two batteries were opened upon the Convent of San Bartolomeo, which was carried on the 17th, in a very gallant style, by the 9th regiment and some Portuguese troops. The operations continued with great vigour until the 21st, when Sir Thomas Graham summoned the place, but without effect.

On the 23d, a breach one hundred feet in length was considered practicable; and a lesser one, extending thirty feet, to the left of the great breach, was also made before night; it was consequently determined to assault the place the following morning: a delay, however, was occasioned, and it was not until the 25th that it was carried into execution. At five in the morning of that day, a mine was exploded by the allies, which destroyed a considerable length of the counterscarp and glacis, occasioned a momentary panic in the garrison, and the

assaulting party availing themselves of it, reached the breach before a large body of fire was brought upon them. The ground from the approaches to the breach was extremely difficult: rocks covered with sea-weed, and pools of water, obstructed the march of the troops; the breach was flanked by two towers, and the fire of the place was still entire: under all these difficult circumstances the troops gained the summit, but were received by such a tremendous discharge of grape, shells, and musketry, that they were forced back, and retired into the trenches with the loss of five hundred men.

When the accounts of the battle of Vittoria reached the Emperor Napoleon, in Germany, he instantly ordered the Duke of Dalmatia to return to Spain, and, with the title of his Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Armies in the Peninsula, to remedy those disastrous reverses which his troops had experienced, by attacking the British and forcing his way to Vittoria.

Marshal Soult, upon joining the army, issued a pompous Proclamation, and immediately prepared to avail himself of the feeling of confidence which his presence had created in the minds of all ranks under his command.

The left of his army, he placed under the

direction of General Clausel; the centre was commanded by Comte d'Erlon; and the right confided to General Comte Reille, formerly Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor. It consisted of nine divisions of infantry, two divisions of dragoons, and one of light cavalry;—its artillery had been completed from the depôts, and the *materiel* of every description placed in a perfect state. Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan were no longer present, and Comte Gazan resumed his situation as Chief of the Staff.

The allied army, exclusive of the corps before Pampluna and San Sebastian, occupied the line of the Pyrennees from Roncesvalles to Ponterrabia. At the former was stationed Major-General Byng's brigade, encamped on the summit of the celebrated Pass, as was also the Spanish division of Morillo. The 4th division was at Viscarret, one league in rear of Sir Rowland Hill, who occupied the valley of Bastan by Major-General Pringle's brigade. The Portuguese division of the Conde de Amarante, and Major-General Walker's brigade of the 2d division, were encamped on the Maya Pass. The 3d division, commanded by Sir Thomas Picton, was in reserve to these troops; as was also the 6th, under Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham. The light and 7th divisions were at Vera

and Echellar. Major-General Lord Aylmer's brigade was posted on the heights between Lezaica and Oyarzun ; the Army of Galicia occupied the heights to the right of Irun ; and the 1st division was encamped on the great road to Bayonne, between Oyarzun and Irun, and in the direction of Fonterrabia.

On the 24th (the day previous to the unsuccessful assault of San Sebastian), the Duke of Dalmatia advanced by the road leading from St. Jean Pied de Port, and attacked Major-General Byng's brigade at Roncesvalles, with from thirty to forty thousand men. The Major-General, favoured by very strong ground, maintained his post until the arrival of Sir Lowry Cole with the 4th division, and these brave troops occasioned a delay of nine hours before the enemy could dislodge them, which he was only ultimately enabled to do by turning the position upon which they stood.

The centre division of the enemy's army attacked the Pass of Maya on the evening of the same day, and the allied troops stationed there fell back upon Irurita, after sustaining a severe loss.

Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole having retired to Zubiri, and the Pass of Roncesvalles being consequently in possession of the French



army, Sir Rowland Hill did not consider it safe to continue so far in advance, particularly as it now became necessary to concentrate the army on the right, to cover Pampluna, and defeat the enemy's object of relieving that place.

Lord Wellington became acquainted with the occurrences on his right on the night of the 25th, and immediately proceeded to the positions of the 3d and 4th divisions.

The post of Zubiri was not considered tenable, nor did Sir Thomas Picton and Sir Lowry Cole think themselves warranted in allowing the enemy to bring them to action with such a superiority of force as he possessed, until they had arrived upon ground of a stronger description, and where they had reason to suppose other divisions of the army would have it in their power to join them, and secure the repulse of the enemy, should he persevere in his march upon Pampluna;—they therefore retired to the position of Huarte, one league in front of that fortress, where they were joined by Lord Wellington on the 27th.—For the first time, the troops evinced, by their acclamations, that enthusiasm and confidence which his presence had long been accustomed to inspire, but which the present critical circumstances, and uncer-

tainty of his arrival, called forth in the most exhilarating manner.

The hostile armies were so near, that the French Marshal and his Suite could be clearly distinguished on the heights opposite; and the arrival of a Staff, followed by a cheer which rung from flank to flank of the British line, could leave no doubt that the presence of his illustrious antagonist had occasioned the well-known shout of victory, which had long been familiar to the French armies as the constant forerunner of a charge made by British troops.

At this moment, the 6th division arrived from St. Estevan, and formed across the valley of the Laux, in rear of the left of the 4th division: the attack commenced: the battle became general along the whole of the position of the allies, but the contest was severest where the 4th division was posted, the troops of which added to the glory they had acquired on many former occasions; they performed repeated charges, and the enemy were completely driven back.

His offensive operations ceased with the attack of this day; and, despairing of being enabled to reach Pampluna, the Duke of Dalmatia, on the evening of the 28th, sent back his artillery to St. Jean Pied de Port.

Lord Wellington, having assembled sufficient force, became the assailant on the 29th and 30th—attacked and turned all the enemy's positions—occasioned him immense loss—and, finally, drove him through the passes of the mountains, back into France.

These operations, commenced with arrogance and conducted with obstinacy by Marshal Soult, but, in many instances, with distinguished gallantry by the troops under his command, cost France from sixteen to twenty thousand men—destroyed the previously shaken "*moral*" of the French soldier—insured the fall of San Sebastian and Pampluna—and left no doubt of the seat of war being speedily transferred to the French territory.

The loss sustained by the allied army, in the battles of the Pyrenees, was very severe,—amounting, in killed and wounded, to above six thousand men.

Lord Wellington shewed, during these eventful days, a consummate knowledge of the art of war; and upon no occasion was his foresight and resource more necessary. The difficulty of assembling the corps of his army—the line of operations to be pursued—the precision necessary in combining his movements—the judgment required to point out the moment to be

come the assailant—all demanded the exertion of his uncommon abilities. And upon no occasion was the presence of such a Commander more vitally essential to his army, or his inestimable value to his Country and to Europe, more clearly exemplified.

The allied army resumed its position on the Pyrenees—head-quarters were again established at Lesaca—and the siege of San Sebastian, which had been interrupted by the advance of the enemy (the uncertainty of whose operations had induced Sir Thomas Graham to embark his artillery and stores), was recommenced on the 24th August, with additional means; and on the 26th, eighty pieces of ordnance opened upon the place.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith having sufficiently recovered to admit of his resuming his duties on the field, arrived in time to bring this arduous siege to a close, and, upon the 29th August, took the command of the 5th division, in the trenches.

Lord Wellington reconnoitred the breaches (now considered practicable), and gave orders for the assault to take place on the morning of the 31st. The preceding day, measures were adopted to facilitate the debouche of the troops from the trenches; for which purpose three

mines were exploded during the night, and they blew the sea-wall completely down.

It was arranged, that the columns should advance to the assault at eleven *a. m.* (the hour of low water); and Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham having completed the arrangements with Sir James Leith, he left him to command the storm, and crossed the Urumea to the right attack, where he continued during the subsequent operations.

The service confided to him, proved to be one which, in a high degree, called forth one of the characteristic features in the military life of Sir James Leith, namely, a confidence of the impossibility of failure when British troops were employed, and a persevering firmness in the attainment of the object to be gained, when ordinary minds had ceased to hope.

In his directions for the formation and movement of the troops, Sir James Leith was particularly attentive in ordering, that the number to attack in support of the advanced party, should be sufficiently great to execute the service (without being crowded), and that a constant reinforcement should be sent at intervals from the approaches, who were directed to press forward, and, by perseverance, to effect a lodgment.

The advanced parties moved out of the trenches at eleven o'clock ; and almost immediately after, the enemy exploded two mines, for the purpose of blowing down a high wall to the left of the beach, by which the troops advanced to the foot of the breach : the passage being very narrow, he hoped by this means to force the fragments of masonry forward, and seriously obstruct the line of march. The mines succeeded in completely demolishing the parts of the wall they were intended to destroy ; but, notwithstanding the large masses of stone, of which it was constructed, rolled down upon the beach, there still remained a narrow space between them and the sea, which enabled the troops to defile without being seriously incommoded ; nor did the explosions occasion great loss to the 5th division, in consequence of their taking place previous to the main body of support having come within reach of their effects.

Sir James Leith having taken the opinion of Sir Richard Fletcher, the Chief Engineer, as to the situation in which his presence would be most advantageous, and where he could best overlook and direct the progress of this desperate service, placed himself on the beach, about thirty yards in advance of the debouche from the trenches ; where, stationary, without

any cover or protection whatever, he remained giving his orders with a firmness and resolution worthy of the occasion; where the glory of the fifth Division was at stake, and of the principles of his noble mind, which never admitted a consideration of personal danger when in Action with the Enemy, or ever calculated as to the extent of exposure he was called upon by duty to make. His leading principle was, that however brave the Troops, and devoted the Officers in subordinate situations, the example of those in command was beyond every thing essential. Aware of what had occurred in the former Assault, he consequently estimated the difficulties to be surmounted in obtaining possession of the place; he arrived upon the beach with a determination to take it, nor, from that moment until he was carried nearly lifeless from the field, did he ever for an instant admit a doubt of the result, or, under the gloomy aspect which the Assault at one time presented, allow an idea of failure to enter his mind. The Author of this Memoir, in detailing the events of the last time that Sir JAMES LEITH was seriously engaged with the Enemy, must dwell upon the value of such feelings, and appeal to those gallant Officers, who have on many occasions been led by him to victory, and those of the Peninsular Army who have had opportunities of witnessing the truly heroic stile in which he

invariably conducted the services confided to him, whether his presence did not on every occasion animate the Troops, while his unshakable firmness taught them to overcome difficulties, and to be, in reality, as invincible as were the energies of his mind. The explosion of the Enemies' mines was immediately followed by a concentrated fire of shot, shells, grape, and musquetry, directed against the Troops ascending the Breach, from the Batteries of the Mirador, del Principe, and the Keep of the Castle, as well as from the high Curtain to the left of the Breach, and from the ruined Houses in front which were loop-holed, and lined with infantry, having a trifling elevation above its crest, and distant about forty yards; in addition to which the Fire of the Horn Work flanked and overlooked the ascent. Major-General ROBINSON'S Brigade first mounted the Breach, but for a long space of time the moment of arriving on the summit, was that of certain death; fresh Troops pressed forward as fast as they could file out of the Trenches, and so severe was the loss, that SIR JAMES LEITH was obliged to send a Staff Officer with directions to have the dead and the dying removed from the debouches, who were so numerous as absolutely to choke them up, and prevent the passage of the Troops.

Soon after a plunging Shot struck the Shingle



Near where Sir JAMES LEITH stood, and rebounding, gave him a blow on the chest, which laid him on the ground without sense or motion. The Officers near him had no doubt of his being killed, but he recovered his respiration and recollection, resisted all the entreaties of his Staff to quit the field, and again issued his orders with coolness and precision,

In addition to the obstacles the Troops had to overcome, in the performance of this memorable assault, from the fire of the Enemy, is to be cited the fallacious appearance which the exterior of the Breach presented to view, for although practicable in the ascent, the distance to the level of the Town was as great as ever, and the height to be descended unreduced by the fire of the Batteries, nor could it have been made more easy by the continued effect of artillery; the exterior Wall was completely beaten down, and the front to the Besiegers one continued heap of rubbish, in which the shot buried themselves without doing any further harm to the defences. The interior of the high Curtain Wall which varied from thirty-five to sixteen feet of altitude from the level of the Town had been built against, the Houses so constructed were now in ruins, the Wall which formed their back part, which had added to the thickness and security of the Curtain, was as per-

pendicular as ever, presenting no means of descent except by the ruined End Walls left partly standing, and by which the Troops could only get into the Street in very small numbers with difficulty, and exposed to an incessant Fire of Musquetry from the Houses opposite.

The Curtain to the left, and which afforded a passage for the assailants, was defended by Traverses, which, extending across it at short distances, admitted but one man to pass at a time, and behind these were stationed the Enemy's infantry, who without difficulty or danger put to death every person having the temerity to attempt forcing his way in that direction.

The Breach was still contended for by Major-General ROBINSON's Brigade, Major-General HAY's, consisting of the Royal, ninth and thirty-eight Regiments, were advancing to support, and a column of Portuguese infantry forded the Urumea from the right attack, and reached the lesser Breach under a very heavy fire, during which no Troops could behave with greater gallantry or discipline. The fire from the Castle and the body of the place was incessant, and two hours had now elapsed since the Troops became exposed to it, without one man having effected an entrance into the Town; the Loss

gement made upon the ascent of the Breach was however maintained by the bravery of the Troops, and the whole extent of it covered with dead bodies. A Shell burst near the spot where Sir JAMES LEITH stood, tore off the flesh of his left hand, and broke his arm in two places. He continued to exert the little strength he possessed in giving directions, until fainting from loss of blood, he was reluctantly compelled to quit the Field. When being carried through the Trenches to the rear, he met the remaining part of his Division pressing forward to execute his orders; and the men of the ninth Regiment, recognising their General, whose presence in action had become familiar to them, they promised him not to desist from their exertions until the place was taken.

Sir RICHARD FLETCHER, the Chief Engineer, who had continued with Sir JAMES LEITH during the attack, was killed by a musket ball soon after the accident which deprived the Army of the services of the latter. About half past one P. M. a quantity of Cartridges, &c. exploded behind one of the Traverses of the Curtain, which occasioned a temporary panic in the Enemy, and enabled a sufficient number of men to get along the line of the Curtain to ensure their keeping possession of the Ground which had been gained; the Troops

Pushed forward, drove the Enemy down the steep flights of steps leading from the Works into the Town near the great Gate; the Retrenchment within the Breach was carried, and the success of the Storm secured; but the difficulties were but partially surmounted, the Enemy, during the period of Blockade, had barricadoed the Streets in the most substantial manner; behind these Defences the French Troops kept up a galling fire, accompanied by an unceasing Tirailade from the Houses, and defended Street after Street, until driven by the impetuous valour of the Allies from all parts of the Town, with the exception of the Convent of Santa Teresa, in front of which the brave ninth Regiment suffered severely from the last Stand made by the Enemy previous to retiring the remains of the Garrison into the Castle.

By the great exertions of the Officers of Engineers and Artillery, fifty-four pieces of Ordnance were in Battery on the morning of the eighth September, and opened against the Castle at 10 A. M. with such effect, that it was supposed by three o'clock in the evening, the Breach in the Battery of Mirador would be practicable; but the Enemy having previously

resolved to capitulate, before an Assault took place, displayed a Flag of Truce at one P. M.; soon after, the Chevalier SONGEON, of the Etat-Major, appeared with full powers from General REY, and the Terms of Surrender were finally arranged.

During the period which intervened from the Town being taken to the Surrender of the Castle, the Enemy had suffered severely from the Shells fired by the Batteries to the right of the Urumea; and the Town, which had taken fire either previous to, or during the Assault, was reduced to ruins.

Sir JAMES LEITH, after continuing for two months, in hopes that the recovery of his wounds would permit him again to resume the command of his Division, was advised to return to England, as the only probable means of his being speedily restored to health; he therefore (having obtained Leave of Absence) sailed from Passages in the *Cydus* frigate, upon the fourth, and landed at Plymouth on the eighth of November. Soon after his Return, the Gazette announced that he had received permission to accept and wear the Insignia of a Knight Commander of the Portuguese military Order of the Tower and Sword, which had previously been conferred upon him by the Prince Regent of

Portugal, in consideration of his distinguished services.

## CHAP. VII.

**I**N February 1814, Sir JAMES LEITH was appointed Commander of the Forces in the West Indies, and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands, and upon the 5th May following sailed from Cork in the *Hannibal*, 74 guns, Captain Sir MICHAEL SEYMOUR, to assume the important command confided to him, which called forth the energies of his mind under different circumstances from any in which he had been previously placed; and the result of his exertions will prove, how capable he was of meeting the exigencies of political and military events, under whatever character they appeared. The *Hannibal* arrived at Barbados upon the 15th June, and Sir JAMES LEITH having relieved Lieutenant-General Sir GEORGE BECKWITH in the command of the Army, sailed for Antigua for the purpose of exercising the Government of the Leeward Islands, at that time comprising Saint Christopher's, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Tortola, and the Virgin Islands (of which it is the principal);—he was received by the Colonial Legislatures with distinction, and flattering

testimonies of the satisfaction they derived from the nomination which had placed the Government in his hands.

The only important event that occurred in the West Indies during the latter part of the year 1814, was the Restoration of the Islands of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Saint Martin's to the Crown of France, which Sir JAMES LEITH carried into effect in person, and the Comtes DE VAUGIRAUD and LINOIS assumed the Government.

The British military Force in the Windward and Leeward Islands had been considerably reduced by sending Troops from thence to America, and several Regiments were under orders to join the New Orleans Expedition; when the re-appearance of the Emperor NAPOLEON in France made it probable that the same spirit which had enabled him to recover his Throne, would manifest itself in the French Antilles, and subvert the authority of the Bourbons, particularly in Guadeloupe, where a numerous and turbulent population were notoriously in favour of the Imperial Government.

Sir JAMES LEITH was making a tour of the Leeward Islands in the *Crescent* frigate, when he received intelligence of the extraordinary events which had occurred in France, and he immediately proceeded to Barbados to direct such arrangements as were calculated to enable him without delay to take the field should cir-



circumstances call into action the Army under his command.

The spirit of Revolution soon appeared at Martinique, and Comte DE VAUGIRAUD became aware of the uncertain tenor upon which he held the Government for the King, the Troops undisguisedly evinced their favorable sentiments towards the Imperial Dynasty, and the Colony appeared on the eve of revolt. Sir JAMES LEITH seized the opportunity which his instructions and the faithful conduct of the French Governor presented to him, and landed two thousand British troops at Fort Royal, by that means securing the tranquillity of the Island, and preventing the designs of the disaffected. At Guadeloupe, Comte DE LINQIS professed fidelity to his Sovereign, but declined receiving a British auxiliary Force, while it was understood that the sentiments of Baron BOYER DE PEYRELEAU, the second in command, were favorable to the cause of NAPOLEON; under these suspicious circumstances the defection of that Island was daily expected, and upon the eighteenth June the tri-coloured Flag was displayed, the whole Colony declaring for the Emperor. Baron BOYER took the lead in these transactions, the Governor, yielding to events, proclaimed NAPOLEON as his Sovereign, and became a party in the Acts of Treason which succeeded.

Sir JAMES LEITH, upon receiving intelligence of the occurrences at Guadeloupe, immediately

commenced the assembling an Army capable of reducing that Colony, and the French Officers, aware of the probability of attack, exerted themselves in organizing the large Force of Militia which its numerous population afforded, and taking other precautions calculated to resist the formidable assault with which they were menaced; they did not, however, consider it probable that the British Armament would be in a state of preparation for reducing the Island previous to the commencement of the hurricane months, and that consequently nothing would be attempted against them until their conclusion. This consideration did not deter Sir JAMES LEITH from acting with promptitude, and aware of the advantage to be derived from an immediate attack, he used every exertion to forward the necessary arrangements, and resolved to proceed the moment the troops were collected. Many circumstances render the period during which hurricanes and extremely inclement weather generally prevail in the West Indies, most unpropitious for operations in the field, and dangerous in the transport of troops, the Coasts of the Islands are also visited with heavy surfs, rendering it difficult to approach them, and consequently hazardous where a landing is to be effected, it had on every preceding occasion been considered that nothing could be attempted during the months of July, August and September, but upon the present decision and arrangement overcame every obstacle.—

**Rear-Admiral Sir PHILLIP DURHAM**, the Naval Commander in Chief, directed his Majesty's ship *Dasher* to proceed to Marigalante, having on board Major General Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY, and a Detachment of Troops which were landed, and secured the possession of that Island, one of the Dependencies of Guadeloupe. The heavy Swell upon the Coast induced the British Admiral to suggest the propriety of deferring the ultimate operations until after the Hurricane Season; but Sir JAMES LEITH, adhering to his original intention, and aware of the necessity of restoring with as little delay as possible the Garrisons to the British Colonies, which had been of necessity reduced, in order to collect a Force adequate to the Service to be achieved, urged the immediate Sailing of the Expedition; the Saintes were appointed the rendezvous for the Troops from the South American Colonies, and the Islands to Leeward; and upon the 31st July 1815, his Majesty's ships *Venerable*, *Niobe*, *Lox*, *Dasher*, *Fairy*, *Columbia*, *Barbados*, *Muros*, and *Chanticleer*, with the Transports conveying the Troops, Ammunition and Stores, sailed from Carlisle Bay, Barbados, for the same destination.

The Vessels of War and Transports came to anchor in the Harbour formed by the small Islands called the Saintes, distant about seven miles from Guadeloupe, upon the 2d August. This Harbour being to windward, giving safe

anchorage and protection against the prevailing Winds, is an excellent rendez-vous for any fleet destined to attack Guadeloupe.

The Comte DE LINOIS, confident in his means of defence, and not believing the details sent to him of the Battle of Waterloo, answered a Summons to surrender which was conveyed to him upon the 4th August, by transmitting to Sir JAMES LEITH the copy of a Proclamation, exhorting the Inhabitants to resist, and menacing with instant death those who should join, or in any manner assist the British in obtaining possession of the Island. In consequence of this determination upon the part of the French Governor, the Commander of the Forces resolved to attempt a landing the moment the Troops had all assembled; he proceeded, accompanied by Major-General JOHNSTON, of the Engineers, to reconnoitre the Enemy's Coast, from Vieux Fort to St. Marie, and decided upon St. Sauveur and Grand Ance as the points of Debarkation.

The Island of Guadeloupe is upwards of two hundred miles in circumference, and contains a Population of 110,000 souls; from its mountainous character it is calculated to afford many excellent defensive positions; but these cannot be occupied with effect against an invading Army without a much larger force than has ever been collected to defend it, in any of the attacks made during the Wars of the French

Revolution. Upon the occasion here detailed, the Enemy had made great efforts to collect a large numerical force of Militia and National Guards, but found, when brought into the field, how little they could be relied on; the People of Colour, who had been but a short time previously trained to arms, fled into the woods the instant it was ascertained that the British Troops had landed. The Comte DE LINOIS soon saw the fallacy of the hopes he had entertained to resist effectually the dangers with which he was threatened, and General BOYER, when placed in command under circumstances of difficulty, displayed little military knowledge, and none of the resolution he was previously supposed to possess.

Sir JAMES LEITH directed that Lieutenant Colonel STARK, with eight hundred of the York Rangers, should land at Saint Sauveur, and march upon Pautrizel, which he effected without loss early on the morning of the 8th August; the object of Colonel STARK's movement was to act on the line of operations from the higher ground of Palmiste to the Pass over the River Gallion, nearest to its source, and leading to the left and rear of the Enemy's Position on Morne Houel; it was expected that he would not move beyond Pautrizel upon the evening of the 8th, but halt there, and put himself in communication with the first and part of the second Brigades, who landed a few hours afterwards, and marched upon Dolet,

The Commander of the Forces having landed at Grand Ance with the centre of the Army, detached Major-General DOUGLAS with his Brigade to make a diversion by landing at Bailiff, situated to læward of the Town of Basseterre; which he accomplished after having met with some resistance, and occasioned a loss of two hundred men to the Enemy.

The Mortar Vessels, and smaller Vessels of War, cannonaded those points of the Coast where Troops made their appearance, and the Landing at Grand Ance was effected without loss, notwithstanding the heavy Swell which made it extremely hazardous for the Boats to approach the Shore. A heavy fire was kept up by His Majesty's Ships *Fairy, Columbia, Barbados,* &c. and some of the French troops were compelled by it to retire from a Battery situated in a commanding situation above the Landing Place. The Enemy, who had in the morning been in some force at this point, retreated to Vermont's Estate, and subsequently to Dolet, where Comte LINCOLN and General BOYER passed part of the night of the 8th;—about Sun-set a Party of Militia attempted to dispute the Post of Pautrizel with Lieutenant Colonel STARCK; but were soon defeated and dispersed.

At day-light of the 9th, Sir JAMES LEITH reconnoitred the position of the Enemy, and directed the advance of the Troops, Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY's Brigade to move upon the great road

leading to Basseterre, while Major-General STUBBELIN's marched to reinforce the Troops at Pautrizel, and advance with a view of turning the left Flank of the Enemy, who had imperfectly occupied the Position of Palmiste.

An Advance, consisting of the Grenadier Company 15th Regiment, ascertained that the Enemy had retired from Dolet; and soon after Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY occupied that Post. It being considered of importance that Morne Bouccanier, a height situated to the right of the Enemy's position, and domineering it, should be occupied, Captain LEITH HAY, Aide-de-Camp to the Commander of the Forces, was directed to proceed, by a circuitous and difficult route, to obtain possession of that important point, which he accomplished with the Rifle Company Royal West India Rangers, and Light Company 6th West India Regiment, without sustaining any loss; and having, by Signal, announced the Retreat of the Enemy, Sir JAMES LEITH immediately ordered Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY to advance, and the position of Palmiste became in possession of the British Force.

It was now of great importance to prevent the Enemy throwing himself into Fort Matilda, and protracting the fall of the Island. With this view the Detachment from Morne Bouccanier advanced into the Valley towards Basseterre, and rapidly pressed the Rear of the Enemy, which was driven across the Ravine of the

Gallion with some loss, and the road leading to Fort Matilda occupied in rear of the French Troops, who proceeded to Morne Houel.

The Troops were placed in Bivouac, and every arrangement made for attacking the Enemy's Position at Morne Houel at day-light on the 10th; this, however, was rendered unnecessary by the arrival of an Officer during the night, charged with powers from Comte LINOIS to negotiate for the Surrender of the Island, a result unavoidable from the rapid and decisive operations which had followed the Landing of the British Force; from the circumstance of the Grand-terre Division having been cut off, and from the impossibility of resorting to other measures than awaiting upon Morne Houel the Attack of Troops confident of success, and superior in every respect.

During the night it rained with great violence, and the appearance of the weather made it an object of the first importance to bring the operations in the field to as speedy a conclusion as possible, in order that the Troops might get into Quarters, and avoid the certain effects of being for any length of time exposed to the inclemency of the Hurricane Season; actuated with this motive, and also to save the lives of many brave Soldiers, Sir JAMES LEITH sent proposals to the Enemy's Posts, in answer to those he had received during the night: General ROYER firmly resisted for some time agreeing



to one of the Articles of Capitulation, depriving the Officers of the Swords their treasonous conduct had proved them unworthy of possessing, but upon being made aware of the instantaneous attack, which would be the result of the proposition made by the British Commander not being complied with, he quitted the hut where Comte LINOIS and the other French Officers were assembled, leaving those whom he had been the principal means of bringing into their present unfortunate situation, to arrange the matter in the best manner they could. He was not, however, permitted to escape the disgrace he merited, and upon an appeal made to the superior Officers of the French Garrison, was brought back by them, and reluctantly compelled to sign the Articles of Capitulation.

In forty-eight hours after the Disembarkation, the British Ensign was displayed on Morae Houel, the Forts occupied by his Majesty's Troops, and the French Garrison marched into Fort Matilda as Prisoners of War.

The immediate restoration of the different situations which the Royalists had possessed previous to the Insurrection, the organization of a Militia, the establishment of a Police, and vigorous measures to secure and bring to justice the bands of revolutionary coloured People who occupied the woods and committed depredations, were the first objects of the Commander of the Forces.

## CHAP. VIII.

---

**SIR JAMES LEITH** continued to reside at **Guadeloupe**, as Governor, and the Head-Quarters of the Army were removed to that Island; the improvement of the Colonial Establishment and Suppression of Republican Principles, occupied in a high degree his attention, and his efforts for the tranquillity and welfare of the Colony, were eminently successful. The Privy Council, as a mark of their esteem and regard, voted £2000 for the purchase of a Sword, and the King of France conferred upon him the Grand Cordon of the Order of Military Merit, as a testimony of the sense he entertained of the highly distinguished conduct, which had secured Martinique from revolt, and destroyed the Imperial power in the Island of Guadeloupe.

The Treaty of Paris having restored the captured French Colonies in the West Indies to the Crown of France, instructions were received, to again establish the Head-Quarters at **Barbados**, to which Government the subject of this Memoir had been appointed upon the resignation.

tion of Sir GEORGE BECKWITH. During his absence an event occurred in that Island of the most alarming description, totally unexpected, and produced by designing Persons, working upon the minds of the Slave Population, and inducing a belief that the Rights granted by the British Parliament were of a different description than had been stated to them, and that Liberty, to which they were entitled, had been withheld by those in authority in the Colonies. Upon Easter eve the Signal of Revolt was given, and an Insurrection of the most serious description commenced. An Express was sent to Sir JAMES LEITH, with as little delay as circumstances would admit, and no Vessel of War being at the time in the Harbours of Guadeloupe, he embarked in a small French armed Schooner, and arrived at Barbadoes upon the 24th April. The promptitude with which the Troops and Militia had acted against the Insurgents, had restored tranquillity to the Island previous to his arrival; but a ferment existed in the minds of the Negroes, which it was necessary to allay; with this view Sir JAMES LEITH issued a Proclamation (*Appendix, No. 6*), the tenor of which has received the fiat of approbation from all good and enlightened men; he then proceeded to the parts of the Island where the greatest excesses had been committed, and collecting the Slaves upon the several Estates, addressed them with that impressive manner.

which ever at command enabled him with facility to speak to the feelings and understanding of whatever Class of Society it became necessary to convince. All prospect of a renewal of insubordination having ceased, and having adopted measures calculated to deter the misguided Negroes from a repetition of scenes which produced ruin and destruction to themselves without the slightest chance of success, he returned to Guadeloupe, and continued in that Island until the arrival of the Comte DE LARDENOIS, to whom he delivered over the Colony, and sailed for Barbados.

The first act of Sir JAMES LEITH, upon resuming the Government of the latter Island, was one of the most disinterested and noble description, and worthy of the generous feelings he had through life exhibited—namely, directing the House of Assembly to reduce the Sum voted for his own Colonial Salary one-fourth, in consideration of the Losses the Colony had sustained during the Insurrection.

The life of a Person who had so faithfully discharged his duty to his Country, was unfortunately drawing to a close, and that climate which has proved so fatal to Europeans, was destined to deprive the Army of an Officer who had, by his talents and his valour, established a renown which promised greater elevation, and must have been beneficially employed in the service of his Sovereign.

Upon the 10th October 1816, Sir JAMES LEITH was attacked by fever, which baffled all the exertions of the most eminent medical Men, the disease continued without one favourable symptom until the evening of the 16th, when he expired, to the regret of the Army and of all those who had ever known him. To the last moment he continued perfectly collected, and in death only lost that firmness of mind, which no circumstance, or suffering in life, could tear from him.

The best eulogium on such a character, is to give a faithful account of the different events of his life, and the feelings of the numerous Friends he has left behind, require not the praise which could emanate from the pen of the author of the foregoing imperfect Memoir, to make the great and good Person to whom it relates live in their recollection.

1 0062

---

No. 1.

FROM GENERAL LEITH TO SIR JOHN MOORE.

*Renedo, Valley Caqueringa, Province of Las Montañas de Santander, 15th November 1808.*

SIR,

I regret to inform you, that the Army of General BLAKE, in which was lately incorporated the Infantry of the Marquis DE LA ROMANA'S Division, has been defeated in several Attacks since the 5th instant, and is entirely dispersed. I have not time to enter into detail of this unfortunate reverse, carrying with it such serious consequences, for fear of delaying the intimation of that which is so essential to make known in general terms to the Commander of the British Army advancing from Portugal to Galicia. The Estremadura Army has also experienced a reverse at Burgos.

In short, the British Army has nothing to depend upon in Las Mentanas de Santander.

In Asturias there are but a few Battalions totally undisciplined; and by the last accounts, the French occupy from Reynosa to Burgos.

Except what remains of the Estremadura Army (the position of which I am ignorant), and the British Army, there is nothing to prevent the Enemy from advancing towards Leon and Valladolid that I know of. I very much suspect that

he will avail himself of this movement, to attack in detail the Army of PALAFOX and CASTANOS, united nominally, and all of which are placed under the command of the Marquis DE LA ROMANA. The Army has suffered principally from famine; and I do not think that it is possible to reunite those who are flying in all directions, nearer than Astorga and Oviedo.

It does not appear that there has been any want of spirit in the men; and in many instances, especially of the Divisions of the North, distinguished conduct. Some of the new Officers have not behaved so well. Captain PASLEY, Royal Engineers, who was sent to Head-Quarters to obtain information, and to communicate with the British Army, I hope will have given early intelligence of the state of things.

Captain LEFEBURE, R. E. is the bearer of this letter, and will be able to give such information as may be required. I regret to state that Captain BIRCH, R. E. was wounded, but I hope he is doing well: I caused him to be embarked on board the *Cossack* frigate at Santander, from whence I saw seventeen sail of Transports, with warlike Stores and Provisions, when there appeared no chance of this Province remaining covered from the Enemy, who, no doubt, will occupy a point so useful to the Spaniards, and eventually to the British. Santander was in the power of the Enemy, after possessing the Roads of Escudó and Reynosa.

The accounts of their having entered that Town, are not yet received however.

The different attacks have been at Zornosa (between Durango and Bilbao), Valmaseda, Arantia, and the total deroute, after a defeat at Espinosa de las Monteras.



About seven thousand re-assembled at Reynosa on the 13th instant, but without any order; from thence they retreated after dark, and have arrived in this valley, as a half starved and straggling mob, without Officers, and all mixed in utter confusion.

Never has there been so injudicious and ruinous a system begun and persisted in, as that which has led to the serious disasters of the present moment.

The Marquis DE LA ROMANA, who is here, is quite of that opinion; and if the Army on the other side, and near the Ebro, has not, or shall not have suffered before he can take the direction, I hope affairs may resume a more favourable aspect. I had prepared copies of Reports on the different affairs, addressed by the different Officers to Lord CASTLEREAGH; but unfortunately, all my papers are on board the *Cossack* man of war.

Mr. ASSIOTTI, the Deputy Commissary General, has been in such bad health since his arrival, that it was difficult enough to get the Stores, &c. embarked. I apprehend the Convoy, chiefly consisting of warlike Stores for the Marquis DE LA ROMANA's Division, and Arms and Provisions under my orders, for the aid of the Armies in Spain, has gone to Corunna: as they could not at this season keep the sea, and there is no good Port nearer than the last-mentioned, from whence the roads towards Leon are not so good.

I should hope soon to get near the British Army; under the present circumstances I feel an awkwardness at leaving the Marquis DE LA ROMANA, with whom I have received particular instructions to communicate on any point still unsettled. I hope, however, he will soon be able to disengage

himself from this part of the Army (if such it can be called), and may probably be obliged to go near the British Army before he can communicate with the rest of his own Troops.

I have the honor to be, &c.

**JAMES LEITH,**

*Major-General.*

I enclose a rough idea of the situation of this Valley, relatively to the great route from Reynosa to Santander.

— 5 —

No. 2.

*Extract from Lieutenant-General Sir JOHN HOPE'S Despatch,  
detailing the Battle of Corunna.*

“They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the Brigade under Major-General MANNINGHAM, forming the left of your Division, and a part of that under Major-General LEITH, forming the right of the Division under my orders.”

“The Corps chiefly engaged, were the Brigades under Major-Generals Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK, and MANNINGHAM and LEITH, and the Brigade of Guards under Major-General WARDE. To these Officers, and the Troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due.”

No. 3.

*Extract from Lord Viscount WELLINGTON's Despatch,  
detailing the Battle of Busaco.*

“Major-General LEITH also moved to his left, to the support of Major-General PICTON, and aided in the defeat of the Enemy on this post by the third Battalion Royals, the first Battalion 9th, and second Battalion 38th Regiments.

“In these attacks Major-Generals LEITH and PICTON, Colonels MACKINNON and CHAMPELMOND, Lieutenant-Colonel WALLACE, the Honble. Lieutenant-Colonel MEADE, Lieutenant-Colonel SUTTON of the 9th Portuguese Regiment, Major SMITH of the 45th Regiment, who was unfortunately killed, and Major BIRMINGHAM of the 8th Portuguese Regiment, distinguished themselves.”

— 7 —

No. 4.

*Whitehall, April 6th, 1813.*

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to nominate by Warrant, bearing date the 1st day of February last, Major-General JAMES LEITH, to be a Knight of the Most Honorable military Order of the Bath, in consideration of his signal and important services upon divers occasions, during the arduous contest in which His Majesty hath been engaged in Spain and Portugal; and more especially, of his able and highly distinguished conduct in the action fought near Corunna, on the 16th January 1809; in the Battle of Busaco, on the 27th of September 1810; as well as in the more recent splendid achievements of His Majesty's Arms at Badajoz and Salamanca: and being desirous of conferring upon the said Sir JAMES LEITH such a further mark of the Royal favour, as may especially evince the sense which His Royal Highness entertains of his highly meritorious conduct in the assault and capture of Badajoz, in the night of the 6th April last, upon which occasion the said Major-General, acting with discretionary orders under ARTHUR Earl of WELLINGTON, now Marquis of WELLINGTON and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Commander of His Majesty's Forces in the Peninsula, directed the operations of the fifth Division of the Army, which said Division, under a heavy fire, attacked and forced the barrier on the road of Olivenza, entered the covered way, descended by ladders into the ditch, escalated the face of the bastion of San Vicente, and after a most severe and arduous conflict in the assault, planted the British standard on the walls, and establishing themselves in the town, made themselves

masters of the same; as also His Royal Highness's approbation of the heroic conduct of the said Major-General, in the ever memorable action fought on the plains of Salamanca, on the 22d July following, upon which splendid occasion he personally led the said fifth Division to a most gallant and successful charge upon a part of the Enemy's line, which it completely overthrew at the point of the bayonet, and in which said charge he, as well as the whole of his personal Staff, was severely wounded; His Royal Highness has been pleased, by Warrant under the Royal Signet, and the Sign Manual of His Royal Highness, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, bearing date the 31st day of March last, to give and grant unto the said Sir JAMES LEITH his Majesty's Royal Licence and Authority, that to the Armorial Ensigns of his Family (being "*a cross crosslet fitchée between three crescents in chief, and as many fusils in base,*") he may bear the following honorable augmentation, viz. *on a Chief, a bastion of a fortification, intended to represent that of San Vicente, the British Ensign hoisted on the Angle, and the two faces near the salient Angle surmounted each by two Scaling Ladders;* and the following Crest of honorable augmentation, viz.—*out of a mural Crown inscribed with the word "SALAMANCA," a demi lion, regardant gutté de sang, in the mouth and sinister paw an Eagle or Standard reversed, the Staff broken,* intended to represent the French Standard taken by the said fifth Division of His Majesty's Army in the said ever memorable Battle of Salamanca, to be borne, and used, with the motto "*Badajos,*" by the said Sir JAMES LEITH, and by his descendants, as a memorial to them, and to His Majesty's beloved subjects in general, of the sense which His Royal Highness entertains of his loyalty, ability and valour; provided the said armorial distinction be first duly exemplified according to the Law of Arms.

No. 8.

**SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE,**  
*of Saturday, Sept. 16.*

**COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.**

*Downing-street, Sept. 16, 1815.*

Captain LEITH HAY, Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant General Sir JAMES LEITH, G. C. B. commanding his Majesty's forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands, arrived this afternoon with a dispatch, addressed to Earl BATHURST, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy:

Basseterre, Guadeloupe, Aug. 12, 1815.

MY LORD,—Having concerted with the Commander in Chief the necessary naval arrangements, Rear Admiral Sir CHARLES DURHAM was so obliging as to receive me with the headquarters, on board his Majesty's ship *Venerable*, bearing his flag.

The fleet, consisting of the vessels of war, such parts of the troops as had been assembled from the South American Continent, and from the Windward Islands, sailed from Carlisle Bay Barbadoes, on the 31st July, whilst the land force destined to proceed from St. Lucia, Martinique, and Dominique, were directed to rendezvous without delay at the Saintes.

Having made the necessary arrangements with the naval Commander in Chief, the whole fleet got under weigh at break of day, and stood towards the Ance St. Sauveur, where the land meeting to windward was to be effected.

I had received information that the troops of the line, and militia under arms, altogether amounted to 6,000. I determined, therefore, to throw my principal force between that of the enemy in Grande-terre and Basse-terre, where it was his intention to have assembled nearly the whole of his force, immediately after our demonstration to windward had of necessity terminated. My plan was to attack in three columns; the scarcity of boats, and the surf, required that the whole should assist in each disembarkation, which was therefore effected successively. The first was made at Ance St. Sauveur, where a detachment of the enemy, about 600 strong, moving from Grand-Terre to join Admiral Count LINOIS and General BOYER, shewed a disposition to oppose the landing.

The brigs of war and gun boats however, soon cleared that point, and eight hundred and fifty of the Royal York Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel STARCK, disembarked (notwithstanding a heavy surf) without the loss of a man.

Lieutenant-Colonel STARCK had instructions to make a rapid movement to drive and disperse the enemy occupying the strong country and ravines of Trou-au-chien, Petet Carbet, and looking towards Trois Rivieres; to threaten the left flank and rear of the enemy, posted to oppose the landing at Grand Ance, and to drive him from the important communication of Pantrizel, which leads to turn the strong post of Dole and Morne Palmiste, the latter being one of the principal keys to Basseterre.

Meanwhile the fleet dropped down to Grand Ance, to effect the principal landing where the enemy was in force, and possessed a strong position, with batteries commanding the landing place, which was susceptible of obstinate defence. The brigs of war and a gun boat placed to enfilade, soon



obliged the enemy to abandon his guns, one of which only, a long twelve pounder, was found mounted.

The surf was very great, and one of the gun boats was lost, but the exertions of the navy, and the steadiness of the troops surmounted every difficulty.

The 15th and 25th regiments, with the remainder of the 1st and 2d brigades under Major-Generals Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY and STEHELIN, were safely landed.

I immediately moved forward the troops to drive the enemy; but if he had before any hopes of maintaining his position for the night, a sharp fire of musquetry, by which we speedily drove him from Pautrizel, placed his left flank on fire, and obliged him to retire.

The approach of darkness left no further means of attack that night, and I placed the troops in their bivouacs.

At break of day on the 9th, the troops were put in motion in two columns; the first brigade, under Major-General Sir CHARLES SHIPLEY, moved upon, and occupied Dole; the 2d under Major-General STEHELIN, marched upon the left of the Morne Palmiste by Pautrizel. It appeared that Comte de LINORE and General BOYER had evacuated Dole in the night. The enemy, however shewed himself in considerable force on the left of Morne Palmiste, and on the face of that mountain, commanding the main road to Rasse-terre; his advance occupied Petit's plantation.

Captain LEITH HAY, my aide-de-camp, was ordered to gain the top of Morne Boucanier, by a difficult detour, with a rifle company of the Royal West India Rangers, and Light Company of the 6th West India Regiment, to alarm the ene-

enemy's right flank and rear, which being accomplished, obliged him to withdraw: his posts were every where driven, and he retreated to Morne Palmiste.

I determined to push the enemy as rapidly as was possible, considering the nature of this country, of which every part is not only susceptible of defence, but is even difficult of access without resistance, especially under the heat of a tropical sun.

A heavy cannonade now announced the disembarkation of the 3d brigade, under Major-General DOUGLASS, in the vicinity of Bailiff, and to leeward of Basseterre. I had instructed him to seize the Batterie des Trois, to occupy the capital, to mask, or if practicable, to take Fort St. Charles by a coup-de-main, to open his communication with the columns moving to the attack of Morne Palmiste, and to menace his retreat from thence to Morne Houel.

Major-General DOUGLASS was, if necessary, also to detach from his rear, for the purpose of taking the passes of Zongeres, Point do Noziere and Constantine, commanding the approaches to the strong heights of Motouba, in reverse; so that the enemy might not have the means of equivocating between those positions, but be compelled to choose at once his dernier resource.

The enemy, who had been driven by the vessels covering the landing, collected on the heights, and attacked the light company of the 63d regiment, who were advanced, they gallantly maintained their ground against upwards of three hundred of the enemy, who came down to attack them. Captain LYNCH and Lieutenant WIGLEY were wounded on that occasion.

18

Major-General DOUGLASS, in person, supported them by part of the York Chasseurs, under Lieutenant-Colonel EWART, and he was immediately driven with loss.

While this operation was going on, the columns of the 1st and 2d brigades gained the height of Morne Palmiste, from whence the enemy was driven at all points, and was now retreating to Morne Houel, which he had fortified with eight pieces of artillery. This was the position where Comte LINOIS and General BOYER had professed their determination of ultimately disputing the superiority in the field.

I received information that the Commandant of Grand-Terre, with the whole armed force was, as expected, moving in my rear to form a junction with the main body at Morne Houel. I accordingly reinforced my rear guard to protect our communications, and occupied in force all the passes of the Gallion, a river running through a formidable ravine at the foot of Morne Palmiste. Thus the troops from Grand-Terre were completely cut off from forming their junction, which they attempted without success by paths through the wood, late in the afternoon, but with light sufficient to point out to Comte LINOIS and General BOYER that all their plans of concentration were defeated.

After these laborious movements, which the troops executed in the most creditable manner, there was only time before night to place the columns in readiness to attack the formidable position of Morne Houel at day-break in the morning.

The troops accordingly took their bivouacs. It rained heavily. At 11 o'clock p. m. in the night of the 9th, the Commanding French Engineer came to me on the top of Morne Palmiste verbally to propose a capitulation in the name of

Le Comte de LINOIS, to which I replied, that the only terms I ever would accede to were already published in the Proclamation issued on landing, and that I would not delay the attack on Morne Houel to wait for any farther communications. It was so dark, and the rain fell in such torrents, that the Officer from the enemy and Captain MOODY, my Aide-de-Camp, took up the greatest part of the night in finding their way to the enemy's position.

The troops were put in motion at day break. An Officer soon after met me with written proposals, which I positively refused, and proposed some additional conditions. A white flag was displayed on Morne Houel, but I sent Major-General MURRAY (who had joined the army from Demerary the preceding night), and my Aide-de-Camp, Captain LEITH HAY, with the British flag, to say, that the only signal which should stop the troops would be to see it displayed on the parapet.

I had the satisfaction immediately after to see the British standard flying on Morne Houel, and thereby to ascertain that all the troops were prisoners of war, and all the forts and the colony in our possession.

I am happy to be enabled to assure your Lordship, that the conduct of the troops has been most zealous, gallant and exemplary.

To the naval Commander in Chief, Rear Admiral Sir CHARLES DURHAM, the service is highly indebted for his prompt and active exertions in whatever concerned the co-operation of the naval force with the army on this expedition.

I have the honour to transmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under my command, which, I am apt to say are inconsiderable.

When it is considered that this beautiful and extensive colony, with a population of 110,000 souls, with forts, and an armed force numerically greater than ours—when it is known that every sanguinary measure had been devised, and that the worst scenes of the Revolution were to be re-commenced, that the 16th of August, the birth day of Bonaparte, was to have been solemnized by the execution of the Royalists, already condemned to death, it is a subject of congratulation to see Guadeloupe completely shielded from Jacobin fury in two days, and without the loss of many lives.

Thus, my Lord, the flag of the most unprovoked rebellion, under which the slaves had been called to arms, and many were wrought up to a pitch of sanguinary frenzy, threatening the immediate destruction of the Colony, has disappeared from the American Archipelago; while the colonies, faithful to his Most Christian Majesty, are secured to his dominions by British garrisons. I cannot avoid on this occasion expressing my sense of the honourable, firm, and wise conduct of Admiral le Comte de VAUGIRAUD, Governor General of Martinique, who has afforded me every information and assistance in his power against the common enemy.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by Captain LEITH HAY, my Aide-de camp and military secretary, who was on my staff the whole Peninsula war; he will be enabled to give any information which you may require. I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection,

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES LEITH, Commander of the Forces.

## No. 9.

It having been deemed advisable to acquaint His Excellency Governor Sir JAMES LEITH, G. C. B. of the state of the Country, an Express was sent to Guadeloupe on the 16th instant; and His Excellency lost no time in proceeding hither, having arrived on the 24th, in a French schooner of War, that happened to be at that Island—The Governor has since thought fit to circulate the following Address which it is to be hoped will entirely remove those erroneous Impressions, which appear to have been made on the minds of a great proportion of the Slaves, by some designing Persons, who have artfully endeavoured to mislead them from the paths of Duty, by misrepresentations, which are as ridiculous in their conception, as they are false in their Tenor.

**BARBADOS.**—*By His Excellency Sir JAMES LEITH, Knight Grand Cross of the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Commander of the Portuguese Royal Military Order of the Tower and Sword, Lieutenant-General in the Army, Colonel of the 4th West India Regiment; Commander of His Majesty's Forces in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, Trinidad and the Colonies of Demerary, Essequibo and Berbice, in South America; Captain-General and Governor in Chief of Barbados, Chancellor Vice-Admiral and Ordinary of the same; Governor General and Vice-Admiral of Guadeloupe and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.*

**AN ADDRESS** to the Slave Population of the Island of Barbados—















CEORIC CHIVERS. BATH.

1986

