

relief of Burgos, and after sustaining a spirited repulse, appeared in great force, on the 19th, in the vicinity of the besieged fortress. On the 21st, advices were received, that an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of mareschal Soult, of Suchet, and king Joseph, were fast approaching the passes against general Hill, whose force was totally inadequate to oppose them. This intelligence induced lord Wellington to raise the siege of Burgos, to retire towards the Douro, recall his troops from Madrid, and give directions to general Hill to proceed northward to join him. He moved upon Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself; but Soult advancing from Madrid, and uniting his forces with Souham, obliged him to continue his retreat. On the 24th of November, he fixed his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier, after a masterly retreat before an army of ninety thousand men, against which he could oppose only fifty-two thousand. The campaign might have had a far different issue, had it not been for the miserable jealousy of Balasteros, who was arrested by order of the cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of lord Wellington, however, like most other retreats when pressed by a superior force, was characterized by disorder and rapine, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the commander, who indignantly complained in his public orders of "a want of discipline, greater than that of any army which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read"

LETTER XVI.

Resommencement of Hostilities between France and Russia, 1812—Immense Preparations of Napoleon for the Campaign—Retreat of the Russian Army from the Vistula to the Dwina—Advance of the French Army to Smolensko—Conflagration of the Town—Battle of Borodino—Napoleon pushes his Army on to Moscow—The Russians set Fire to the City—Dreadful Proceedings there—Distress to which the French Army is reduced for Want of Supplies—Napoleon sues for an Armistice, but in vain—The grand Army commences its Retreat—pursued by the Russians—Annihilation of the French Army.

HAVING pursued the narrative of the fourth peninsular campaign to its termination, I shall now, my dear Philip, revert to the affairs of the north of Europe, where the contest between France and Russia attracted the attention and involved the interests of all the continental powers. Almost from the commencement of the year 1812, the eyes of all Europe had been directed towards a new scene which was opening in the north, and which gave rise to a variety of political conjectures. For some time the two powerful emperors, who from the treaty of Tilsit had maintained a state of strict amity and alliance, now exhibited indications of misunderstanding and even of approaching hostilities.

The appointment of a French general to the Swedish succession had apparently formed an indissoluble union of interests between Sweden and France; but circumstances arose which broke this connexion. In the month of February, 1812, the emperor Napoleon had seized upon Swedish Pomerania; and this unprovoked aggression incited the crown-prince to assert the independence of his expected throne. The dispute between Russia and France originated chiefly in the commercial restrictions which the continental system, established by the French emperor, had imposed upon Europe. The emperor Alexander, indignant at the ruin of the trade of his empire, disdained any longer to submit to the restraints of a system, which, though planned solely for the impoverishment of Great Britain, was highly injurious to his subjects, destructive to the commerce of the continent, and wholly unprecedented in the annals of the world.

A train of negotiations now commenced between Russia, Sweden, and England, and also between the two former powers and France. While the political affairs of Europe were thus in a state of suspense and uncertainty, speculative politicians amused themselves and others with numerous and

various conjectures. By some, a new continental system was fully expected; by others, it was considered as a case of the highest improbability that Russia should hazard a war with the French emperor, who would be supported by Austria and the confederation of the Rhine. It was alleged that Russia, by engaging again in a war with France, would be stopped in her progress towards the conquest of European Turkey, and even lose all that she had recently gained in that quarter. It was observed, that two more campaigns would bring the Russian armies to the shores of the Propontis, and the gates of Constantinople; and the inference was, that it could not be expected that Russia would sacrifice her hopes of conquest for the barren and dangerous glory of a war with France.

In regard to Sweden, it was considered as highly absurd to suppose that the crown-prince should engage in a war against the French emperor. Besides, it was deemed very improbable that Napoleon should provoke a war with Russia, since by such a proceeding he would ruin his cause in Spain and Portugal, and lose the finest countries in Europe for the conquest of morasses and deserts. The event, however, turned out contrary to all these sage speculations; and the reasonings and conjectures of the cabinets of St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and St. Cloud appeared to be widely different from those of news-writers and political pamphleteers. The great features of national relations and interests are in general sufficiently conspicuous; but the resolutions of courts and the results of cabinet counsels often depend on the dispositions and passions of men, on the particular views which monarchs and their ministers have of the state of affairs, and on various other circumstances which lie beyond the reach of public inspection.

The emperors of France and Russia were known to be men of widely different characters. Alexander, beneficent and pacific, might be ranked among the few princes whose virtues adorn an hereditary throne, and promote the prosperity and happiness of mankind. Napoleon, enterprising and turbulent, nurtured in camps, skilful in tactics, and inured to war, which seemed to be his element, was by nature and education admirably fitted for scenes of confusion and carnage, and for disturbing the peace of the world. The support of the continental system, contrived for the purpose of annihilating the commerce of Great Britain, and drying up the sources of her wealth, was the favourite object of the ruler of France. The overthrow of this system was evidently the interest of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia: but the resources of Sweden were inconsiderable, and Prussia was in vassalage to France. Russia was the only power that could take the lead in an attempt of that nature, in which, however, she was certain of being supported by Great Britain. The emperor of the French, with the forces of Prussia and those of the confederation of the Rhine at his command, and with every reason to expect the assistance of Austria, might probably suppose that his appearance in the field, with so vast a display of military strength, would intimidate Russia into a compliance with his demands; or, calling to mind the ensanguined fields of Austerlitz and Friedland, he might flatter himself that one successful campaign, or one decisive victory, would enable him to dictate the conditions of peace.

But whatever might be the views and expectations of the emperor of France, he began very early in the spring of this year to move numerous bodies of troops into the interior of Germany. The Russian monarch, in the mean while, prepared to meet the impending storm; and after issuing a declaration of war, put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase, dated the 23d of March, 1812, ordered a levy of two men in five hundred throughout his extensive dominions. During the months of February, March, and April, great numbers of French troops were continually marching through Germany; and being joined by the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded towards the Vistula, after placing garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia. Preparatory to the great contest which was about to commence, the emperor of the French concluded treaties of alliance with Prussia and Austria, by which these two powers engaged to assist him

which had been nearly intercepted by marshal Ney; but having received a seasonable reinforcement, they were enabled to repulse him. Viasma not being considered tenable, every thing in it which could be considered of use to the enemy was destroyed, and the army took up a position near Moscow. At this juncture the veteran general Kutusoff was called from his retirement at St. Petersburg to take the chief command of the army. On his way to head-quarters he passed through Moscow, where he had an interview with count Rostopchin, the governor. Arriving at head-quarters on the 29th of August, he put the army in motion, and halted it on the 31st near the village of Borodino, on the great road leading to the capital, where he determined to hazard a battle.

The French entered Viasma on the 30th of August, and did not advance till the 4th of September. It was remarked that Napoleon, on being apprized that Kutusoff was opposed to him, became more cautious in his movements, and that he was more than usually anxious for the arrival of reinforcements. The interval of preparation, however, was no longer than was necessary for a conflict between two armies, each amounting to more than one hundred and twenty thousand men. It commenced on the morning of the 7th of September, by a tremendous attack on the Russian left, against which nearly one-half of the French force was directed; while marshal Ney bore down on the centre, and Beauharnois assailed the right. Kutusoff finding that his left, after a combat of three hours, was giving way, reinforced it with grenadiers and cavalry from the reserve, when a desperate effort was made to recover the lost position, from which the French were at length driven. Beauharnois made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino and the redoubts which covered it, but he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russians were then enabled to reinforce their centre, where the battle raged with great fury until night, when the French withdrew at all points, leaving them masters of the field. They estimated their own loss at forty thousand in killed and wounded, and that of the enemy at sixty thousand. Napoleon, himself, however, gave a very different account of this action to O'Meara at St. Helena: "I attacked the Russians," said he, "whose army was two hundred and fifty thousand strong, intrenched up to their necks, with ninety thousand men, and totally defeated them: seventy thousand Russians lay upon the field." Among the slain were generals Touchkoff and Konovitzen: prince Bragation afterward died of his wounds. Of the French generals, Monthron was killed, and twelve others dangerously wounded.

After this dearly purchased victory, Kutusoff found himself unable to make head against the fresh troops which his antagonist was soon enabled to bring forward. He therefore ordered Moscow to be evacuated, and retired with his army beyond it, to protect the rich provinces of Toula and Kaluga, where he maintained an uninterrupted communication with Tschichagoff; while to the north of the capital, Winzingerode, by the occupation of Twer, completed the line which was thus extended round the enemy. The painful but necessary measure of withdrawing from their homes in Moscow two hundred thousand human beings of both sexes, and of every age, was carried into effect by count Rostopchin, who placed himself at the head of forty thousand of its brave inhabitants, and proceeded to join the Russian army.

Rostopchin had a villa in the neighbourhood of Moscow, to which he set fire with his own hands, having affixed the following notification to one of its gates: "FRENCHMEN! for eight years I found pleasure in embellishing this country retreat. I lived here in perfect happiness within the bosom of my family, and those around me largely partook of my felicity. But you approach; the peasantry of this domain, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty human beings, fly for mercy, and I set fire to my house. We abandon all, we consume all, that neither ourselves nor our habitations may be polluted by your presence. FRENCHMEN! I left to your rapacity two of my houses in Moscow, full of furniture and valuables, to the amount of half a million of rubles. Here you will find nothing but ashes."

The advanced-guard of the French, under Murat and Beauharnois, entered

Moscow on the 14th of September, and soon overpowered the small band which had lingered in the ancient palace of the czars, called the Kremlin. The deserted city was discovered to be on fire in several places; and the French soldiers, eagerly seeking their long-promised plunder, rather increased than checked the conflagration. The French emperor was waiting at the barrier on the Smolensko road, to receive the homage of the constituted authorities ere he made his triumphal entry. A Polish general, whom he sent to remind the citizens of their duty, returned with information that there were no constituted authorities, and that Moscow would soon be a heap of ruins. The mortified conqueror entered without parade on the following day, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. At this moment the second Charlemagne (for such he affected to be thought) had reached the zenith of his fortune. From the elevated heights of the Kremlin the French emperor beheld, as he thought, the reward and termination of his labours; and when first the golden domes and spires of Moscow rose to his view, he is said to have exclaimed, exultingly, "All this is yours!" The splendour of the scene appears to have confounded his faculties; and his pride and presumption overbalancing the obvious considerations of prudence, he persisted in maintaining his situation amid the ruins of Moscow. Of the consequences which now ensued, Napoleon himself has left us a narrative sufficiently interesting to entitle it to insertion in this place.

"I was now in the midst of a fine city, provisioned for a year; for in Russia they always lay in provisions for several months before the frost sets in. Stores of all kinds were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provided, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In most of them there was a note left by the proprietor, begging of the French officers who took possession to be careful of their furniture and other effects; that they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped to return in a few days, when the emperor Alexander had accommodated matters, at which time they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind. They knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and that no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and, moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter-quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring.

"Two days after our arrival a fire was discovered, which at first was not thought to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had increased, but still not so as to create serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches, which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life.

"In order to show an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eyebrows singed, and my clothes burned off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand: out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches, in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for all but this: it was unforeseen; for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us

numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, and I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot.

"Had it not been for this fatal fire, I possessed every thing my army wanted: excellent winter-quarters, stores of all kinds were in plenty, and the next year would have decided it; Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburg. Several of the generals were burned out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin until surrounded by flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames, and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country-house of the emperor Alexander, distant about a league from Moscow; and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. *It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld.*"

This event was evidently a severe disappointment to the French emperor, who lingered about this devoted city as if it had still been his intention to retain it. At length, however, the unshaken resolution of the Russians to persist in their system of making all sacrifices, rather than submit to a conqueror; the assemblage of fresh bodies of their troops around Moscow, and the approach of inclement seasons, reminded him of the folly and danger of prolonging his stay. By a prompt retreat, he might have secured winter-quarters in Poland; but his pride revolted at a measure now dictated alike by policy and humanity. Urged at length by the clamours of his soldiers, he sent Lauriston with a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters, announcing his readiness to treat. The answer returned was, that no terms could be entered into while an enemy remained in the Russian territory. The roads leading to Moscow were now occupied by detached corps, who cut off the supplies, dispersed the straggling parties of the French, and took many prisoners. Napoleon sent Lauriston a second time to demand, that if the Russian general would not listen to a negotiation, he should forward a letter to the emperor Alexander. "I will do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *peace* is not expressed in the letter. I would not be a party to such an insult on my sovereign, by forwarding a proposal which he would order to be instantly destroyed. You already know on what terms offers of peace shall be attended to." The clamours of the French soldiers still increased; their foreign auxiliaries deserted by thousands, and made known the extent of their distresses. Lauriston was sent a third time to the Russian head-quarters, with proposals for an armistice, and an offer that the French should evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterward arranged. The answer was, "It is not time for us to grant either armistice or negotiation, as the campaign on our part is but just opening." Thus foiled in all his attempts at procuring an armistice, Napoleon soon afterward announced his intention of leading his army into other provinces until the return of spring, when he would advance on St. Petersburg, and erase the name of Russia from the list of European nations. He then indulged his soldiers with an eight days' pillage of Moscow; and having wasted five irreparable weeks in that scene of desolation and despair, he commenced his retreat, leaving a force to blow up the Kremlin. General Iievasky, however, arrived in time to prevent the completion of this outrage; and on the 23d of October, the exiled inhabitants of Moscow began to return to their desolated city.

Dividing his forces, Murat and Beauharnois, with fifty thousand men, were ordered to attack the grand army of the Russians under Kutusoff; while the emperor himself, with the remainder, took the route to Minsk. The former met with a severe repulse; and nothing was now thought of but how to quit a country which they had so lately entered in triumph. Scarcely could they

hazard a march without a battle; and thus harassed, retreat became more and more difficult. Minsk itself was obliged to surrender. A stand was attempted at Viasma, but without success; and the French, dispirited and weary, were driven from their positions with much slaughter. The ensuing night was rendered dreadfully memorable by a prodigious fall of snow; and from this period ensued a series of terrible disasters. His own account of this matter, dictated while at St. Helena, will best describe the shocking scene; and you shall have it in his own words.

"I was a few days too late:—I had made a calculation of the weather for fifty years before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until about the 20th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. While I was at Moscow, the cold was at three of the thermometer, and was such as the French could with pleasure bear. But on the march the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the horses perished. In one night I lost thirty thousand. The artillery, of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned: neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not, for want of horses, make a *reconnaissance*, or send out an advance of men on horseback to recover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance alarmed them. Four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties when sent out on duty in advance, abandoning their posts, went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses, they separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and sleeping they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations, were no longer the same men. In particular the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved."

Napoleon reached Smolensko on the 9th of November, and remained there until the 15th, when he set out for Krasnoi. Davoust, who followed him, after blowing up the ramparts, was beaten by Milarodavich on the 15th, and escaped with the loss of four thousand killed and wounded, and nine thousand taken prisoners, with seventy pieces of cannon. He also lost the whole of his baggage, three standards, and his *bâton de maréchal*. Ney, who left Smolensko with the rear-guard on the day of battle, was surprised by the victorious Russians, and compelled to fly with a small proportion of his staff, leaving eleven thousand of his troops in the hands of his pursuers. In the mean time, the Russian general Witgenstein, after a series of successes against the corps of St. Cyr, Oudinot, and Victor, advanced from Polotsk, and on the 8th of November reached Vitepsk, where he was informed of the retreat of the grand French army. On the 18th he was informed of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, and of the rapid advance of the Russians in pursuit. Witgenstein was soon in communication with Platoff and the commander-in-chief, so that the whole force of the Russian empire was now directly co-operating against the retreating enemy.

After quitting Krasnoi, the French emperor was informed that his stores at Minsk were in the hands of the Russians; that his Polish general Dombroski was routed; that the corps of Oudinot and Victor were dispersed; and that the Russian grand army, the army of the Dwina on its left, and that of the Danube on its right, were closing upon him. To secure his escape he ordered two bridges to be thrown over the Beresina at Studenzi and Vaselova. Scarcely had he passed the river with his guard at the latter point, when Witgenstein opened a cannonade on the troops who were preparing to follow. They rushed in crowds towards the bridge: it was blown up by Napoleon's order. A shout of despair followed the explosion. Numbers plunged into the stream, and disappeared amid the floating masses of ice; five thousand lost their lives, and thirteen thousand were taken prisoners. The artillery, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the

Russians, who on this occasion recovered the greater part of the plunder which the French had taken from their cities.

Having repaired the bridges, the Russian armies advanced, and on the 12th of December prince Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna. The retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen was attended with horrors, to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. For weeks before they quitted Moscow, they had no regular supplies of food; they were now exhausted by long marches; harassed by an indefatigable foe, and exposed to the severity of a Russian winter, with scarcely a garment to protect their freezing limbs. Their route might not unfrequently be traced by the dead bodies, which appeared like the mounds in a church-yard when covered with snow. The scene of a night-watch often exhibited at dawn a circle of the dying and the dead, wrapped in rags, matting, old canvass, and even of raw hides stripped from the perished horses. The fugitives set fire to houses and villages: and many, when their joints were racked by the sudden transition from cold to heat, became frantic and fell into the flames. Numbers, with their feet frozen and half mortified, were left to perish in the snow. To pursue the detail of these complicated miseries would be tedious: the result may be calculated, when it is known, that of the three or four hundred thousand men who composed the invading army, not more than fifty thousand, including the Saxon auxiliaries, repassed the Russian frontiers. Their total losses by capture, up to the 26th of December, as stated in the accounts published at St. Petersburg, were forty-one generals, one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight officers, one hundred and sixty-seven thousand five hundred and ten non-commissioned officers and privates, and one thousand one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon.

Napoleon did not remain to witness the last scene of the tragedy. He reached Wilna on the 17th of December, and having transferred to Murat the chief command of the army, he took his departure for Warsaw, accompanied by Caulaincourt, from whence he made a rapid journey to Paris. He was the herald of his own discomfiture; and he proclaimed with circumstantial precision the results of a campaign, which did equal credit to his foresight as a politician, and to his skill as a general. He had lost an army, the most formidable, perhaps, that any nation ever brought into the field, if we take into consideration not only its numbers, but also its complete organization and equipment, the perfection of its military discipline, and the talents and experience of its generals. The wars of modern Europe had furnished no instance of so extensive and complete a destruction; and history records no similar event since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. (1)

LETTER XVII.

Progress and Termination of the War, 1812—1814—Lord Wellington prosecutes his Successes in Spain—Fifth Campaign, 1813—Drives the Enemy before him, and enters the French Territory—Reaction in the internal State of France—Symptoms of a falling Empire—Glance at the Affairs of Sweden—Denmark—Norway—Prussia—and Austria—Defeat of the French Armies by the Russians, who now invade France—Discomfiture of Napoleon, who rejects Overtures of Peace from the Allies, and dissolves the Legislative Assembly, December the 31st, 1813—Campaign of the first three Months of 1814—Progress of the allied Arms—Surrender of Paris—Abdication of Napoleon, who retires to Elba—Reflections.

THE conflagration of Moscow, and the destruction of the French army, were made known to the people of England while engaged in the ferment of a contested election. The sensations of astonishment and awe produced by these

(1) History of the Expedition to Russia, by General Count Philip de Segur.—Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from St. Helena.

events gave place to a hope that the Russians, after making so tremendous a sacrifice, would follow up their victories, and extricate the nations of Europe from the galling yoke with which they had now been so long oppressed. Subsequent events soon heightened this hope into confidence; and the new parliament assembled on the 24th of November, 1812, under happier auspices than the most sanguine politician could have ventured to anticipate. One of its first measures was to vote the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to the duke of Wellington, as a reward for his military services; and two hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

The campaign in Spain of the year 1813, commenced under favourable auspices. The enemy, not being able to obtain reinforcements from France, was reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive; a plan always ruinous to an invading army. Suchet alone attempted operations on a bolder scale; and on the 13th of April, he made a general attack on the line of the allies, in which, however, he was repulsed with loss, and compelled to retire upon Villena. Towards the end of May, lord Wellington moved in great force by the route of Salamanca towards Madrid, on which the new king once more abandoned his capital, and retired to Burgos. On the approach of the British army, the French continued their march towards the Ebro, without making any effort to defend the city or even the citadel of Burgos, upon which immense sums had been expended. The allies, by a sudden movement to the left, having crossed the Ebro near to its source, in their pursuit, found the French encamped in front of the town of Vittoria, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by mareschal Jourdan, Soult having been summoned to the aid of Napoleon in Germany. Lord Wellington instantly resolved upon attacking them; and on the 21st of June, the battle began by a severe contest for the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position. These were ultimately carried by general Hill, who then passed a rivulet which ran through the valley, as did general Picton at the head of another division. About the same time, general Graham on the opposite wing forced his passage over two bridges thrown across the stream; on which, after a severe contest, the whole French army retreated in good order on Vittoria, from whence they continued their march towards Pampeluna. As Vittoria was the grand dépôt of the French, a great quantity of cannon, and stores of every description to a vast amount, fell into the hands of the allies. After the defeat which they had sustained, the retreat of the French became so rapid as not to permit them to carry off their artillery and baggage, the whole of which, amounting to a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with four hundred and fifty wagons of ammunition, fell into the hands of the allies, whose loss on this occasion was about seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded, the greater part of whom were British. Such was the battle of Vittoria, which added fresh laurels to the illustrious commander. The French retired by Pampeluna on the road of Roncesvallos; and, being driven by sir Thomas Graham, who had taken Tolosa, from all their strong posts, they at length crossed the Bidissoa by the bridge of Irun, and entered the French territory.

On the eastern coast of Spain, events of a different kind were in the mean time passing. On the 31st of May, sir John Murray embarked his force on board the English fleet which was cruising on that station; and on the 3d of June invested Tarragona. Having possessed himself of fort St. Philippa, on the Col de Balaguer, which blocks the direct road from Tortosa to Tarragona, and advancing his batteries against the besieged place, he received intelligence that mareschal Suchet was marching from Valencia for its relief, with a force superior in number and quality to his own. Without waiting for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, he determined to avoid all conflict by a timely retreat; and accordingly re-embarked his army, leaving his cannon in the batteries, though admiral Holloway gave it as his opinion that they might have been brought off had he remained till night. The expedition then sailed to Alicant, and Suchet did not fail to triumph in the result.

with very considerable forces. The emperor of Russia also concluded a treaty of peace with the Ottoman Porte, to which he restored the conquests recently made in Moldavia and Wallachia, thus enabling him to withdraw his armies from the banks of the Danube. All matters of dispute were also settled between Russia and Great Britain.

Such were the preparations made for the decisive contest, which was destined to produce events contrary to all expectation, and wholly unparalleled in history. On the 8th of May, the French emperor, accompanied by his august consort Maria Louisa, set out from Paris, and on the 11th of that month arrived at Mentz, where they received the grand-duke and dutchess of Hesse Darmstadt, and the prince of Anhalt Goethen. On the 13th, they proceeded to Wurtzburg, where they were received by the king of Wurttemberg and the grand-duke of Baden. On the 15th they arrived at Freyberg, where they were met by the king and queen of Saxony, and were received with the highest honours. From thence they proceeded to Dresden, where they were met by their imperial majesties the emperor and empress of Austria. The emperor of Russia was then at Wilna, where the first army under the command of count Barclay de Tolly was cantoned.

On the 29th of May, the emperors of France and Austria departed from Dresden: the former proceeded towards the Vistula to take the command of his army, the latter returned to Vienna. The king of Prussia, who had attended at the interview, left that city on the following day: the empress of France, after remaining a few days at Dresden, returned to Paris. On the 6th of June, Napoleon passed the Vistula, when he published a declaration, announcing his determination of restoring the kingdom of Poland, and placing the duke of Wurtzburg on the throne; at the same time inviting all the Poles to rally round his standard. The French emperor attempted to the last moment to bring the Russian monarch into his views by negotiation: the latter, however, adhering to his former declaration made by prince Kurakin, insisted on the evacuation of Prussia by the French troops as the basis of negotiation; on which Napoleon ordered his army to march for the purpose of crossing the Niemen.

In commencing the campaign, the emperor of France endeavoured to excite the courage of his troops by issuing a proclamation, in which he manifested his usual confidence as to the success of the campaign. "Russia," said he, "is dragged along by a fatality! her destinies must be accomplished. Should she consider us as degenerated? Are we no longer to be regarded as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let us, then, march forward! Let us pass the Niemen! Let us carry the war into her territory! The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first." In placing before the eyes of his followers a prospect of splendid success, the calculations of the French emperor had frequently proved correct, and his promises had often been realized; but he had now attained to the meridian of his glory: a tide of prosperity and success, flowing for so many years without interruption, had induced him to imagine that victory was inseparably attached to his banners; and he seems to have thought it impossible that fortune ever could frown where she had so long been accustomed to smile.

This proclamation was issued on the 22d of June, and on the following day the army was put in motion. At two o'clock in the morning, the emperor Napoleon, accompanied by a general of engineers, inspected the banks of the Niemen; and on the same day, Murat, king of Naples, who commanded the cavalry, advanced within six miles of that river. The different corps commanded by the viceroy of Italy, the prince of Eckmuhl, the duke d'Elchingen, the duke de Reggio, the duke of Tarentum, and prince Poniatowski made corresponding movements; and the pontoon train also arrived within six miles of the Niemen. The 5th, 7th, and 8th corps, commanded by the king of Westphalia, had proceeded no farther than Novogorod, about half-way between the Vistula and the Niemen; and the first Austrian corps,

under prince Schwartzenberg, was near Lublin, at an almost equal distance between Lemburg and Warsaw. The duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps and some other troops, remained in reserve, occupying the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

At this crisis a Polish diet was held at Warsaw under the sanction of the French emperor, which, resolving itself into "a general confederation of Poland," published, on the first of July, a memorable declaration, announcing that the kingdom of Poland and the Polish nation were re-established, and appointing a council of state, consisting of eleven members, for the administration of affairs. By one of the articles the king of Saxony, as grand-duke of Warsaw, was invited by deputation to accede to the confederacy; and by another the emperor Napoleon was entreated "to encircle reviving Poland with his powerful protection." The diet disclaimed all vindictive retrospection, saying, "that it cannot regard as a true Pole whosoever shall search into the past for motives of accusation or division." The deputies sent by the diet to the French emperor at Wilna, in the audience with which they were favoured, July 12th, declared that "the honour and interest of France required the re-establishment of Poland." To this bold truth Napoleon returned an answer replete with artful evasion. He highly applauded the patriotism of the diet, and had he reigned during the first, second, or third partition, he would have armed all his people in their support; but in his situation he had many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform: he notwithstanding authorized the efforts they wished to make; and if they were unanimous, they might conceive the hope of reducing their enemies to acknowledge their rights; but he had guaranteed to the emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions. "Be animated," said he, "with the same spirit that I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your holy cause, and recompense that devotion to your country which has acquired you so many claims to my esteem and protection."

A more favourable opportunity could never occur of restoring Poland to its just rank among the nations; but Napoleon merely aimed to gain the aid of the Polish armies by flattery; and though he subsequently affirmed it to have been his intention to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and to place prince Poniatowski upon the throne, "in order to oppose a barrier to that formidable empire which threatened to overwhelm all Europe," there exists no trace of any such design in his language or conduct at this period.

The plan which the Russians had formed, and according to which they resolved to conduct the present campaign, was, to resist the progress of the invader at all points where a stand could easily be made without risking a general engagement; to lay waste the country through which he should aim to penetrate; to harass him as he advanced; and to cut off his supplies. Napoleon encountered no formidable resistance in his rapid advance to Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which he entered on the 28th of June, and from whence he issued the proclamation above mentioned; but a division of the French army under Macdonald received a severe check from general Essen, to whom the defence of Riga was intrusted. Count Witgenstein also defeated marshal Oudinot and the Bavarian general Wrede, at Polotsk, after a conflict of twelve hours, in which the enemy lost ten thousand men killed and wounded: thus were they foiled in their attempts to open a passage to St. Petersburg.

While these things were transacting, the emperor of France directed his attention to the main Russian army, which, on the 17th of August, he attacked at Smolensko. After a furious contest, the Russians retired from the city, which the French on their entrance found burning and in ruins. Napoleon gave vent to his chagrin by exclaiming—"Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies!" He certainly had encountered no such obstacles in either of his marches to Vienna.

The Russian army now retired upon Viasma, followed by the rear-guard,