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AN

Authentic Narrative

OF THE

INVASIONS OF FRANCE,

IN 1814 AND 1815,

COMPRISING

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL

OF THE

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WAR OF LA VENDÉE,

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CHAPTER XII.

Plan of Lord Wellington to invade the Southern Provinces of France—Comparison between his Lordship and Buonaparte—Opening of the Campaign in the South—Dispositions of Marshal Soult—Intrenched Camp of Bayonne—Napoleon negotiates with his prisoner Ferdinand the Seventh—Treaty signed at Valencay—Views of Buonaparte with regard to Spain—Lord Wellington passes the Nive—Battles on the Adour—Marshal Soult retires within his lines—Position of Lord Wellington's Army towards the end of December—Arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême at Saint-Jean-de-Luz—Confederation of the Royalists in most of the French Provinces—Proceedings of the Royal Committee at Bourdeaux—The Marquis de Rochejaquelein repairs to the Duke d'Angoulême at Saint-Jean-de-Luz.

THE memorable campaign, of which I have detailed the events in the preceding volume, was prolonged without effecting a decisive result. A hundred and fifty thousand men had been rendered *hors-de-combat*, or had perished. Flourishing cities and towns had been almost destroyed. Entire provinces had been laid waste. From the North and the East

two armies, each of a hundred thousand men, had alternately threatened the capital; but without being able to obtain possession of it, with such audacity did the usurper of the regal throne brave the forces of Europe, leagued against his tyranny. Sagacious manœuvres, sudden irruptions, sanguinary battles, and important negotiations were all destined to be exhausted, without a period being thereby put to the effusion of human blood. Peace seemed indeed constantly to withdraw from the wishes of a suffering world, as if she required, before she betowed her favours, that the cause of legitimate justice should prevail in the counsels of the Allied Sovereigns.

Amidst this cruel indecision, the South of France did that from loyal feeling, which the combinations of policy had not ventured on attempting to realize. The first genuine burst of fidelity—the first shouts of the people, demanding the restoration of their ancient house, were heard near the cradle of Henry IV, under the protection of an army, which had preserved the crown of Spain to a Bourbon. This army was commanded by a general, who had proved himself the liberator of the whole Peninsula—WELLINGTON—the illustrious leader, in whom are combined all the brilliant and noble qualities of the Scipios, the Black Prince, and Turenne.

Such was the reputation of this British nobleman, that, before the invasion was attempted, he was considered throughout Europe to be the only general, capable of regulating the movements of

great military bodies; and giving a final blow to the power of the modern Attila.

The most striking contrast existed between these two great commanders. The one was in his very nature a destroyer, who sacrificed every thing to his own interest, and mad ambition; the other was the preserver of mankind, the protector of nations, the friend of probity.—Buonaparte trampled alike upon the rights of kings and of their subjects, paving the way to conquest by the basest perfidity, and effecting his object by the most inhuman carnage. Lord Wellington owed his success to a wise employment of his time, and the most judicious military combinations; he was prudent and discreet in the midst of his successes, and doubled his triumphs by generosity towards the vanquished. Buonaparte was never so arrogant as when he achieved a victory; Wellington never so modest. Innumerable armies were requisite to effect Buonaparte's conquests; Lord Wellington recovered and defended two kingdoms with a small force. A retreat by Buonaparte was a disaster; a retreat by Wellington was a triumph. Buonaparte fell with his armies upon nations like a torrent, overwhelming and destroying all within his reach. The army, led by Lord Wellington quietly traversed the country, without doing injury to a cottage, respecting every one's life and property, enriching the district through which it passed, and leaving behind it no traces but prosperous abundance.

Thrice did the gallant Lord Wellington save Portugal. Many celebrated sieges, and five regular battles, in which he was victorious, against the most martial troops of Europe,* had paved the way for the emancipation of the whole Peninsula; and this great object was completed by the decisive day at Vittoria.

It was in vain that the degraded tyrant transferred the command of his mutilated army in Spain to Soult, one of his ablest marshals. The efforts of this commander were not able to preserve Saint-Sebastian and Pampeluna. Napoleon was still contending against three allied armies at Dresden, when the artillery of the triumphant Anglo-Spanish troops resounded on the borders of the Bidasoa. What a humiliation for Buonaparte, who had boasted that he would subjugate the Peninsula, and drive the English army into the sea! Lord Wellington, the very nobleman, whom he had officially insulted, now threatened his frontiers.

Marshal Soult could not conceal from himself the danger of his position. The greatest captain of the age was opposed to him, with the united troops of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal; and this captain was the idol of his army. In vain did the French commander recommend a concentration of all the forces in the south, near Bayonne. Na-

* The campaigns of the Peninsula are accurately described in General Sarrazin's "History of the war in Spain and Portugal," a work recently published, and peculiarly entitled to the attention of all, who feel a pride in the success and renown of the British arms.

napoleon was determined not to expose Catalonia, which province he felt sure of retaining, as long as Marshal Suchet continued there with his army. Thus, in order not to abandon a fragment of his conquests, he neglected to defend the southern provinces of the empire. Public opinion too was the more unfavourable to his cause in this part of the country, from the violent requisitions, which were made to support the army of Spain, as it was entitled—an army formidable to its own country from a habit of committing excesses, which it had acquired in the Peninsula.

The invasion appeared inevitable, and the allied army wished earnestly to be thus employed. All the human passions, the most ardent as well the most noble, inspired the troops at the idea of penetrating into the French territory. It seemed to be an act of proper retribution; and there could exist no fear, with such a leader, that an offensive war would degenerate into a system of plunder; but calmly considered, the enterprize appeared rash. No invasion of the French southern provinces had ever succeeded. Even Charles the Fifth himself had failed in the attempt. Independent of local difficulties, was it not to be presumed that the inhabitants, whose sufferings had by no means been so great as in other parts of the country, would rise, though not absolutely to support the government of Buonaparte? Was it not to be presumed, for instance, that they would defend their own fire-sides against the attacks of an invad-

ing enemy, who must naturally be animated by national hatred, and a thirst for vengeance? The dangers of such a step were so generally felt, except by the French themselves, that Lord Wellington received letters of the most urgent nature from almost every part of Europe, exhorting him to consider well what the consequence might be, and employing the strongest arguments against his projected invasion of the French territory. "Your glory," said his Lordship's correspondents, "is pure and unsullied. Why commit it to the chances of a hazardous expedition, which may deprive you of the reputation so nobly acquired, so universally acknowledged? The European continent has its eyes upon you, and gives you still greater credit than your native country feels for the exploits, by which you have immortalized your name." The most ingenious and the most solid reasoning were alternately employed to dissuade his Lordship from entering France, but he never hesitated even for a moment. He was supported by that strength of mind, that firmness of resolution, that matured combination of ideas, without which no great design was ever accomplished.

The defeat of the oppressor at Leipzig made it probable that, after having roused every nation against his despotic views, he might ere long be attacked in his own dominions, and forsaken by the French, whom he had treated so tyrannically. Could he, in such a case, preserve all his frontiers; and was it not to be presumed that he would

be obliged to withdraw some of the troops, hitherto employed against Spain, for the purpose of defending himself?

Lord Wellington, however, was fully aware that the army, against which he had to contend, was courageous, and re-organized by an experienced general, who united with prudence that tenacity, which is proof against every reverse. It was also requisite, for the purpose of making this offensive irruption, that the British general should have an army very superior in point of numbers; and how was it to obtain the means of subsistence without violating the rights of property, and injuring the inhabitants of those districts, into which it penetrated? To demand nothing and to seize nothing, but to pay for every thing with scrupulous exactness was the first law, which Lord Wellington laid down as his guide. The basis of his projected invasion was thus a financial system. Certain that the British Government would approve of this measure, and support him with the necessary supplies to secure its due execution, he no longer hesitated as to his advance.

The celebrated campaign in the Peninsula, during the year 1815, was completed by the passage of the Bidassoa. The English army obtained, with a success so rapid as to border upon the miraculous, all the positions of the mountains called the Three Crowns, and the country adjacent to them. Its entry into France was distinguished by the occupation of Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Lord Wel-

lington had resolved to pass the Nive immediately after the Nivelle; but the bad roads and swollen rivers, occasioned by very heavy rains during the early part of December, did not allow him to execute his offensive movement to its full extent.

In the mean time the works of Bayonne were put into a perfect state, and the French army constructed intrenchments on intrenchments under the direction of Marshal Soult. It occupied a position in front of the place, fortified with much skill, and under the fire of the batteries; its right resting on the Adour, its front covered by a morass, and its left protected by the river Nive. The advanced parts of the right wing were pushed to Biarits; and the left wing communicated with the division of Catalonia, stationed at Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, which was commanded by General Paris. Two strong detachments were cantoned at Villefranque and Mouguere, thus covering the most accessible part towards the left of the intrenched camp. Fifty thousand men were stationed in this formidable position, which it seemed impossible to attack with advantage, so long as the French army continued there in force. But the lines of Bayonne did not cover all the approaches to the Adour; consequently, they might be turned by an army superior in numbers. What was to be expected, too, from troops which had been so often discomfited of late as the French? Marshal Soult, however, neglected nothing, which could tend to reanimate his soldiers; and they were in all respects much im-

proved, during the short time that he had latterly commanded them.

Napoleon was appalled when he heard that the English army had established itself upon the French soil. His arrogance gave way, perhaps for the first time; and he was resolved to make a sacrifice at the shrine of necessity, by abandoning Spain, for the purpose of preserving, if possible, his southern provinces. Never had so formidable an enemy opposed him—never had his arms been so deeply degraded; and it became indispensibly requisite to extricate himself from the embarrassment. This could only be done by separating Spain from the cause of the Allies, at any price, in order that he might transfer all his troops to the Rhine; thinking that he could hereafter, at a more convenient opportunity, return and oppress the Peninsula; while even for the present, means might be adopted to sow the seeds of discord in that part of Europe. He, therefore, immediately put his tortuous policy into action. Being sure, in the first instance, that Ferdinand the Seventh, who had for so considerable a time been a captive, would subscribe to any conditions, which secured to him liberty, and re-establishment in his sovereignty, the wily Napoleon summoned to Paris the Duke de San Carlos, who was Ferdinand's ex-minister. When this nobleman arrived, he was informed that, on certain conditions, to become the subject of a negotiation and treaty, his master should have the throne of Spain restored to him.

The Duke immediately repaired to Valencay with Count Laforet, the plenipotentiary of Buonaparte; and the unfortunate Ferdinand, persuaded by his minister, soon afterwards ratified the treaty, which recognized him as a legitimate monarch. He engaged to pay the deposed King Charles the Fourth a pension of four millions of reals; to exchange, without loss of time, the French prisoners of war, at that time in Spain, for an equal number of Spaniards, who were in France and England; to restore the property, revenue, dignity, employment, and pension of every Spaniard, who had declared against his country in favor of France; and finally, to cause the evacuation of Spain by the troops of his Britannic Majesty. This treaty, dictated by the oppressor to the oppressed, was signed at Valencay on the 11th of December.

It was not for his own safety alone, that Napoleon adopted this great retrograde measure. Being all at once arrested in his diabolical plan of subjugating Spain, he wished to disunite that abused country from its apparent ally and protector; thereby hoping to cover a whole nation with infamy, and detach it from the common cause of Europe. Hence he, who in 1808 had invaded the Peninsula by fraud, was now compelled, after a war of six years, to give way; and being unable to cope with military superiority, endeavoured to avail himself of such means as perfidy afforded. He fondly imagined that a bold

and generous nation, entrapped by his insidious propositions, would abjure those sentiments of abhorrence, and that determination as to revenge, which his perjuries and massacres had fixed in the heart of every true Spaniard. He had the audacity to think, that when he presented to Spain her injured king, he could disarm the resentment arising from his former conduct. At all events, he was convinced that if his project did not entirely succeed, he could throw into Spain the brand of discord.

The treaty of Valencay, however, was rendered nugatory, inasmuch as it was disapproved by the Cortes. It was not easy to abuse either this assembly, or the Regency. How, then, was their approbation to be procured? A decree, dated on the 1st of January 1811, had declared null and void all the acts and conventions, signed by the King during his captivity, whether in Spain or elsewhere. By a previous treaty with England, the Spanish nation was pledged not to conclude a separate peace. But Napoleon fancied that royal influence would remove every difficulty. Documents were previously reduced to form, which Ferdinand had only to sign; they were addressed to the Regency and Cortes, proclaiming the goodness and magnanimity of Napoleon, acknowledging the liberty and amusements which the king, as well as his brother and uncle had enjoyed at Valencay, and particularly recommending a prompt ratification of the treaty. The Duke de San

Carlos, was the bearer of these dispatches, and taking the road to Madrid with a French escort, reached the advanced guard of the Spanish army, when it was posted near Vich in Catalonia. After some difficulties in this quarter, he was permitted to continue his journey, and arrived at Madrid on the 6th of January. The object of his mission was already known there, and had excited the solicitude of those who were at the head of government, as well as the whole nation.

The Cortes, however, had agreed never to acknowledge any act of the king, so long as he remained under foreign influence; in addition to which, this assembly was not convened to open its session before the 15th of the month, and the intermediate committee, to whom the functions were confided from one session to another, refused to notice the treaty, alleging that an act of this nature exceeded its powers. Delays, therefore, ensued, though the circumstances were urgent.

Such were the political measures to which Buonaparte resorted, in hopes of paralyzing the offensive movement of Lord Wellington towards the provinces watered by the Adour and Garonne. This commander had not yet collected all his troops, nor his other means of attack. His army was cantoned behind the Nive, and had not made any decisive indication; while that of Marshal Soult was posted in advance of the intrenched camp at Bayonne, and his advanced guard occupied a feeble redoubt at Cambo.

It was important, on the part of Lord Wellington, that he should insure his movements by preventing any direct communication between the camp of Bayonne, and the French division stationed at Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port. It was also important that he should extend his cantonments further, in order to secure subsistence for his army, the arrivals by sea being in winter difficult and uncertain. Beyond all this, Lord Wellington also wished to ascertain, by accurate observations, the exact force of the French army, and the state of the public mind in the southern provinces; and finally, he wished his invasion to be the prelude of that intended by the grand allied army on the eastern frontier. All these motives influenced him as to making a decisive movement; and the cessation of rain, as well as the consequent state of the roads, allowing every thing to be prepared for the construction of bridges, he caused his troops to leave their cantonments on the 8th of December, and prescribed the following dispositions. General Hill, with the right wing, was ordered to effect the passage of the Nive at Cambo; and occupy the great road immediately. Then, seconded by the centre, under the command of Marshal Beresford, which was also to cross the Nive at Biaritz, he was to march straight on the French army, and attack it. At the same time, General Hope, who commanded the left wing, was to menace the intrenched camp of Bayonne, by the high road of Saint-Jean-de-Luz.

Two bridges of boats were thrown over the Nive to facilitate these movements; and Lord Wellington, after giving his final instructions, left his head-quarters at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, on the 9th of December at three o'clock in the morning for Ustaritz.

He reached that place at dawn of day, and at the moment that the sixth division, forming the advanced guard of the centre, was crossing the Nive. The same operation was also effected by General Hill, at Cambo, where General Foy made an intrepid resistance.

Marshal Soult, thus threatened with a general and combined attack, caused all his troops to fall back on the right bank of the river, and concentrated his army, amounting to fifty thousand men, at the distance of a league and a half from Bayonne, on a chain of hills which run parallel to the Adour; his left protected by that river, and his right resting on Villefranque, which is also itself upon the borders of the Nive. The attack began on this village, which was carried, as well as the neighbouring heights, by a Portuguese regiment, and some light battalions of English infantry. The elevated ground was retaken by the French; but it was again attacked, and at sun-set remained in the possession of Lord Wellington, whose army was so much impeded by the dreadful state of the roads, that the right wing did nothing beyond merely reaching the ground.

The left wing, however, had advanced by the

great road of Saint-Jean-de-Luz ; and General Hope, after having driven all the French posts before him, had reconnoitred the right of their camp, as well as the course of the Adour below Bayonne. In fact, he had approached so near to the ramparts of the place, that his troops had been fired upon.

Five Anglo Portuguese divisions, amounting to thirty thousand men, had now forced the passage of the Nive, and established themselves on the heights of Bessussary, Arcangues, and Barouillet. A Spanish division of infantry, under the orders of General Murillo, was stationed at Urcuray, to observe the movements of the French division, which General Paris commanded, and which had fallen back on Saint Palais.

It was Marshal Soult's intention to attack the allied army on the following day, and cause it to repent its temerity ; while Lord Wellington, on his part, had also determined to make a similar attack on the French army, posted between the Nive and Adour. At break of day he moved on Villefranque, where he discovered that Marshal Soult had retired from the positions occupied by his troops on the preceding day. The British General found it, therefore, necessary to be cautious as to his proceedings ; conceiving that his adversary wished to avail himself of the advantages offered by the bridge of Bayonne, and the facility with which he might cause troops to pass from one bank to the other, for the purpose of

attacking that wing of the English army, which remained alone upon the left of the Nive. The event proved the accuracy of Lord Wellington's surmise.

Marshal Soult, manœuvring with his whole force upon the left wing of Lord Wellington's army, easily drove in his advanced posts; soon after which, General Clauzel vehemently attacked the light division, stationed on the hill, and in the church of Arcangues; while General Reille, at the head of three divisions, fell on the woods of Barrouillet, where two divisions of the enemy were intrenched. The English General, Robinson, with a single brigade, sustained for above an hour all the efforts of this sharp assault, without losing an inch of ground; thus affording time, by his brave resistance, for other corps to arrive, which successively assumed the offensive. In the mean time, Lord Wellington had sent strong reinforcements to the assistance of his left; while on his right the assailants were received with equal vigour, and retired in great haste, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead.

These repeated, though fruitless attacks cost both armies much blood, nearly three thousand men being placed *hors de combat* on one part and the other. General Robinson was wounded while persevering in his glorious resistance; Lieutenant General Hope received a severe contusion; and Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd of the eighty-fourth English regiment was among the killed. Accor-

ding to accounts, (which are however, not strictly to be relied upon) there was no officer of consequence wounded in the French army, except General Villatte, who commanded the reserve.

This smart attack by the Duke of Dalmatia, on the left wing of the enemy, was meant to compel the retreat of the right, which Lord Wellington had posted beyond the Nive; but in spite of the most able dispositions, the object of Marshal Soult was not effected. After the action, and about nine o'clock at night, the French army was forsaken by two Nassau battalions and the Franckfort regiment. These German troops, having learnt from their commanders the result of the battle at Leipzig, and being placed opposite to the fourth English division in order to observe its movements, seized with eagerness the favorable opportunity, and passed over into the camp of the Allies, where they were received in the most cordial manner. On the following day they marched to a port, for the purpose of being conveyed towards the Rhine, burning with ardent determination in the cause of Europe.

The French army had fallen back within its lines, but had left some battalions opposed to the left of the English. On the 12th of December the divisions, under the command of General Boyer and Daricau renewed the attack; but Marshal Soult had no other object, in causing this measure to be adopted, than to draw the attention of Lord Wellington to a particular point. The latter com-

mander was not, however, so easily imposed upon, and the only English division, which entered into the engagement, was that of General Howard.

At the time that the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia affected a serious attack upon the left of the British army, he really intended to turn the right, and profiting by the darkness of night, passed through Bayonne, for the purpose of manœuvring with six divisions against the ten thousand men under General Hill, who were in a position upon the heights of Losterenia on the road to Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port; but before day broke, his design was discovered. Lord Wellington instantly detached the ninth division from the centre to reinforce his right wing, and ordered a further support by the fourth division, as well as two brigades of the third.

At this time, Count d'Erlon, who had four divisions of infantry a brigade of cavalry, and twenty-two pieces of ordnance under his command, impetuously attacked the troops of General Hill. General Abbé's division engaged in front of the position upon the great road; while that of General Daricau repaired to the right, for the purpose of turning the left wing of the enemy. At the same time, the tenth division, commanded by General Darnagnac, seized on the heights of Pathouhiria, and immediately took a direction towards Saint-Jean-le-Vieux-Mougère; but at every point the English troops retained their firmness. A brigade of infantry, under Major General

Byng, supported by the Portuguese brigade of General Buchan, retook the hill on the right of the position, and kept it in spite of the efforts and fire of the French. The English and Portuguese troops rivalled each other in ardour and devotion. Reinforcements having been sent by Lord Wellington to General Hill, Marshal Soult perceived that his skilful adversary was constantly opposing to him fresh troops; in consequence of which he ordered the divisions of Generals Foy and Maransin to fall into the line. The contest was prolonged with a great effusion of blood, and equal bravery on both sides, all the attacks being furious, particularly on the high road. The French army returned three distinct times to the charge, and were three times driven back by the continued fire of musketry and artillery, as well as repeated onsets of cavalry, whenever the nature of the ground would admit of this effort. The English infantry stood immovable in its position, and ready at all times to receive the assailants at the point of the bayonet; who, being at length discouraged by this invincible resistance, faced about.

For nine hours the armies had maintained the conflict between the Nive and Adour, with the heroic determination, and impetuosity, felt by two nations, who rival each other in valour and glory.

The four sanguinary days, above described (viz. from the ninth to the thirteenth of December) had rendered nearly fifteen thousand men *hors de combat*. Never, during the war of the Peninsula

had so many dead bodies been observed after an action. In the attack of the thirteenth alone, which was, however, the most destructive of them, the French lost nearly five thousand men, killed and wounded ; among the latter were the Generals of brigade Maucune and Maucombe. The English army, being protected by its positions, had only two thousand men *hors de combat* after all the battles.

Thus did two rival armies, which had for five years disputed the possession of the Peninsula, begin to try their strength against each other upon French ground. Throughout the 14th of December they reciprocally observed each other.

Having failed in all his attempts to dislodge the British army, Marshal Soult found himself obliged to retire within his camp, under Boulogne. He had manœuvred skilfully on both the wings of the enemy, hoping to force the weakest points of the line ; but all his combinations were counteracted by the vigilance and penetration of his adversary.

Lord Wellington was fully convinced that the French army, supported as it was by heroic valour, and the firmness of its leader, would be unassailable in its present intrenched position ; and that greater exertions, than had ever yet been made, would be necessary before he could succeed in forcing the barriers, which had not been assailed during so many ages. He therefore advanced the whole of his cavalry, as if intending to occupy the

entire country between the Nive and the Adour, and in like manner he rallied his reserves of infantry, manifesting a design of investing Bayonne:

The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, expecting a general attack, immediately caused the right bank of the Adour, and both banks of the Bidassoa to be occupied. At the same moment, his brother, General Soult, moved with part of the French cavalry to Hasparen, where he found the Spanish division of General Murillo posted on Mount Chouchi.

The Anglo-Portuguese army, reinforced by the divisions of Galicia and Andalusia occupied the following positions towards the end of December. The right wing was stationed between the Adour and the Nive, commanding the navigation of those two rivers; the centre and left were between the Nive and the sea. The communication between the different parts of the army was maintained by two bridges. One division was cantoned at Ustaritz, and another at Villefranque; the extremity of the left stretched to the sea at the Arcangues, and that of the right rested on the Adour. Thus the army described an arch from the sea in advance of Biarritz, to the Adour in advance of Home. The country on the right was open to it. The inhabitants, tranquil and protected at their fire-sides, brought subsistence and forage to the enemy of their own accord, for which they were paid on the spot, not a single ration being demanded of them;

and every person was at liberty to pass from one place to another, as if during a period of profound peace.

A proclamation by Lord Wellington fixed the conditions, upon which maritime commerce was to resume its vigour in the ports of French-Navarre, to the south of the Adour.

Marshal Soult's army neither displayed so brilliant an appearance, nor adopted so liberal a line of conduct. It was confined within a narrow compass round Bayonne, and drained the adjoining provinces by forced requisitions, which produced bitter complaints. Incensed at these exactions, the inhabitants accused the soldiery of committing, in their native country, the same excesses which had so often caused their presence to be deplored in the Peninsula.

Napoleon, in the mean time, carefully concealed the information he received as to the state of hostilities, never publishing any of the dispatches, which were transmitted by Marshal Soult. All that was allowed to appear consisted of some vague and mutilated reports, from which no tolerable judgment could be formed respecting the battles on the Adour. The better to disguise the real situation of affairs, the two prime supporters of Buonaparte's power were brought into play—exaggeration and imposition. The intelligence was dated from the frontiers of Spain, and ran thus: “Lord Wellington has entirely failed in his attempts to force the passage of the Adour, invest Bayonne,

and march on Bourdeaux. The battles, which have been fought from the 9th to the 13th of December have terminated to his disadvantage, and he has lost fifteen thousand men ; whereas the French army has not experienced a diminution of four thousand. Consternation prevails through the British army ; and Lord Wellington now confines his pretensions to the defence of his line by intrenchments in every part. His situation becomes more and more critical ; his army is in want of subsistence ; his convoys have been exposed to a storm, and wrecked upon the coast of Landes, where our detachments are collecting the cargoes. Moreover, a serious misunderstanding exists between the English and Spanish troops." To this statement was added : " Bayonne is at present one of the most formidable bulwarks of the Empire."

It is true that a numerous garrison defended that place. Three divisions, under the command of Count Reille, occupied the intrenched camp, and employed themselves in finishing the works ; General Clauzel, with three other divisions, was on the left bank of the Bidassoa ; and another corps covered the banks of the Adour. On the 20th of December Marshal Soult quitted the lines of Bayonne, and transferred his head-quarters to Peyrehorade ; that he might be at hand to direct the movements of the army on the right flank of the enemy. General Harispe, who was employed in organizing the newly-raised levy of the Basques, had taken the command of the left extremity, resting

on Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port. This army also described an arch from Bayonne to the foot of the Pyrenees.

Being convinced that Bayonne and the Adour were sufficiently protected, the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia caused the divisions of General Clauzel to advance from behind the Joyeuse. On the 3rd of January this commander drove in the English piquets, which were posted between the rivers Joyeuse and Bidassoa; and turning the right of General Buchan's Portuguese brigade on the heights of Costa, compelled it to engage and retreat towards Brisson. He also stationed two divisions of infantry upon the heights of Clarence. At the same time, General Paris approached Boulac, where the enemy had a strong detachment. Lord Wellington's whole line was now annoyed by the French light horse. He therefore hastened from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, immediately joined the right and centre of his army, forming a line on Hasparen, and made every necessary arrangement for an advance.

On the 4th of January he reconnoitred the French army; and the 5th was employed in manœuvring on both sides. Bad weather, and the swollen state of the rivers obliged his Lordship to defer his movement another day. On the 6th the third and fourth English divisions, commanded by Generals Cole and Picton, who were supported by the Portuguese brigade, and the cavalry of General Fane, deployed at three o'clock in the afternoon, and attacked a battalion of the sixth French

division, which was stationed in front of the Clarence position before mentioned, and which immediately fell back, but in good order. The two armies remained in the presence of each other till the next morning, viz the 7th of January. At ten o'clock the battle appeared to be on the point of commencing; but some particular reasons must have induced both the commanders to abstain from measuring their strength in a general engagement; and they confined themselves to the act of replacing their advanced posts in the station, which each had before occupied.

About this time, a report was spread through the south of France and Paris itself, that Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult had held a secret conference near Mandioudé. The particulars of their discussion have only been stated on conjecture; and as I have not been able to obtain any authentic information upon the subject, I simply mention the fact, without entering into any particulars.

Lord Wellington returned on the 7th to Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and the Duke of Dalmatia to Bayonne. The divisions of Generals Leval, Maransin, and Abbé occupied the intrenched camp. General Boyer's division was stationed at Tamos and Saint-Etienne. General Clauzel moved his force on Guiche and James, in order to arrest the progress of the English foragers, who extended themselves in search of provisions, between the Bidassoa and the little river Laran.

Local difficulties, which during a rainy season were insurmountable, added to politic motives, induced Lord Wellington to pursue his offensive operations no further; and the two commanders-in-chief, waiting the issue of events as to the invasion on the eastern frontier, remained in their respective cantonments, confining themselves to skirmishes, or partial attempts.

At this period, the approach of danger and the necessity of surrounding himself with tried troops, determined Napoleon to detach from Marshal Soult's army two divisions, of twelve thousand men, who took a division from the Adour towards the Loire with all possible speed. They were only succeeded by conscripts and raw recruits. On the contrary, Lord Wellington's army was every day increased by the successive arrival of his cavalry, and the Spanish reserves.

By a decree, dated on the 8th of January, Napoleon ordered a levy *en masse* in the departments of the higher and lower Pyrenees, the organization of which troops he confided to the general of division Harispe. This officer possessed a high military character, and was sent against the Spanish corps of the celebrated Mina; who had penetrated by the valley of Bastan into that Baigorri, and as far as Saint-Etienne. General Harispe, at the head of his troops, attacked Mina's foragers at Ossez on the 8th of January and drove them vigorously back, without allowing them to carry any thing away from the valley. On the 18th he received infor-

mation that Mina now meant to forage towards Lan-hossoa and Macaye. He therefore left his head quarters at Irisari with six companies of picked men, fell on the Spaniards unexpectedly, and took from them thirty four prisoners, as well as forty horses and mules. On the 11th he repaired to Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, where two cohorts of the National Guards were assembled, and on the following day sallied for the third time against Mina, whose advanced guard had moved from Baigorry to Saint-Etienne. General Harispe's column was supported by a body of troops under Colonel Lalane, and by General Taupin's division, which advanced to Hellette for the purpose of seconding his movement. At the approach of this formidable body, Mina again fell back on Bastan by the right defile of Ispeguy. Thus the hopes were realized, which the arrival of General Harispe in the Basques had excited in the minds of his countrymen ; and he drove the enemy out of the valley of Baigorry. In another quarter, General Soult, who commanded the light horse, fixed his head quarters at Saint-Martin d'Arbeson ; and his troops occupied Hellette, Saint-Esteben, Bouloc, and Aylsere, thus covering the left of the army.

The Spaniards, however, were not discouraged, and on the 20th of January projected a foraging expedition of considerable magnitude in the valley of Ossez, between Saint-Martin-d'Arrosa and Bedarry. Their active opponent General Harispe received intimation of their design, and caused Colonel Lalane to march from Horca, at the head of the National Guards raised in the lower Pyre-

nees, with orders to stretch along the right bank of the Nive, while the General himself moved on the left bank with the *voltigeurs*, the *chasseurs* of the twenty-first regiment, and the new levies of the Basques. Scarcely had he debouched from Saint-Martin-d'Arosa, when he was attacked by the Spanish troops of Murillo, which covered the foraging party. The French sustained the shock with firmness; and in spite of their numerical inferiority, assumed the offensive, fell on the foragers, and took a hundred prisoners, as well as sixty mules and horses. After having pushed half way between Baigorry and Itsatsu, the General returned into his cantonments; and thus ended the petty war of the Basques. The campaign of the South supplied events more worthy of detail.

In vain did Napoleon, for the purpose of separating the interests of the continent from the cause of Spain, appear to the latter country in the attitude of a suppliant, who solicited peace. In vain did he offer, while he presented the olive-branch, to recognize the independence of the Peninsula. The Spanish nation hesitated, because it was Napoleon who pretended to gratify their wishes. Could they so soon forget that it was he, who had deprived them of their king and government; that he had insulted them by placing one of his brothers on the throne, against the will of the nation; and that he had proclaimed those Spaniards to be rebellious traitors, who didaining to obey this regal puppet, had courageously taken up arms? Had he not caused those to be massacred,

who were faithful to the cause of their country? Had he not caused the peasants to be cut in pieces, and desolated the country? Had he not converted the pillage of Spain into a regular revenue, which occupied a place in his financial budget?

What a painful alternative for so generous a nation! Buonaparte wished to restore the king, whom they loyally respected, and they perceived that a snare was laid for them if they accepted his proposition. What was his object in taking this retrograde political step? It was to separate Spain from England, to preserve his southern provinces, to have the means of opposing the Northern league with a hundred thousand more men, and to make Spain the victim of his tortuous combinations, when he had succeeded in conquering his enemies.

This insidious project was, however, defeated by the salutary slowness of the Cortes and Regency. At the present period, Napoleon, imagining that even his most absurd calumnies would obtain credit, accused Lord Wellington of aspiring to the throne of Spain. Defamation and the vilest intrigues were resorted to for the purpose of disuniting that nation, and alienating it from its generous allies. Lord Wellington opposed to the envenomed statements of Buonaparte the integrity of his conduct, the modesty of his virtues, and the splendour of his talents. It was by no means difficult, on his part, to disarm envy, and confound imposition. At length the Cortes and Regency entered into the negociations of Valençay, and

thus avowed their sentiments. "You are willing to restore our legitimate sovereign," said they to Buonaparte. "We shall receive him with transport; but we wish that he may return alone, disengaged from all political influence, and entirely freed from his claims. If you really are disposed to recognize our independence, it is also necessary that you restore the portion of our territory, which you still occupy in Catalonia, as well as the strong places, which are still in possession of your troops."

This appeal surrounded the crafty despot, as it were, with the circle of Popilius. Caught in his own snare, he hesitated in his turn, not perceiving in these conditions any opening for the accomplishment of his perfidious designs; but pressed as he was by danger, he determined not to shrink from the attempt. Accordingly, he summoned from his place of exile the illustrious defender of Saragossa, Don Joseph Palafox, whom he had first outraged, and ever since detained as a prisoner. He announced to this noble patriot that he had selected him to be a principal instrument in the restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh. Palafox was then charged with the office of taking to Madrid the articles, which had been added to the Treaty of Valençay. He arrived at Vich, in Catalonia, escorted by fifty French *cuirassiers*; and immediately dispatched an extraordinary courier to the Regency of the kingdom. His mission had evidently the same object in view as that of the Duke

de San Carlos. Report stated that one of the additional articles, which he brought, commanded Marshal Suchet to evacuate the places occupied by the French in Catalonia, on condition that the English acted similarly as to the rest of Spain. Lord Wellington instantly ordered the most unrestricted restitution of every town in the Peninsula, such as Cadiz, Carthagena, &c. which the English and Spaniards had jointly occupied for the general defence. This solitary measure, dictated by the most upright policy, would doubtless have been sufficient to counteract the calumnies, propagated by Buonaparte against Lord Wellington, had they ever possessed any weight in the opinion of the world.

The negotiations at Valençay assumed an appearance the most promising as to the happiness and prosperity of Spain. The delays, on the part of Napoleon, in releasing Ferdinand, had no foundation but in his ever-restless ambition, and the hope, which he cherished, of again having it in his power to oppress the continent. His negotiations were always stratagems to entrap those, with whom he treated. It was impossible to subdue him but by the sword; and that of Wellington was destined to inflict the blows, which he most acutely felt.

At this time, his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas, his principal gentleman-usher, as well as the Duke of

Guiche, and Count d'Escars, faithful companions of the illustrious Bourbons during their long and painful exile. So happy an arrival soon changed the aspect of the war, and stamped a sacred character on the operations of Lord Wellington. It was then that a Bourbon, as he first placed his foot upon French soil, might have used the words, which the first of the Valois addressed to a Castellan : " Open your gates—the fortune of France claims admittance."

Lord Wellington, with a numerous suite, hastened to compliment the august descendant of Henry the Fourth, who received the homage of profound respect from the inhabitants of Cibourre and Saint-Jean-de-Luz.

The first sentiments of the Prince were declared in favour of the French army ; and his Royal Highness expressed them in the noblest manner by the following proclamation :

" Soldiers, I am arrived. I am in France—that country, which is so dear to me. I come to break your chains—I come to display the white ensign, devoid of stain, which your forefathers followed with so much transport. Rally round it, valiant Frenchmen ; and let us all march together for the purpose of overturning tyranny. Generals, officers, soldiers ! To all who range themselves under the banners of the *fleurs-de-lis*, I guarantee, in the name of the king my uncle, who has deputed me to make known his paternal intentions, your rank, your pay and rewards proportionate to the fidelity of your services.—

Soldiers, it is the descendant of Henry the Fourth, it is the husband of a Princess, whose misfortunes are unequalled, but whose only wishes are for the prosperity of France; it is a Prince, who forgetting, in imitation of your King, all his own sufferings, and mindful only of your's, now throws himself with confidence into your arms.—Soldiers, my hope will be realized. I am the son of your kings, and you are Frenchmen.”

A proclamation, so generous and affecting, could not fail to re-animate, in the south of France, the sentiments of loyalty and attachment, which had so long been dormant; but which all the infamous efforts of despotism and terror had been unable to destroy. It was sufficient that the intentions of his Royal Highness were announced; though Lord Wellington, fettered by the dictates of an uncertain and timid policy, found himself under the necessity of intreating his Royal Highness, when he arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, not to adopt any title, or public designation; adding that his Lordship could not recognize the Prince in any character beyond that of a volunteer, serving in his army. In the South as in the North, the determination of the Allies, with regard to the Bourbons, was subordinate to the wish which the French might manifest. But could a nation, groaning under the weight of infamous oppression, express its wish? Was it not also prevented by the negotiations pending between the powers of Europe and Napoleon? When placed between a

tyrant and exterior enemies, a nation cannot be expected to brave every danger by avowing its sentiments. Nothing, however, can intimidate men, who are passionately devoted to their legitimate Princes. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, a worthy brother of the illustrious La Vendée Generalissimo, had long cherished an ardent desire to give the first signal for the restoration. He incessantly traversed Guienne and La Vendée, where the unblemished name of Rochejaquelein could in a moment assemble forty thousand royalists under the standard of honour. He had been known, during a year of scarcity, to sell his corn at an insignificant price, in order to augment the number of the king's partisans. Surrounded as he was with universal respect, he naturally became the mover of the royalists in Poitou and Medoc, where his property and personal connexions gave him great influence. Revered and beloved wherever he went, he was, moreover, seconded by faithful friends, by the Marchioness Donnissan, his mother-in-law, and by his lady, a widow of the celebrated Lescure, and celebrated herself from her misfortunes during the civil wars, as well as her elevation of character, and superiority of mind. Every where the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein proclaimed the decline of Buonaparte's power, and inculcated the hope that the Bourbons might be re-established on the throne of their forefathers. During the month of March, 1813, M. de Latour, who had been sent to France by the King, had a

conference with the Marquis at Bourdeaux, and assured him that his Majesty relied on his devotion to the cause of the exiled family.

At the period, to which I have just referred, an immense confederacy was formed by the royalists in the very centre of Napoleon's despotic power; extending its ramifications under the auspices of the Dukes de la Tremouille, Fitzjames, and Duras, Messieurs de Polignac, Ferrand, Adrian de Montmorency, and other zealous partizans of the legitimate dynasty. The conferences, in the interest of this sacred cause, was opened at the Castle of Ussé, in Touraine, an estate belonging to the Duke de Duras, by M. Adrian de Montmorency, the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, and M. de la Ville de Beaugé, one of the most ancient officers of La Vendée. The last-mentioned gentleman was charged with the office of superintending all the secret correspondence, which was invariably managed by personal interview, and on no account committed to paper. At the meetings, which were most adroitly contrived, every measure was decided by verbal vote. On one occasion it was resolved to liberate Ferdinand the Seventh; but more urgent interests, and the negotiations, which were begun at Valençay, induced the Royalists to abandon the project. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein repaired to Tours, for the purpose of sounding the guard of honour, which he dared not entrust with the secret of the confederacy, though he found these young military men favorably disposed to-

wards the royal cause. Every one was then anxiously awaiting the result of the campaign of 1813; and the exclamation of "*Buonaparte has recrossed the Rhine*" had scarcely been repeated from one extremity of France to the other, when the royalists, in the east and south, gave way to the ardent hope of an approaching revolution. The sacred fire was yet, in some degree, confined to La Vendée and Bourdeaux; but was soon destined to spread rapidly over the whole surface of the kingdom. Bourdeaux was one of the towns, which had most felt the galling yoke of Buonaparte. A witness, as it were, of the perfidious and horrible scenes which had occurred at Bayonne, a victim of the despotic and insensate measures which were fatal to Europe, Bourdeaux saw its ports shut, and its commerce annihilated. Its inhabitants had possessed opportunities of more accurately knowing, than the rest of their countrymen, how great Buonaparte's losses had been in the Peninsula. All the troops, which he sent to Spain, passed through Bourdeaux, and the greater part never returned. Their places were supplied by long columns of Spanish prisoners, the victims of loyalty, fidelity, and honour, who, as they passed through Bayonne and Bourdeaux, exclaimed: "We fight for God and the king!" The example of the Spaniards, thus united to repel the tyrant, and reinstate the Bourbon family, roused the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, and displayed to them, at a distance, the glorious perspective of

Guienne and La Vendée in arms, demanding that the descendants of Henry the Fourth should be restored to them. M. Taffard de Saint-Germain, who was honored with the confidence of the King, and who was his commissary at Bourdeaux, was at the head of an association there, which comprehended a large number in every rank of life. A great proportion of mechanics belonged to it; and their zeal appeared the more praiseworthy because it was disinterested. The prudence and devotion to the cause, by which M. Taffard was characterized, could not fail to inspire general confidence and determined unanimity. The Chevalier de Gombault was also at the head of an association for the same loyal purpose; and others were spontaneously formed, all of which soon recognized the authority of the king's commissary. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein was particularly attached to the association of the Chevalier de Gombault; but his views and hopes centred still more in La Vendée. The zeal and ardour of his proceedings could not escape the spies of a dark and uneasy police; in consequence of which an order was issued for his arrest. Notice of this proscription having been given to him by the Mayor of Bourdeaux, he escaped pursuit by concealing himself among his relations and friends; and it was in vain that he became an object of the severest researches. Whilst thus proscribed and secreted, he received from the royalists of Bourdeaux, the most affecting testimony of interest

and regard. Without losing any portion of his native energy, he silently renewed the thread of his connexion with La Vendée, burning with eagerness to repair thither. The better to pave the way for effecting the great object in contemplation, he sent the Abbé Jacault to that quarter, with particular instructions ; directing him likewise to visit Paris, and confer with the principal members of the secret confederacy. This ecclesiastic was one of the most enlightened men in La Vendée, and formerly secretary to the superior council in that district. He faithfully executed his mission, while similar preparations were made by other active, ardent royalists. So rapidly did the sacred cause spread, and so deeply did it fix its roots, that an immense population was ready to rise in different provinces, at the moment that a signal was given by the leader, appointed to direct their movements ; and in addition to this vast force, the royalists in Brittany could rely upon the aid of thirty thousand Spanish prisoners, who only asked for arms that they might join the royal army whenever it assembled. The Duke de Berry was now anxiously expected on the French coast, to assist in regenerating this glorious sensation of national honour.

Being certain of the widely-extended influence which the confederacy had now acquired, and being convinced that the state of military events demanded prompt co-operation, the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein adopted the bold resolution of

going to Saint-Jean-de-Luz, after having held a secret conference with the royalists at Bourdeaux. It was during his short stay in this city that he determined to make M. Lynch, the mayor, acquainted with his intention. The opinions of this worthy man upon the subject were well known, and his authority might be of great weight when the important effort was made. When the Marquis revealed to him the existence of an enormous and regularly organized party in favour of the ancient family, he seemed to be transported by the enthusiasm, which at once animated him, and throwing himself into the arms of the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, exclaimed: " My friend, you have not a partizan more devoted to the cause. It is I—it is the Mayor of Bourdeaux, who aspires to the honour of being the first to proclaim Louis XVIII."

This secret intention had long existed in the mind of M. Lynch. He had been to Paris in November, at the head of a deputation from Bourdeaux to Buonaparte; he had witnessed, on the spot, the frightful deformity of that despot's government; he had probed all the wounds, under which he saw unhappy France suffering; and no remedy occurred to him as likely to be efficacious, except the restoration of the legitimate dynasty. After having consulted, therefore, with those two staunch royalists, Messieurs Labarthe and Polignac, he had left Paris for Bourdeaux, with a fixed de-

termination to do his utmost in behalf of justice and honour.

The other royalists of Bourdeaux now concerted with M. Lynch a definite plan for insuring the success of a cause, which was the constant object of their solicitude and prayers. They saw Lord Wellington hold Marshal Soult's army in check, while Napoleon himself was so closely pressed by the armies of the European confederation, that it would be impossible for him to send a single man against the insurgents of Bourdeaux. They were also the more anxious to take a decisive step, in as much as a great internal commotion might have a favorable effect towards suspending the negotiation at Chatillon, which caused great uneasiness to the royalists.

A British fleet of considerable force had anchored near the Isle of Aix, and might make a powerful diversion; but the principal portion of the Bourdeaux confederacy hesitated as to thus placing themselves at the mercy of England. "If the British government," said they, "wishes to convert Guienne into an English province, nothing must be expected of us. The first duty of a real royalist is to be a Frenchman and a patriot." It was easy, however, for the enlightened members of the confederacy to dissipate such unjust suspicions, and to prove that, without the co-operation of England, the restoration would be impossible. "Has not this power alone," said they, "by making the

empire of the ocean a balance against that of the earth, been able to defy the efforts of Napoleon? Has it not saved from his furious grasp a virgin land, where the hope of France may germinate, and preserve, till better times shall arrive, the liberty expelled for the present from Europe? England alone has, by conquests profitable to the vanquished, snatched from Buonaparte's rapacity the colonies which he would otherwise have treated like the mother country. England alone has preserved the Spaniards and Portuguese from an ignominious and detestable yoke, by rousing the energy of the Peninsula. Is it not England too, which has reanimated the rest of the continental nations, depressed and disheartened as they were; uniting them by the ties of common interest, and reconstructing, from the ruins of Europe, a vast and solid edifice, cemented by her gold? Is it not England too, which has restored to France the august husband of a princess, whose name excites such regard and regret? Yes. England, in spite of our tumultuous proceedings, has preserved for prosperous times the precious relics of Saint Louis. It is on her shores that we seek the royal fugitive, who is a conqueror without resorting to arms or vengeance, and comes to receive from a repentant nation the sceptre of his ancestors."

These unanswerable arguments carried conviction to every mind. The royalists of Bourdeaux had only to complete their plan, and put it in execution. The immediate neighbourhood of the

allied army was indispensable. It was, therefore, agreed that deputies should be sent without delay to his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême, and Lord Wellington ; with a request that the British commander would detach about three thousand men to support the cause, of whom only a thousand were to enter Bourdeaux. This number appeared sufficient, both to arrest, at the moment, all the agents of Buonaparte, and to overpower those, who were inimical to the restoration. The rest of the troops, which public report would not fail to describe as much more numerous, were to post themselves at a certain distance from the city, and protect it ; while the organized royalists, supported by the English advanced guard, and probably by the faithful subjects of Medoc, as well as the neighbouring departments, were to support the movement, and insure the triumph of the royal cause. This plan, however, was subordinate to military events, and consequently liable to modifications. M. Bontemps du Barry undertook to convey the dispatches from the royal committee of Bourdeaux to Louis XVIII ; and repaired to Paris, in the hope of obtaining a passport to England as a merchant. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein hastened his preparations, wishing to proceed by sea to Saint-Jean-de-Luz, for the purpose of waiting upon the Duke d'Angoulême, receiving the commands of his royal highness, and offering profound homage on the part of Bourdeaux.

Thus Europe was about to experience an irrefragable proof that there existed, even in the heart of France itself, a numerous party faithful to the cause of the king, and waiting only for the moment, at which they could declare their sentiments.

CHAPTER XIII.

Description of the Theatre of War in the South—Offensive movements of Lord Wellington—Investment of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port and Navarreins—The Army of the South falls back, and concentrates at Orthes—Battle of Orthes—Defeat of Marshal Soult—The British Flotilla forces the passage of the Adour—Lieutenant-General Hope crosses that River below Bayonne—Investment of Bayonne—Saint-Sever, Aires, and Mont-de-Marsan are taken—Proclamation of Marshal Soult—Retreat of the Army of the South towards Tarbes—March of Marshal Beresford on Bourdeaux—Louis XVIII. is proclaimed at that place—Memorable Entry of the Duke d'Angoulême into Bourdeaux.

At the moment that the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, accompanied by M. Queyriaux, was going on board the vessel, which was to convey them to Saint-Jean-de-Luz, the guards, who had been examining it, were returning to the shore. He avoided them as far as he was able, and escaped without being recognized. After having encountered a thousand dangers, he set sail, steered towards the South, and cast anchor in the port of Passage; whence he repaired with all possible speed to the Duke d'Angoulême at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, who, thinking himself forgotten by the French, was on the point of returning to England. With what pleasure did the Prince hear the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein's account of the favorable disposition towards the cause of the Bourbons, manifested by the city of Bourdeaux, and particularly the attachment of the worthy

mayor M. Lynch. On the following day, two other deputies from the Royalists, Viscount de Boisset and the Chevalier Okelli, arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz from Toulouse, on a similar mission. His Royal Highness could no longer entertain a doubt as to the loyal intentions of Languedoc and Guienne. He therefore dispatched the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, which were removed to Garris. His Lordship received the Marquis with marked distinction; but, being aware that negotiations with Buonaparte were actively on foot in the North, he abstained from engaging in a hazardous enterprise; being like the rest of Europe, quite mistaken as to the strength of the royalists, and considering them as almost powerless. This erroneous opinion the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein endeavoured to remove, by disclosing to Lord Wellington the existence of a regularly organised confederation at Bourdeaux, in La Vendée, at Toulouse, and in various other districts. He engaged that Bourdeaux would declare itself the moment that the Duke d'Angoulême approached; and intreated the illustrious general to make an attack on all points, for the purpose of affording the royalists an opportunity to act. Whether this frank avowal had any influence with Lord Wellington, or he had previously formed a plan of attack upon the whole French line, he positively promised that he would soon advance, saying: "Remain a few days longer at my head quarters,

and you shall soon see me master of the principal streams, which fall into the Adour."

With this view he actively hastened his preparations. But what obstacles were to be surmounted, and how little did they accord with the lively impatience, felt by the inhabitants of Guienne and Languedoc ! Towards the Eastern Pyrenees, the country descends in a gentle slope to the plains of Languedoc ; but the portion, nevertheless, which stretches to the left, from the Pyrenees to the Adour, is intersected with hills and deep vallies, which are, during winter, inundated by rapid torrents. Beyond the Adour is that vast tract of barren land, known by the appellation of the *Landes de Bayonne*. Such ground naturally afforded the greatest advantages to the French army, which could, by a judicious choice of positions, arrest the progress of the enemy at every step. The Adour itself was an almost insurmountable obstacle, from its width and swollen state, as well as from the formidable force and scientific general, employed in defending the passage. If Lord Wellington attempted to advance above Bayonne, he would be destined to encounter still greater difficulties ; for he would in that case be obliged to cross several rivers, smaller than the Adour, no doubt, but still not fordable during the rainy season ; while the same causes rendered the roads impassable for his artillery and baggage. If he attempted to advance below Bayonne, the difficulty was immense ; for he would be obliged

to construct a bridge above four hundred yards long, in spite of an active and numerous garrison which might, by merely floating large pieces of timber on the Adour, break the bridge to pieces, in the very face of the enemy. It was in such a country, however, and defended by such an adversary, that Lord Wellington determined to extend his operations from the foot of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Garonne. He resolved to cross the Adour below Bayonne, if possible: and at all events to manœuvre, for the purpose of driving Marshal Soult's army from the left bank, and effecting his passage above Bayonne, if the other proved to be impracticable. But since the beginning of February, excessive falls of rain had raised the streams of the Garonne, and the Adour to such a height, that the English army felt, as it were imprisoned in its cantonments. On the eleventh, however, a fair interval occurred, and Lord Wellington put his army in motion without delay.

On the 14th his right, commanded by General Hill, drove in the French piquets, which were stationed on the river Joyeuse, and attacked the position of Halette, from which General Harispe was dislodged, and fell back towards Saint-Martin. On the same day, the Spanish troops, under General Mina, advanced on Baigorri and Bidarrey, from their cantonments in the valley of Bastan. By this combined movement, Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, having no longer any communication with the Duke of Dalmatia's army, was blockaded by Mina.

The left wing of the French army, being pressed by General Hill, took a position in front of Garris, where General Harispe was reinforced by General Paris ; the latter having been suddenly recalled, while on his march to the interior of France.

While General Hill effected his offensive movement, for the purpose of opening to the army all the country on the right, the Spanish division of General Murillo repulsed, in the same direction, the advanced posts opposed to him. He then marched towards Saint-Palais, by a chain of hills parallel to the position occupied by the French, and turned their left, with a view to cut off their retreat, in which he was seconded by the tenth English division, under General Stewart, who made dispositions to attack them in front. These simultaneous movements were executed with so much precision and valour, that the position, though singularly strong, was obtained by the Allies without much loss. General Harispe and General Paris made reiterated efforts to regain it, but these were fruitless, though they caused the loss of several brave men. Major-General Pringle and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnes, were severely wounded.

The right of Lord Wellington's centre having made a movement, which corresponded with that of the right wing, the English advanced posts took a station on the river Bidassoa towards the evening of the 13th. The French divisions fell back, during the night, towards Saint Palais, and de-

stroyed the bridges ; but these were immediately repaired, and the gallant commander continued his offensive movement as far as the mouth of the Mauleon. There the French hoped to arrest his progress by breaking the bridge of Ariverette ; but a ford was discovered above the bridge, and the ninety-second English regiment, supported by the fire of flying artillery, effected their passage. They then attacked with great intrepidity two French battalions, which were posted in the village, and which, on being thus assailed by superior numbers, abandoned it.

Part of Marshal Soult's left wing, being forced to yield the ground, retired during the night from Oleron, and took a strong position near Sauveterre, where it was reinforced by fresh troops, under the command of General Clauzel. On the 18th of February the advanced posts of the allied army established themselves at Oleron, that they might be ready to march forward.

Annoyed by the consequences of a combined movement, which threatened to destroy his left wing, and force all the passages above Bayonne, the Duke of Dalmatia withdrew his troops from their intrenched camp, to face Lord Wellington in his transverse direction. But while the British commander pushed his right wing forward, his real plan was to effect the passage of the river by his left below Bayonne, under the protection of a fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Penrose, which was moored at the mouth of the river.

All the preparations for this grand attempt were completed. The bridge was placed under the protection of twenty-seven vessels, furnished with anchors and cables of extraordinary thickness; but the garrison of Bayonne, as had been conjectured, made attempts, under the guidance of General Abbé, to destroy the works, by throwing immense pieces of timber into the Adour. Among these, two enormous trees were united, and every thing was in readiness to launch them, when the wind shifted round, and prevented the sailing of the flotilla. Lord Wellington saw the necessity of deferring the operation, and returning to his right wing, committed the passage of the Adour to Lieutenant-General Hope.

On his arrival at Garris, which took place on the 21st of February, Lord Wellington ordered the sixth and light infantry divisions to cease the blockade of Bayonne, and Don Manuel Freyre to advanced his cantonments towards Irun, that he might be prepared to push forward, while the left of the army passed the Adour. The pontoons for the columns of attack were collected at Garris, and Lord Wellington threw a bridge over the outlet of Olerons, at the same place in which Cæsar had fixed one nine centuries before.

On the 24th General Hill passed at Villenave, in the presence of Lord Wellington, while General Picton effected an attack upon the French division which defended Sauveterre, and induced Marshal

Soult to destroy the bridge in that quarter. At the same time, Don Pueblo Murillo, with his division, repulsed the advanced posts of the French near Navarreins, and blockaded that place.

The centre of the Allied army, which, since the movement of the right wing remained in observation upon the lower Bidassoa, had, on the preceding evening, under the direction of Marshal Beresford, attacked two French divisions in their fortified posts at Hastings and Oryergave, on the left bank of Pau, and had obliged them to fall back on the tête-du-pont of Peyrehorade. Since the passage had been effected by the right wing over the outlet of Oleron, Generals Hill and Clinton had advanced towards Sauveterre and Orthes.

Thus the centre and right of Lord Wellington's army, after having passed five rivers, and forced every position, made it necessary that the French army should look for still stronger protection. In the night of the 23d to the 24th, therefore, the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia withdrew his troops from Sauveterre ; and after having destroyed all the bridges, concentrated his army before the little town of Orthes, situated on the slope of a hill, the foot of which is watered by the same little river that passes Pau.

A decisive battle was inevitable. The gallant Wellington wished it, in order that he might march to the conquest of Bourdeaux and Toulouse ; while

Marshal Soult, on his part, felt the necessity of a general action, for the purpose of opposing the invasion, and preserving the magazines on the Adour.

The allied army's columns of attack put themselves in motion on the morning of the 26th. Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton passed the outlet of Pau near the broken bridge of Bareux; while Marshal Beresford, with the greater portion of the central force, crossed below the junction of the two outlets, and took the great road of Peyrehade, on the right of the French army. Lieutenant-General Hill moved on Sauveterre, and occupied the heights, which face Orthes.

The division of light infantry and another passed the river on the 27th, at break of day. Lord Wellington followed them, and found the French army in an excellent position. Its right, commanded by General Count Reille, occupied the village of Saint Bois, and the heights near Orthes, on the great road to Dax. Its left, commanded by General Clauzel, rested on Orthes, and the adjoining heights, opposing the passage of the river by Lieutenant-General Hill. From the direction of the heights on which the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia had ranged his army, the centre, commanded by Count d'Erlon, was thrown back, while the force of the position afforded the flanks extraordinary advantages. In fact, thirty-five to forty thousand French troops were, on this occasion, collected at a point as favorable as the most

skilful commander could have chosen, for the purpose of preventing the progress, meditated by an invading army.

Lord Wellington, being unwilling to delay the attack any longer, ordered Marshal Beresford to turn the right, while the left and centre were vigorously assailed by the troops of General Picton, who took the road from Peyrehorade to Orthes. At the same time, General Hill was to effect a passage, in order to attack the left of the position. Without waiting for useless cannonades, Marshal Beresford proceeded straight on the village of Saint-Blois, and took possession of it by main force, in spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of the troops, commanded by General Count Reille; but the ground was so confined, that the columns could not deploy to attain the heights. All the efforts of Major-General Ross, and the Portuguese brigade under Generals Vasconcellos, were useless. The French troops displayed equal intrepidity and *sang-froid*; the action became sanguinary, and the victory was dubious. Lord Wellington, however, perceiving that it was impossible to turn the French army on the right, without extending his line so far as absolutely to weaken it, suddenly changed his plan of action, with that promptitude which characterizes genius. He instantly caused the third and sixth divisions to advance with a brigade of light infantry, ordering them to make an impetuous attack on the left of the heights,

where Marshal Soult's right wing was stationed. By this measure the centre of the French army was placed in a most perilous situation, though the troops made an heroic resistance; and so decisive was the result, that Lord Wellington, being strongly supported by simultaneous attacks on the right and left, obtained an evident victory.

In the mean time, Lieutenant-General Hill, after having forced the passage of the outlet below Orthes, and compelled General Clauzel to fall back on the heights, had conjectured what was the result of Lord Wellington's attack. He made, therefore, a rapid movement with the tenth division of infantry, and General Fane's infantry, on the high road from Orthes to Saint Sever, thus manœuvring on the left of the French, with an intention of cutting off their retreat.

The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, being thus assailed and turned in every quarter, had no resource but in withdrawing, which he effected in admirable order, with the support of his intrepid generals. His next object was to deduce every possible advantage from the numerous positions which the country afforded; but the losses which ensued from the repeated attacks of a numerous and determined enemy, and the dangers with which he was threatened by the movement of General Hill, soon obliged him to accelerate his march. It was no longer a time for thinking of resistance—it became necessary to save the army.

In fact, Marshal Soult's retreat degenerated at last into an absolute flight, and his troops were thrown into great confusion.

The French army, being thus driven from the high road by the columns of General Hill, and vigorously charged by Lord Somerset's cavalry, precipitately retired over the heights towards Sault-de-Navailles. The conscripts threw down their arms, and fled in all directions. The pursuit continued till night, and at that time six pieces of cannon, as well as a considerable number of prisoners were in the power of the victorious troops, which never stopped till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Navailles. The allied army had scarcely two thousand men rendered *hors de combat*; whereas the total loss of the French army was from fourteen to sixteen thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, including the void caused by desertion, which was immense. The second movement of attack, which suggested itself to Lord Wellington upon the field of battle, was the most destructive. It was then that the route commenced on all the points assailed. One squadron of the twenty-ninth regiment of *chasseurs* opposed such a resistance, that only eight men were left on horseback. The Portuguese displayed a singular dexterity in killing horses, and dismounting our cavalry. General Bechaud was killed on the field of battle; another general was mortally wounded, and General Foy severely. If I do not communicate to the public further authentic results, it

is because the operations of Marshal Soult have been covered with so thick a veil, that it is not easy to remove it by local information, even now that France respire.

The Marshal, in effecting his prompt retreat upon Saint-Sever and Aires, manifested an intention of covering Bourdeaux, which rendered the march and pursuit of Lord Wellington uncertain; but after the 1st of March, the vanquished army fell back apparently on Agen, leaving the direct road to Bourdeaux entirely open.

General Hill again marched up the Adour towards Aires, while the advanced posts of the centre were pushed as far as Casares. Marshal Beresford, with the light division of Colonel Vivian's brigade, passed the Higher Adour, and hastily took a direction on Mont-de-Marsan. This commander immediately occupied the place, which is the principal town in the department of the Landes, and seized a large magazine of provisions without a single blow; but the heavy rains had so much swollen the Adour, as well as all the rivulets which discharge their streams into it, that the progress of the allied army was interrupted. The principal part of the columns halted at Saint Sever, waiting for the bridges to be repaired, which the Duke of Dalmatia had destroyed. This commander rallied his main force at Aires, on the left bank of the Adour, either to protect the evacuation of the magazines, or to arrest the progress of the enemy in this direction. Perhaps too, he had an idea of

marching again up the Adour, as far as Tarbes, in order to change the line of operations.

Meanwhile, General Hill had advanced, in conformity to the orders of Lord Wellington, with the right wing on the road which leads to Aires. He arrived within a league of this place on the 2d of March; and his advanced guard discovered two French divisions, which occupied a strong chain of hills, having their right flank on the Adour, and thus covering the road. In spite of their strong position, General Hill ordered an immediate attack; upon which the tenth light division, under General Stewart, and a Portuguese brigade, belonging to the division of General Lacosta, put themselves in motion. The action took place in the woods of Clifau, between Grenade and Aires; and the Allies immediately climbed the hills towards the right and centre. The Portuguese brigade actually attained the summit; but they met with a vigorous resistance, and the assaulted became the assailants. This brigade was repulsed with considerable loss, and thrown into such confusion, that the most serious consequences to the Allies would have ensued, but for the opportune support of General Stewart. He drove back the division immediately opposed to him, by a well-directed fire; and seeing it return with a view to destroy the Portuguese brigade, caused fresh troops to advance, charged the French in his turn, and threw their columns into the greatest disorder. From this moment every attempt, on the

part of Marshal Soult, to regain the ground, was abortive. Lieutenant-General Hill dislodged him from all his positions, and the village of Aires, after having caused him great loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The English general had to lament the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Hood, who fell in the action, as did about nine hundred Portuguese, whose bodies were thrown into the Adour after the battle ceased.

This new check rendered the situation of Marshal Soult so desperate, that he left the roads of Agen, Bourdeaux, and Montauban uncovered, hastily effecting his retreat by the two banks of the Adour towards Tarbes, in hopes of being shortly reinforced by detachments from the army of Catalonia. One of his columns, however, having been separated from the Adour, by the rapid march of General Hill on Aires, retreated in the greatest disorder towards Pau, the fugitives throwing away their arms, the better to secure their escape.

While Lord Wellington manœuvred on the right of his army, and obtained such signal advantages, Lieutenant-General Hope, who commanded the left wing, passed the Adour below Bayonne; and in concert with Vice-Admiral Penrose, rendered himself master of both banks of the river at its mouth. The formidable state of the place made the French feel secure against the attempts of the enemy. Two hundred of the Rochefort marines had repaired to Bayonne, for the purpose of putting

the cannon into the most effective state, protecting the navigation and covering the town. It seemed impossible to force the bar of the Adour ; and to construct a bridge appeared equally impracticable. General Hope had, therefore, nothing to forward his views, except pontoons and rafts, with which, on the evening of the 23d of February, he caused six hundred of the English guards to pass, accompanied by a detachment of cavalry. They immediately took possession of the right bank ; and the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, lost no time in attacking them ; but this sortie was repulsed by Major-General Stopford, supported by Congreve's rockets. These engines of destruction were hurled into the midst of the French troops, and burnt their very clothing ; so that the men were completely alarmed at this novel species of wildfire, and gave way. The vessels too, which were destined to form a bridge, as well as the flotilla, experienced severe difficulties in passing the bar of the Adour, the breakers there being at all times dreadful. Four sloops were swallowed up, and others dashed to pieces on the rocks ; but at length, a vessel found the channel, and cast anchor in the midst of the agitated waves. After this, the operation, which was of a most dangerous nature, and especially in winter, was accomplished with a degree of skill and bravery seldom equalled. Boats crossed the bar in quick succession ; and a French frigate, which was moored in the Adour, was assailed by a battery of eighteen

cannon, which materially damaged it, and caused it to seek refuge under the artillery of the place. The bridge was now soon constructed, and the whole corps of Lieutenant-General Hope passed, to the great astonishment of the stupified inhabitants. They ran from every quarter, to convince themselves, by ocular proof, that an event had actually occurred which they had always deemed impossible. On the 25th, the English troops approached the citadel of Bayonne, while Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre advanced, with the fourth Spanish army, by the road of Saint-Jean-de-Luz. On the 27th, the bridge being completed, General Hope more decidedly invested the citadel, which was commanded by General Thouvenot; and attacked the village of Saint-Etienne, which he carried, after having taken a cannon and some prisoners. It was in vain that the armed sloops, which were charged with the defence of the Adour, manœuvred to destroy the bridge constructed in so astonishing a manner. Three of them were sunk, and the communications of the Allies secured; after which the besieging army established its posts, at the distance of nine hundred yards from the exterior works of the place.

Thus the operations of Lord Wellington had produced, in succession, the defeat of the French army, and the capture of its magazines, the investment of Bayonne, Navarreins, and Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, the passage of the Adour, and the possession of all the great communications upon

that river. In vain did the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia endeavour, after having been defeated at Orthes, to enforce the levy *en masse* among the inhabitants of Bearn, Guienne, and Languedoc. The French of the South were still less inclined, than those of the North, to take up arms for a government which they abhorred. A political revolution was inevitable in these three provinces. All the royalists were organized in the sacred cause of the Bourbons. The abused country turned against the French army, and Marshal Soult only retained the appearance of a military force. Deprived, as he was, of his magazines, his troops had no means of subsistence, but by imposing violent requisitions on the district which they occupied and bordered upon, as well as some at a greater distance. These requisitions extended to the department of the two Sevres, the inhabitants of which were thereby ruined. Provisions were taken, to the amount of six hundred thousand francs, and the transport of them to Bayonne cost a million. The departments of Gers, the Higher Garonne, Arriege, and Tarn had furnished articles of all kinds, requisite for the support of a large army during several months; yet the army of the South was now in want of every thing, though in its own country, while the English army found a profusion of every thing, without difficulty or constraint, solely by the influence of gold.

Though reduced, by so many disastrous battles and the desertion of conscripts, to twenty-five

thousand men, the troops of Marshal Soult seemed still to flatter themselves that they could preserve to Napoleon the southern provinces ; at all events, they were determined to dispute the possession of them with tenacity. A declaration, attributed to Lord Wellington, but the authenticity of which is by no means established, doubtless gave rise to the energetic proclamation, of which we shall quote some passages ; for History ought to be inexorable, and conceal nothing.

“ Soldiers,” said the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia to his army, “ new battles await you. There can be no repose for us, attacking or attacked, till the hostile army, composed of such extraordinary elements, shall be either absolutely annihilated, or forced to evacuate the territory of the empire, whatever may be its numerical superiority, or its daring projects ! Soldiers, the General, who commands the army with which we are every day contending, has had the impudence to sow the seeds of sedition and rebellion among you and your compatriots. He talks of peace, while he bears the torch of discord ; he talks of peace, and excites the French to a civil war. Thanks to him for having disclosed to us his projects. From this moment our force is increased a hundred-fold ; from this moment he himself has rallied round the imperial eagle those, who had been misled by fallacious appearances, and deceitful statements. He has dared to insult our national honour ; he has had the infamy to attempt the seduction of the French from their oath of allegiance. He has en-

couraged them to be guilty of perjury towards the Emperor—an offence, which can only be avenged by blood. To arms! Let this cry resound through the South of France. When a few days more shall have elapsed, those, who credulously confided in the English, will learn, to their cost, that the artificial promises of the enemy had no object but to depress their spirit and subjugate them. These pusillanimous beings, who make calculations as to the sacrifices by which their country is to be saved, will find that the English have no other view, in this war, than to destroy France through her own means, and to treat the French like the Portuguese, the Sicilians, and all the nations which groan beneath their tyranny. Soldiers, let us devote to opprobrium and execration every Frenchman, who shall have favoured, in any manner, the insidious projects of our enemies. For ourselves, our duty is clearly pointed out. Let us fight to the last for our august Emperor and dear country. Let us respect the persons of our upright countrymen, and their property; but let our hatred of the traitors, who are inimical to France, be implacable. War, even to extermination, be waged against those, who would attempt to divide us, in order to effect our destruction! Let us contemplate the prodigious efforts of our great Emperor; let us be always worthy of him; let us be Frenchmen, and rather die, with arms in our hands, than survive our dishonour.

“ From head-quarters, on the 8th of
March, 1814.”

Thus was announced, on the part of the southern army and its leader, a devotion, which appeared even to brave reverses. Nothing but still more decisive events, and the unanimous avowal of the public opinion, could convince men, who had been accustomed to live in camps and in the midst of carnage, that the cause, which they defended with so much valour, was incompatible with the interest of the country, and the happiness of Frenchmen: Every thing was in readiness for this salutary revolution throughout Guienne and Languedoc; and the defeat at Orthes tended materially to accelerate the contemplated measures. Bourdeaux remained entirely uncovered; and the royalists, both there and elsewhere, awaited, with lively impatience, the blow, which was to emancipate them from tyranny, and restore the legitimate sovereign.

Lord Wellington, having become master of the field by victory, invited his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême to his head-quarters at Saint-Sever; and soon afterwards a new deputy of the royalists, M. Bontemps du Barry, arrived. This gentleman had not been able to effect his intended passage to London, and, having returned to Bourdeaux, was now sent, by the inhabitants of that city, to renew their entreaty that Lord Wellington would expedite his march, and to pledge their formal assurance that Napoleon's troops would evacuate the city on the approach of the Allies. His Lordship no longer declined to assist the attempt

of the loyal. The difficult manœuvres, to which he owed his success, only formed part of a grand plan, which he had conceived. They were, in fact, a mere prelude to the advance of his whole army. Marshal Beresford was immediately authorized to move from Mont de-Marsan upon Bourdeaux, with a body of fifteen thousand men, and to take possession of that city, the occupation of which was of very great military importance. The Duke d'Angoulême gave the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein his final instructions and orders concerning Bourdeaux. This nobleman arrived there on the 10th of March, convened the leaders of the royal party, and announced to them that the English troops, whom they so much wished to see, were on their march, and would appear at the gates of the city in two days; adding, that nothing remained but for the inhabitants to declare their ardent hope of beholding, at the same time, the illustrious descendant of Henry IV, the husband of Lewis the Sixteenth's daughter, the nephew of the best of kings. All the members of the council partook of the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein's impatience; but reflections, suggested by prudence, nevertheless induced some of them to propose a delay of eight-and-forty hours, that measures might be concerted, and the people still more completely disposed to the object in view. The prompt and decisive character of the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein led him to oppose every idea of delay. The worthy brother of the hero, who had formerly

so much distinguished himself in La Vendée, was of opinion that, in aiming at a revolution, to deliberate, in lieu of acting, is to lose all. The opinion of the rest soon coincided with his; and it was agreed that the royalists of Bourdeaux would irrevocably declare themselves on the 12th of March. It required, no doubt, considerable courage thus to make an avowal against the usurper, at the very moment that the European powers were treating with him at the congress of Chatillon; but the timid calculations, inspired by circumspection and fear, must not be sought in the deliberations of the Gascons. To think and act with vigour and effect, are the *traits* by which they are characterized.

These last resolutions were no sooner adopted than the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein dispatched M. Luetkens to Marshal Beresford, who was then upon his march from Mont-de-Marsan towards Langou. This commander immediately detached an English advanced guard, consisting of eight hundred picked men, and took the command of them in person. At the very report of his approach, and the defeat of Marshal Soult at Orthes, consternation seized the principal agents of Buonaparte on the Gironde. The senator Cornudet, who was the extraordinary commissary in this quarter, alarmed to the utmost, and not perceiving any further means, by which the city of Bourdeaux could be preserved, gave sudden orders for the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to be dis-

placed ; requiring, at the same time, that the very lowest receiver or other petty officer of Government should instantly withdraw, doubtless in imitation of his own example. He not only carried away the public chests, but the implements employed in making their contents. Gunpowder and saltpetre were also seized ; but with so little care was the removal of these articles managed, that a large quantity in a *dépôt* upon the Garonne was stolen, or wasted. The extraordinary delegate likewise commanded that two frigates, which were building, should be destroyed ; and when the people threatened to oppose this proceeding, he set fire to the stocks, on which the vessels were constructing. The populace were indignant at this, and only appeased by the prudent conduct of the police.

The head of the military authority displayed more moderation and wisdom. This was the General of Division Lhuillier, who undoubtedly wished to preserve Bourdeaux, after it had been confided to him ; but it was with difficulty that he could collect two thousand soldiers in the whole department. How could he possibly, with such a trifling force, cover an immense and open city, which is situated on the left bank of the Gironde, and capable of no defence against troops marching in that direction ? The general considered that, from the weakness of his means, an inconsiderate resistance would only expose Bourdeaux to the greatest misfortunes, without the slightest

prospect of success ; and he therefore adopted the only alternative—a retreat.

The royalists were now released from the authorities, as well as the troops ; and awaited with confidence the happy moment, which was to complete their wishes. Faithful to his word, M. Lynch had remained at Bourdeaux, as had the Archbishop, a prelate so venerable, and so much respected. Every thing was arranged, by the King's Commissary and the Mayor, to receive the Allies in a distinguished manner, worthy of the holy cause which they defended, and worthy of Bourdeaux itself, which wished to give a conspicuous proof of devotion to the illustrious Bourbons. Couriers were dispatched to meet Marshal Beresford ; and deputies hastened to lay, at the feet of his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême, the homage of the city.

The English general did not meet upon the road any armed force, capable of disputing his progress. Some brigades of *gend'armerie* were all that appeared, and these were soon dispersed. From every point of Medoc and Guienne, the royalists ran in crowds to meet the august Prince, and to welcome him with acclamations. All the towns and villages declared their sentiments at the approach of his Royal Highness, though he himself, inspired by the kindest consideration, recommended to the inhabitants that they should not commit themselves. No exhortation, however, no dread of consequences could arrest the general impulse;

and the white flag was hoisted in front of Bourdeaux, while all crowded from the city to greet their approaching deliverers.

As soon as Marshal Beresford arrived at the bridge of La Maye, he sent Colonel Vivian to the Mayor of Bourdeaux, and announced that he hoped to enter a city, which was in friendly alliance with him. Of this the Colonel received a solemn assurance from the Mayor, who proceeded from the city towards the Marshal, with the municipal officers, and a large retinue. At the close of these was the King's commissary with his sacred train, which consisted of more than ten thousand persons of every class and rank, followed by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, who was on horseback with a number of his friends, and unaffectedly followed in the rear.

It had been prescribed to all, whose loyalty was known, that they were not to mount the white cockade till they heard the Mayor exclaim : "*Vive le Roi !*" An order had also been issued to hoist the white flag on the highest steeple of the city, at the moment that the Mayor was perceived to address Marshal Beresford.

On arriving at a short distance from the advanced guard, M. Lynch mounted his horse, and proceeded to the English commander, who was marching with his staff at the head of his troops. "General," said the Mayor to him, "the generous nation, which has given such distinguished proofs of its magnanimity by succouring its op-

pressed allies with unshaken perseverance, presents itself this day at the gates of Bourdeaux. If you come as a conqueror, General, you can possess yourself of the keys without the necessity of my presenting them; but if you come as the ally of our august sovereign Louis the XVIIIth, I offer you the keys of this interesting city, where you will soon witness the proofs of affection exhibited on all sides in favour of our legitimate King. To these testimonies will be united the sentiment of lively gratitude towards our liberators." Marshal Beresford repeated, in a most impressive tone, the promises of Lord Wellington; adding that he hoped his message had been satisfactory, and that the city, which he was about to enter, was the city of an ally, inhabited by the subjects of Louis the XVIIIth. Scarcely had he uttered these words, when the Mayor exclaimed; "*Vive le Roi!*" The shout was instantly repeated with enthusiasm by the faithful troop which followed the King's commissary; while M. Lynch cast away his scarf, and resumed the ancient emblem of the French nation—the cockade, which was now more than ever a symbol of peace and public happiness.

At the same moment the white flag was displayed from the steeple of Saint Michael, in Bourdeaux, and the white cockade was generally adopted, in every place with a spontaneous sentiment of satisfaction and joy. The English commander could no longer doubt the affection, felt by the nation towards its real monarch. Shouts of

“ *Long live the Bourbons—Honour to the English nation—Long live the Mayor*’”—succeeded each other. Delight beamed on every countenance, and tears of transport flowed from every eye. When Marshal Beresford arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville, he received the civil magistrates in form, and repeated the assurance that they should be supported by the British nation in the effort they were making.

The people now became clamorous to see the illustrious descendant of Henry the IVth, and nephew of their King, whose approach was in a few hours announced. A great portion of the royalists had proceeded three leagues from Bordeaux to meet him ; and on the Duke de Guiche saying he was at hand, cries of “ *Vive le Roi !* ” were reiterated on every side, and the delight was universal.

The Prince entered the city, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas, the Duke de Guiche, and Count d’Escars ; but no language can convey an idea of the enthusiastic transport, exhibited by the inhabitants on beholding him. These public testimonies were not displayed by a party, and still less by a faction ; they constituted the general explosion of a sentiment long suppressed, emanating equally from every rank of society in that great city, and probably felt by the principal magistrates, in common with the man who opened the gates.

It was in vain that the Mayor, now on foot followed by his retinue, tried to address the Prince ;

for the shouts of the multitude prevented it ; he could only articulate broken expressions of respect and devotion to the Royal house, while he bathed the hand with tears, which his Highness graciously presented. When the Duke, however, deigned to bend towards and embrace him, exclamations of "*Long live the King, the Prince, and the Mayor !*" were a thousand times heard, and only interrupted by mutual embraces and congratulations. Round the Duke himself the pressure of the crowd was immense. Every one wished to see him ; every one wished to touch his clothes, and the trappings of his horse. The words, which he uttered, were worthy of his august ancestry, and worthy of our good King, by whom he had been sent. They promised oblivion as to the past, and happiness for the future.

Scarcely could the train proceed on account of the crowd. Old people hobbled forth to meet the Prince, and mothers pointed him out to their infants. "We shall not lose all our sons in the wars now," exclaimed some of them. "He was born a Frenchman," said others, "and feels like a Frenchman." These consoling expressions drove from the recollection of his Royal Highness the sufferings and exile of twenty-five years, while a similar feeling was experienced by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who declared that this single day was an ample reward for the quarter of a century, during which they had experienced nothing but despotism and misery. Equally pressed by the

crowd, which advanced to meet him, and by that which followed him, the procession moved so slowly that two hours hardly sufficed to reach the cathedral. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux, at the head of the clergy, awaited his Royal Highness at the great door, and on his arrival, addressed him in the following words :

“ Monseigneur, afflicted for a long time by calamities of every kind, we have, while groaning under their oppression, addressed our prayers to Heaven for deliverance, looking towards the issue with alternate hope and fear. These painful emotions are at length calmed by the arrival of your Royal Highness.—We shall be happy.—I venture, in the name of the faithful clergy connected with this diocese, to intreat that your Royal Highness will transmit to our angust Sovereign Louis XVIII. the assurances that he will not find in his dominions more faithful and devoted subjects. Long live our legitimate King !”

The whole church resounded with this exclamation. The Prince, who was borne along by the crowd, but surrounded by the clergy, forming around him a religious rampart, could not reach the sanctuary for three quarters of an hour. The sacred character of this place itself could not restrain the acclamations of the populace, and repeated cries of *Vive le Roi !* interrupted the ceremony. The *Te Deum* was chaunted, and repeated in the choir by all the assistants.

Thus with most affecting fervour, was ren-

dered to the Divinity the tribute of pious homage and lively gratitude, inspired by the benefits, which must result from this solemn day. The Duke, warmly feeling the force of this respect and regard, charged the magistrates, after he left the cathedral, to be the interpreter of his satisfaction. Loud acclamations accompanied his steps as he proceeded to the *Palais-Royal*, which his retinue, from the pressure of the crowd, did not reach till night was approaching.

Thus terminated this great and important day. A proclamation was issued by the Mayor of Bordeaux, which was worthy of the memorable event, and contained the following passages. They ought to be preserved in the annals of the restoration.

“Inhabitants of Bourdeaux—The paternal magistrate of your city has been called upon, by the happiest circumstances, to become the interpreter of your long-suppressed wishes, and the organ of your interest, by welcoming, in your name, the nephew of Louis XVI, whose presence has converted into allies an irritated nation, bearing the character of enemies till they reached your gates.

“It is not to subjugate our country that the English, the Spanish, and Portuguese appear where they now are. They too are come with united force into the South of France, actuated by the same feelings as the nations of the North, to destroy the scourge of Europe, and supply his

place by a monarch, who will be the father of his people. It is only through him that we can appease the resentment of a neighbouring nation, to which the most perfidious despotism has opposed us.

“ The hands of the Bourbons are undefiled with French blood. The testament of Louis XVI, is their guide, and they renounce every idea of resentment. Every where they proclaim and prove that clemency and tolerance are the leading features of their conduct. It is in deploring the terrible ravages of the tyranny, which licentiousness introduced, that they forget the errors, caused by the illusions of liberty. The following are the concise and consoling expressions addressed to you by the Prince, who has for his consort the daughter of Louis XVI. ‘ No more tyranny—no more war—no more conscription—no more vexatious taxes.’

“ Your families may, therefore, be at ease. The august Prince is within your walls, and he has announced to you the sentiments which animate him, as well as the monarch, of whom he is the interpreter and representative. The hope of many happy days that await us, has been my support at this trying period; and I am proud that you are the first who have set the example to France.

“ Every thing tends to assure us that our misfortunes are at the point of termination, and that national rivalry will cease with them. It was probably decreed by Providence that the great

commander, who so well deserves to be entitled *The Liberator of Nations*, should attach his glorious name to this glorious epoch, this memorable consummation of all our wishes.

“ Such, fellow-citizens, have been the hopes and motives which guided my conduct, and determined me, if necessary, to sacrifice my life for you. God is my witness that I have no object in view but the good of our country. Long live the King.”

The 12th of March will be for ever consecrated in the records of Bourdeaux. The friendly ensigns of England, Spain, and Portugal, united with the oriflamb,* announced that the signal of the restoration was given. Like electric fire, the commotion of the South was about to spread from one end of France to the other, and substitute for the sanguinary usurpation of a foreigner, the paternal government of the Bourbons.”

* The Royal Standard of the ancient French Kings.

CHAPTER XIV.

Napoleon passes his troops in review—He occupies Chalons-sur-Marne—General movement of attack by the Prince of Schwartzemberg—The Austro-Russian Army again crosses the Seine—Napoleon leaves Rheims to give battle—March of the French Army—The Grand Allied Army concentrates itself at Arcis-sur-Aube—Sanguinary battle of Arcis-sur-Aube—Napoleon encounters dangers there—The Allies defy him—He retires towards Vitry and Saint-Dizier—The motives which caused Bounaparte to decide upon withdrawing from Paris—Field-Marshal Blucher repasses the Aisne, and arrives on the Marne—Magnanimous determination of the Emperor Alexander—Situation of Paris at the end of March—Capture of Lyons by the Austrians—Retreat of Marshal Angereau on the Isere.

NAPOLEON had entered Rheims as a conqueror ; but was ignorant, on the 15th of March, that the Congress was dissolved, and that events had placed Bourdeaux under the tutelary authority of the Bourbons. Such was his blindness that he did not even foresee the consequences, which must result from the defeat of his arms at Orthes ; but felt such fulness of confidence, that the progress of Lord Wellington diminished neither his pretensions, nor his hopes. The fate of the campaign did not depend, as he thought, upon the circumstances, which occurred in the South, but upon the issue of those operations, which he directed in person.

On the 15th he reviewed his army at the gates of Rheims. It has been strengthened by some reinforcements ; and he immediately caused a co-

lumn to depart for Chalons-sur-Marne, thinking it important to re-occupy that place, where he hoped to seize the magazines of the enemy. On the same evening Marshal Ney re-entered Chalons without striking a blow; the Prussians and Russians, who composed the garrison, hastily retiring by the Vitry road as soon as the French approached. The Prussians departed by the gate of Sainte-Croix at the same time that Marshal Ney's column entered the gate of Saint-Jaques. The inhabitants of Chalons, being deceived by false accounts of important victories, spontaneously illuminated the town, and displayed the greatest joy, believing themselves delivered from the enemy. The municipal body repaired without delay to Rheims, for the purpose of complimenting the Emperor. In fact, Chalons was, during forty days, deprived of communication with the rest of France, and served as a town of passage, a place of sojournment, and a point of retreat for a great number of Russian and Prussian corps, which exhausted all its resources by enormous requisitions.

At length the Grand Austro-Russian army, which had been remaining, ever since the 4th of March, in most mysterious inaction, commenced a general movement of attack upon the corps of Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, which were posted at Provins and Nangins to cover the capital.

The Emperor of Austria re-entered Troyes. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia

had met on the 13th of March at Arcis-sur-Aube, the Prince of Schwartzenberg's head-quarters, where the troops received orders to repass the Seine at Montereau, Nogent, and Pont. They were to seize on Ville-Noxe, Provins, and Bray, while the third corps established itself at Sens. The Russian General Wittgenstein was the first who passed at Pont-sur-Seine, taking a direction upon Villenoxe and Provins. The Marshal Duke of Tarentum collected his troops round the latter place; and on the 16th of March the enemy manœuvred to attack his left. The Marshal Duke of Reggio encountered the hostile artillery, and the day was passed in cannonade. Every thing announced a combined attack on the whole French line. The corps, under the command of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, had moved back in the direction of Sens; and the Hetman Platoff, with six thousand horse, threw himself on Fere-Champenoise, and Sezanne; from which places he protected the right flank of the Grand Army, while he effected his offensive movement. The Generalissimo Prince of Schwartzenberg, wishing to preside over the operations, had transferred his head quarters to Pont-sur-Seine.

On the arrival of the courier, who brought this intelligence, Napoleon thought he perceived that the plan of the Allies consisted in manœuvring on the left bank of the intermediate corps, which covered Paris, before it was possible for the army to support them. The least success of the Austro-

Russians might place himself in the most critical situation between two great armies, one of which had repulsed him, and the other seemed determined to strike a great blow.

In fact if Buonaparte much longer persisted in opposing Field-Marshal Blucher, he would leave Paris at the mercy of the Prince of Schwartzenberg, and if he marched to meet the Prince, he could not fail to be pursued by Blucher. Thus with no more than fifty to sixty thousand men, he found himself between two armies, each of which possessed a hundred thousand; but his enemies were timid and he audacious, maintaining at this time a war of hazard. A blow, suggested by despair, might release him from the terrible situation, into which the delirium of ambition and the love of conquest had plunged him. Being informed that the Prince of Schwartzenberg's army occupied a line of thirty leagues, from Sens to Sezanne, he re-adopted the project of falling, with the mass of his troops, on the separate corps of the Austro-Russians, before they could be collected; having had no other hope from the commencement of the campaign than this solitary manœuvre.

On the 16th of March, therefore, he put himself in motion with the main body of his army; taking a direction on Epernay, in order to repass the Marne. Since the 11th of February this little town had been under the influence of the enemy, after having been defended with a courage worthy of the French character. Under favour of the night,

sixty men of the National Guard had maintained their post against a large corps of cavalry, which advanced to the very gates of the town, and after being repulsed by some inhabitants, who were armed with fowling pieces, had taken refuge in the woods of Rheims. On the following day the enemy, returning to the charge, had summoned the inhabitants to surrender themselves. They, without possessing any real strength, stated that they were capable of defending themselves; and such was the effect of their energy, that the enemy consented not to occupy the place, if it would furnish the necessaries for his army.

This capitulation was faithfully observed on both sides, till the advanced guard of Napoleon appeared, which immediately drove the enemy from the position in front of Epernay by a force of three thousand men. He retreated on Vertus, after having destroyed the bridge; but so hastily and imperfectly, that the workmen were called back to complete the demolition. Scarcely, however, had the French riflemen approached, when they fled. On the 17th of March, Epernay received with transport the army and imperial guard, forming together forty thousand men, with Napoleon at their head. His marches and counter-marches, in addition to the dark veil which he cast over political and military events, so far abused the natives of the Brie and Champagne, that wherever he directed his steps, he was thought to be a conqueror, and in pursuit of the vanquished. He was, therefore,

received with acclamations of joy by the inhabitants of Epernay, who believed themselves for ever freed from the presence of the enemy.

The French army having passed the Marne, took a direction on Fere-Champenoise, where M. de Rumigny, secretary of the cabinet, arrived from Chatillon, with intelligence that a rupture of the Congress had taken place. Thus vanished every appearance of a peace, which was thought indispensable for the welfare of the empire, by the best judging men and most enlightened officers of the enemy. This event caused a lively sensation, and almost all the generals were persuaded that Buonaparte, by rejecting the offers made to him, had blindly precipitated himself and the nation into a disastrous war.

In the mean time, the Prince of Schwartzenberg having been informed, on the 14th of March, that General Saint-Priest's corps was defeated, and Rheims occupied by Napoleon, had suspended his offensive movement; and, on the following day, removed his head quarters to Arcis-sur-Aube, with an intention of collecting the different corps appertaining to his army. Those, which had passed the Seine, commenced their retreat on the 17th; and on the following day, the Generalissimo received from General Kaisaroff, who preceded the army with the cossacks, decisive intelligence that Napoleon was marching from Epernay on Fere-Champenoise. He therefore instantly adopted the resolution of joining Field-Marshal Blucher's army by

Chalons ; but it was too late, for Chalons was occupied by the Prince of the Moskwa. A new report, on the part of General Kaisaroff, announced that Napoleon's cavalry, commanded by General Sebastiani, had overpowered the cossacks near Fere-Champenoise, and that Napoleon himself was advancing in force towards Arcis-sur-Aube, by Plancy. Other reports in like manner announced that the French were advancing by the road from Chalons to Sommesous ; and consequently in a similar direction. The danger was imminent, for in a march or two, the mass of the French army, by falling upon separate corps, might renew the disasters, which had been experienced at Montmirail and Montereau.

During a council of war, the allied sovereigns and generals had resolved to retrograde as far as Bar, and there to take a position beyond the Aube. In conformity to this plan, the headquarters had been thrown back on Troyes, which it was proposed to evacuate on the following day ; when the Emperor Alexander himself suddenly changed the plan in the course of the night, conceiving that it would withdraw the Allies too far from their line of offensive operations. This monarch adopted the firm and courageous determination of concentrating the forces at Arcis, and giving battle to Napoleon ; but the movement was one of high importance, and attended with difficulties, capable of deterring a man, possessed of a mind less elevated and strong than that of the

sovereign alluded to. Might it not, for instance, be supposed that this plan would be in opposition to the Austrian cabinet? The magnanimous Emperor of Russia, however, finding himself supported by the cordial and immovable confidence of the King of Prussia, could not be dissuaded from his great purpose by any particular consideration. The Czar had need of all his authority to rally, with sufficient speed, the troops of so many different nations, disseminated on a long extended line. A whole night was employed by this great monarch, partly in gaining the consent of his council to his measures, and partly in dispatching the most urgent orders to the generals under his command. The anxiety, which Alexander experienced on this occasion, is confidently stated to have been so dreadful, that he alluded to it on the following day, by saying to his generals and ministers: "I actually thought my head would have grown grey last night."

The Emperor's arrangement consisted in assembling all the corps of the grand army, at a concentrated position in front of Arcis; but the Bavarians, the Russian corps under General Wittgenstein, and the troops of Wurtemberg only effected their junction by means of forced marches. On the 19th of March, the principal part of three divisions passed the Seine, and retreated towards the Aube. On the same day, Napoleon's cavalry drove back the cossacks at every point, and though the bridge over the Aube had been destroyed by

the Russians, it was almost immediately reconstructed by the inhabitants. Beyond Plancy, the advanced guard renewed its fire on some light troops, which immediately fell back on Mery and Arcis.

On arriving at the ford of Charny, Buonaparte caused the Aube to be passed by a battalion of the imperial guard, which obtained possession of the village, and secured the ford. Immediately afterwards, he sent a detachment of his cavalry on the Arcis road, while he himself took a direction on Mery, with several squadrons of his guard. During this march he said aloud: "To night I'll take my father-in-law at Troyes." These words, and the general cast of his manœuvres induce a supposition that he was apprised of the resolution formed by the enemy, which had induced him to fall back towards Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube. The Austrian corps of General Giulay was retreating in this direction by Nogent; and by destroying it, Napoleon flattered himself that he should destroy the hopes of the allied army. General Giulay set fire to the bridge on quitting Mery, and still continued to occupy the part of the town which is on the left bank of the Seine. Napoleon immediately ordered General Letort to pass the river below Mery, with the *chasseurs* of the guard, and to fall on the Austrians, for the purpose of cutting off their retreat; but the *chasseurs*, in spite of their exertion, could not reach Chatres till seven o'clock in the evening. The enemy passed through

the village, and General Letort could only obtain one park of pontoons, the same which had served to cross the river at Pont-sur-Seine. The Austrian army finding itself thus deprived of its pontoons, and impeded in its march, as well as fatigued, was obliged to make a circuit of a dozen leagues, in order to join the main army between Arcis and Troyes.

On the same day Napoleon slept at Plancy; and his troops having passed the Aube, partly by the bridge, and partly by the different fords, he put himself in motion with the whole of his guard on the following day, for the purpose of following the Austro-Russians, whom he supposed to be retreating on the high road to Troyes. The infantry-guard and baggage marched on the right bank of the Aube, while Napoleon, with the cavalry guard of Marshal Ney's corps, advanced by the left bank.

The columns of the army, under the Prince of Schwartzemberg, were not yet in line. The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, with the 3rd, 4th and 6th corps, took the position of Clermont, while General Count de Wrede, at the head of the 5th corps, manœuvred along the Aube, and was supported by the Russian and Prussian Guards, which established themselves on the heights of Mesnil-la-Comtesse. Thus almost all the corps of the Grand Austro-Russian Army were stationed on the left bank of the Aube behind Arcis, which was entirely evacuated by them.

Napoleon had scarcely entered that place, when he received intelligence that the enemy's squadrons were wheeling into the plain between Arcis and Troyes. He instantly commanded Generals Sebastiani and Exelmans to reconnoitre this cavalry, and charge it; being always persuaded that the hostile army was retreating towards Troyes, and that the cavalry was covering its march. It was not long before he was undeceived. The horse of the Allies, which had hitherto appeared only in small squadrons, was gradually reinforced, and soon appeared in formidable masses, which deployed in the plain where several lines of infantry also formed. It was evident, therefore, that an entire army was now before Buonaparte. The first columns of the French Army commenced the attack in an inconsiderate manner, and found themselves opposed by a battery, mounting sixty pieces of cannon, and by a hundred squadrons of horse, against which their efforts entirely failed. The danger was the more imminent, because the town of Arcis forms, in some degree, the head of a defile, which is half a league in length, and in which several bridges afford the only means of crossing the marshes, and arms of the Aube. Such was the sole retreat that remained for Napoleon, in case of a defeat, whether he wished to effect it on Sezanne, or to fall back on Chalons or Vitry. The preservation of Arcis was, therefore, of the highest importance. The squadrons of his guard, however, were pursued with ardour by the allied cavalry

of General Count Pahlen, who, by a sudden and bold attack, took from them three pieces of ordnance. Every thing induced a relief that the enemy's dragoons, who were so superior in number, would enter Arcis at the heels of the routed French squadrons. Napoleon, seeing the fugitives almost surrounded, rushed from Arcis, rallied them, and exclaimed: "Are you not the conquerors of Champeaubert and Montmirail?" He gave orders for a fresh charge, and marched himself, sword in hand, for several minutes, at the head of the troops, where he was exposed to great danger; Colonel Girardin, his aide-de-camp, having parried the blow of a lance, aimed at him by a cossack. Napoleon, however, compelled his enemies, by this determined attack, to stop short in their career. Several vigorous charges threw the cossacks into disorder, and twenty squadrons of the Russian reserve were obliged to force their way through the confused platoons of the cossacks and Bavarians, for the purpose of charging the French in their turn. The Austro-Russian army immediately concentrated itself, and made dispositions to give battle. The Marshal Prince of the Moskwa formed the small number of infantry under his command into squares, and with this handful of brave men, resisted the attacks of the Allied Army, which was continually obtaining reinforcements. So urgent did the danger appear to the French commanders, that they advised Napoleon to re-pass the Aube with the cavalry,

leaving the care of the retreat to the infantry. Every thing, in fact, as far as regarded the enemy, depended on this first attack, and had he succeeded in carrying Arcis by main force, the French army would have been lost; but by degrees reinforcements arrived, and the Imperial Guard, which came from Plancy by the right bank of the Aube, ranged itself in line. A dreadful cannonade now took place on both sides. The fire of the enemy caused great destruction among the battalions, which were formed in squares; and which, throughout the action, remained immovable under the walls of Arcis, covering that town, and the village of Dorcey, with heroic perseverance. The infantry, supported by the dragoons, replied to the musketry of the Allies. Napoleon remained constantly exposed to the briskest fire; several officers were wounded round his person, and his horse was struck by a musket ball, which rendered the animal unserviceable. Murmurs were now heard among the French troops, as if blaming Napoleon for thus needlessly exposing himself, "Don't be afraid," said he to those near him, "the ball, which will be fatal to me, is not yet made." This sanguinary conflict finished only with the day; and both armies remained on the same ground, which they had been disputing. The field of battle was piled with the bodies of the dead and wounded. Among the latter was the Austrian General de Hardeg.

During the action, there had been time for

reinforcements to arrive on both sides. The Allied Army, under cover of the night, concentrated itself by a retrograde movement on the heights of Mesnil-la-Comtesse, where the Prince of Schwartzberg determined to receive the attack of the French on the following day.

Napoleon, keeping the main body of his army round Arcis, advanced strong masses of infantry and cavalry in front of that place, as well as upon the road to Fere-Champenoise. At break of day, he mounted his horse to reconnoitre the Allies, whose apparent retreat made him at first suppose that they really intended to file towards Lesmont, for the purpose of there passing the Aube, but he soon perceived that their real design was to give battle. The force, which the enemy now displayed, had the appearance of being more considerable than that, which had been in action the day before, and its position was more formidable. It occupied all the heights, called *les hauteurs de la Comtesse*, on the road from Arcis to Troyes, and appeared to expect that the French Army would attack it. The necessity of extricating himself from his critical situation was imperative upon Buonaparte; for it was to be feared that the weak corps, which he had left on the Aisne and the Marne, would be soon destroyed; and that Blucher, with all his strength, would manœuvre on the flanks and rear of the French Army. Napoleon had, therefore, reunited with his troops the corps, commanded by the Marshal Dukes of Reggio and Tarentum, and

an equal number of cavalry drawn from the army of Spain. These reinforcements were posted on the right bank of the Aube, and on the heights of Arcis. The two armies remained in the presence of each other, ready for battle, till half past one o'clock. During this interval, Napoleon was uncertain as to his measures ; several times changed his plan ; sent orders and counter-orders ; but appeared, nevertheless, determined on a general battle, in spite of the inconveniences connected with the ground and defile. All the troops received commands to pass through the town of Arcis, and deploy before the allied army ; but scarcely were they in line, when Napoleon, inspired by that invisible Power, which presided over the welfare of France, suddenly resolved to effect his retreat on Vitry and Saint-Dizier, in hopes of drawing the enemy to a distance from his capital, and gaining an opportunity to cope with him on more favourable ground.

The Generals were astonished, and thought that he would, at all events, not make the attempt, till favoured by the darkness of night ; but he at once commenced his march in broad day, and in sight of the enemy, passing along a defile, which must inevitably retard the progress of his troops. The artillery and baggage accompanied the rest of the army, and Napoleon took a sort of cross road to Vitry, leaving orders with General Sebastiani, and the Marshal Duke of Reggio, to defend the bridges of Arcis, and to form the rear guard, which

they did in a manner most honourable to themselves. They had to sustain the repeated assaults of the Austro-Russians; but all the efforts, made by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, were rendered abortive by the perseverance and intrepidity of the French rear guard. Though exposed to the combined attacks of three different corps, its resistance was most vigorous, and saved the army. At one o'clock in the morning, the sappers began to cut the bridge; many of them were killed by the riflemen of the enemy, but at length the bridge fell under the hatchet. The retreat of Marshal Oudinot now began beyond the bridges; but the cavalry of the fifth allied corps had passed the Aube, at the ford of Ramera, and vigorously harassed the rear guard, which filed in haste, but without disorder, on Vitry-le-Français, supporting nearly the whole army, which marched in the same direction by miserable roads. In fact, it was almost night when they reached Sommepeuis, six leagues beyond Arcis-sur-Aube. The Marshal Duke of Reggio experienced some loss, but he caused the same to the enemy, who pursued him with obstinate determination, and whose advanced guard proceeded as far as Taux and Corte. The fifth corps, and the Russian and Prussian grenadiers, took a position at Corbeil-sur-Aube; the fourth and sixth corps on the heights of Dampierre.

On the following day, namely, the 22d, the whole grand allied army continued its march, in order to post itself between the French troops and

Paris, as well as to effect its junction, in the neighbourhood of Chalons-sur-Marne, with the army of Field-Marshal Blucher.

In the mean time, the light troops, and those under the command of Prince de Saxe-Weimar, spread through Flanders, Picardy and Artois, successively taking possession of Doullens, Montdidier, Compiègne, Noyon, Breteuil and Senlis. All the North was invaded, except the fortified places. The Silesian army being only opposed by the corps under the command of Marshal Mortier, there was nothing to prevent its re-passing the Aisne, and manœuvring again on the Marne. Field-Marshal Blucher had, therefore, on the 18th of March, put all his troops in motion, and taken a direction towards Bery-au-Bac. The cavalry, which defended the passage, having been overthrown, the French, in their retreat, blew up a fine bridge, which had only been finished the year before. The Field-Marshal found the bridge destroyed, but, in the course of the same night, he constructed pontoons, and the whole army passed the Aisne, at two different points, on the morning of the 19th, the Prussians taking the road to Fismes, and the Russians the high road to Rheims. The allied cavalry, under the command of Generals Czernicheff and Benkendorff, invested this city. Towards six o'clock in the evening, the infantry of General Count Woronzow having arrived, dispositions were immediately made to take Rheims by assault. Two battalions of light Russian troops marched with

cannon and ladders. They destroyed the gates of the city without encountering any resistance; for the rear guard of Marshal Mortier was then retreating on the road to Epernay. His cavalry quitted Rheims almost at the same time that the Allies entered it for the third time, and established themselves in the greatest order. Field-Marshal Blücher immediately took the road to Chalons, without having any knowledge of what was occurring between the Aube and the Marne. By his advance he soon put it in the power of the grand allied army to effect the bold operation, which was to decide the fate of the campaign and the destinies of Europe.

Napoleon, not having been able to debouch from Plancy and Arcis, beyond the Aube, and renouncing the idea of attacking the grand Austro-Russian army, in its position at Mesnil-la-Comtesse, ought to have had no other object but to prevent the junction of the two armies, under the Prince of Schwartzemberg and Marshal Blücher. If he did not entirely succeed, he might at least have rendered this junction as tardy as difficult, and have forced the Allies to a still greater distance from his capital. Such would have been the plan of every skilful and sagacious commander in similar circumstances; but Napoleon, who was hurried beyond the bounds of reason by his passion and sinister views, was about to precipitate himself into the pit, which he had dug for his enemies. Being persuaded that his movement, on the right

of the Prince of Schwartzemberg, would cause the Generalissimo to fall back on the Rhine, for the purpose of preserving his communications ; hoping thus to cover his strong places, to raise the people of the Vosges and Lorraine in his behalf, and find himself in a situation more favourable, he pushed the heads of his columns to the north-east, by marching from Sommepeuis to Vitry-le-Français. He was not ignorant that from three to four thousand Prussians occupied this place, and sufficiently defended it against a *coup-de-main*, which circumstance compelled his advanced guard to pass the Marne at the ford of Fremicourt, a league below Vitry. There he ordered Marshal Ney to present himself before the town, and summon the garrison to surrender, with a menace, that if they refused they should be put to the sword. The Marshal immediately sent an officer, with a message to the Commandant, promising, if he capitulated, that he should be allowed to depart with arms and baggage ; but neither promises nor threats could shake the Prussian Colonel stationed in Vitry, and he maintained himself, without listening to any proposition. Perhaps he might have been more tractable, if he had been assailed by main force ; as Vitry could not long hold out. The French army fully expected that Napoleon would give orders for the assault ; but, to the great surprise of the officers and soldiers, he left Vitry behind him, and took the road to Saint-Dizier. Manœuvres are almost always made by the advanced guard, or head of an

army ; the rest follow, or preserve the line, according to circumstances. On this occasion, Buonaparte pushed his plan of attracting the enemy to such an extent, that he voluntarily exposed himself to the bold resolution which the Allies adopted.

What motive could draw him thus far beyond the limits which prudence dictated ? The blackest design—namely, to seize and immolate a Prince, who is the model of courtesy and goodness. The tyrant hoped to quell his dark uneasiness, and prop his declining power, by assigning the fate of the ever lamented Duke d'Enghien to his Royal Highness Monsieur, Count d'Artois. Scarcely was this prince permitted to follow the confederated armies, at a distance, and almost alone. Not being able to exercise, even in the bosom of France herself, any other prerogatives than those beneficent virtues which are the sacred inheritance bequeathed by his ancestors, his Royal Highness groaned, on contemplating the ruin and devastation which Napoleon had caused. He assisted the wounded conscripts, and wiped away the tears of the peasants, who crowded round his august person ; but this was the full extent of his influence and power. Nevertheless, the mere rumour of his presence had awoken, in the minds of the Lorraine royalists, their ancient sentiments of loyalty and affection. A deputation of the magistrates, and principal inhabitants of Nancy, had formed the resolution of repairing to Monsieur at Vesoul, there to solicit and implore that his Royal Highness would put

himself at their head. The noblest enthusiasm reigned through the provinces of Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Burgundy, in favour of the Bourbons. Nancy was at the point of producing, if not scenes as brilliant, the same results, which had taken place at Bourdeaux. The white cockade had been assumed; acclamations of *Vive le Roi, Vive Louis XVIII, Vivent les Bourbons*, were heard on every side, and no partisan of Buonaparte dared to raise his voice. His Royal Highness, therefore, departed from Vesoul for Nancy, in conformity with the wishes manifested by the principal inhabitants of that place. Napoleon was informed of this by his emissaries, at the same moment that he received, by a courier, the intelligence of Bourdeaux having emancipated itself from the yoke of his despotism. Rage and vengeance instantly inflamed his heart, hardened as it was, and smarting under his reverses. It was then that he ordered a corps of cavalry, under the General of Division, Piré, to take a direction towards Chaumont, and to seize on the road every courier, *estafette*, and carriage, which departed from Vesoul. On the 25th of March, General Piré arrived, by a rapid movement, near Chaumont, and penetrated into it; obtaining on his road the assistance of the peasants, who were exasperated by their recent losses, and who now became auxiliaries in the execution of the orders, prescribed to him by his master. Having thus cut off the enemy's line of communication, the General was enabled to intercept several persons of

distinction, such as Baron de Wisseberg, Minister from the Court of Austria to that of Great Britain, and coming from London with Count Palfy, his Secretary of Legation ; the Swedish Lieutenant General Schiol de Brand, Envoy from Sweden to Russia ; the Prussian Counsellor of War, Peguilhen, as well as Counts Tolstoi and Marcof, officers of the Russian artillery, who were going on a mission to different head-quarters of the Allies. The seizure of these personages, and their papers, was highly important ; but Napoleon could not be satisfied, so long as he had not in his power the august brother of the King, whose throne he occupied. The times of political criminality were, however, expiring. It was the will of Providence that the horrible project of Napoleon should not be accomplished, and even while he was making the diabolical attempt, the arm of eternal justice was stretched forth to chastise him.

He marched towards Saint-Dizier, as if intending to take a direction from that place on Nancy ; while the grand allied army, after having passed to the right bank of the Aube, followed the movement of the French army in the direction of Vitry. General Count de Wrede, and the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, forming the advanced guard, with the troops of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, attempted to intercept the march of Napoleon's rear guard ; but without success. The light troops of the Allies hovered on the flanks, to clear and sweep the country. On the following

day in the morning, the Russian cavalry under the command of General Count Angerouski, moved from Metiercelin to Sommepeuis, and seized part of Marshal Macdonald's artillery, which was filing in the rear of his corps. The convoy consisted of twenty-two pieces of cannon, several ammunition carriages, and sixty baggage waggons. It was attacked, and the whole taken, together with five hundred men, who formed the escort. This was only an affair of out-posts, but it was conducted with as much celerity as courage, and had a prodigious influence on the issue of the campaign. The light Russian cavalry, after this exploit, took a French courier, who was the bearer of a letter from Napoleon to the Empress Maria Louisa, disclosing the object of his movement on Saint-Dizier. By the same means the Allies learned that the corps of Marshals Ney and Macdonald, which remained behind near Vitry, were in *echelon* to join Buonaparte, and cover his march.

On the same day the cossacks intercepted a courier, who had been sent from Paris to Napoleon by his Minister of War, and whose dispatches contained official intelligence of a descent made by ten thousand English troops on Leghorn; adding that Lyons had been entered by the Austrians, that Marshal Augereau's army was in a most critical situation, that Bourdeaux was occupied by the English, and that it was supposed Lord Wellington would advance along the Garonne, in order finally to combine his operations with those of the

Austrian General Bianchi. To these dispatches was joined a report from the Minister of Police, respecting the disaffected state of the public mind at Paris, and the fear of disturbances, on the slightest appearance of the Allies.

It was important to deliberate on the contents of these papers, and the discovery of Napoleon's intentions; for the purpose of coming to a decisive resolution without delay. Accordingly, during the night of the 23d to the 24th of March, the Generalissimo Prince of Schwartzenberg halted the grand army on the left bank of the Marne; that of Napoleon having entirely passed to the opposite side of the river.

It resulted from the information, which had thus fallen by chance into the hands of the allied commanders, that Buonaparte was about to place himself, of his own accord, on the line of their communications, and that he might have three objects in view from this movement; first, to make the Allies retrograde towards the Rhine; secondly, if he did not succeed in this, to manœuvre on their front and rear, and to form a junction with the Marshal Duke of Castiglione; or, thirdly, to take a direction on Metz, Thionville, Longwi, and Stenai; there to prolong hostilities, by defending a new line, and drawing the Allies to the centre of France, after having adopted all possible measures to ensure the defence of his capital, and raise the mass of the population against them. Might he not also hope that the Prince of Schwartzenberg, by moving in

advance of the Aube, for the purpose of covering his communication with Langres by Bar-sur-Aube and Chaumont, would afford him a chance of fighting on favourable ground, or at least of destroying some separate corps with the whole force of the French army? At this important deliberation, the state of the war was discussed in every point of view. It was well known that Napoleon had caused adroit agents to be sent from Paris, who appeared to be travelling on divers private affairs, but carried, concealed within the handles of their knives, in their canes, or in the collars of their dogs, secret and precise instructions to the garrison on the Rhine and the Moselle, for the purpose of causing them to assemble, at a signal agreed upon, and unite themselves to the army, which would manœuvre on Lorraine. The principal part of these emissaries, however, had not been able to effect the object of their mission; and some of them, while trying to introduce themselves into the places assigned to them, had been seized and hanged as spies. But the circumstance, which merited the most serious attention, was the disposition to rise *en masse* manifested by a great number of peasants in the north and east. Several partial insurrections, in the Vosges and neighbouring departments, had shackled the operations of the allied armies, and interrupted the march of their convoys. At Mulhausen, a plot had been discovered to destroy the weak Bavarian garrison, then to move immediately on Huningue, to attack the

besiegers, spike their cannon, burn the bridge of Basle, and plunder that place. The ramifications of this plot extended to more than forty parishes, and it had been discovered by a woman, solely that she might prevent the destruction of her husband, who was one of the accomplices. The most severe researches, with a view to disarm the peasants, had caused an extensive discovery of arms; fifteen hundred muskets having been found in one house. These hostile dispositions were of a nature to cause uneasiness on the part of the Allies; and they felt that they could not, without danger, allow so active an army, led by so enterprising a commander, to manœuvre on their line of communications. On the slightest reverse taking place, the entire population of the invaded provinces might rise, destroy the bridges, break up the roads, attack the convoys, burn the magazines, harass and starve their enemies—in a word, they might transform the war into a national insurrection, and thus fulfil the wishes of Buonaparte. Was not that immense and populous city, Paris, displaying a warlike attitude, and disposed to make a vigorous defence? Almost all the secret accounts agreed in this respect—the journals, proclamations, and bulletins were unanimous upon the subject. Will posterity believe it? Not only did the French nation, but the Allied Princes and Generals, allow themselves to be abused and imposed upon by the tone of the journalists, who received salaries from the police of Napoleon.

Another fortnight of indecision, manœuvres, and imposition might have induced the Allies really to fall back on the Rhine, for the purpose of avoiding a hopeless contest, but Heaven itself was about to preside over the great catastrophe.

The only mode, by which the crisis could be accelerated, was to enter Paris with a formidable force. In a military point of view, the Allies had it in their power to penetrate thus far when favoured by certain circumstances; but the most mournful consequences would not have failed to result from this violent mode of occupation. But did Napoleon place himself between the Allies and Paris? Admitting even that he lost a battle, he might have defended his capital with resolution; in which case the Allies would not have been able to obtain possession of it, except by making it a scene of misery and desolation; but by his march on Saint-Dizier he left the road open, and offered the Allies a most favourable opportunity, or at least the possibility of entering Paris as liberators and friends. Such was the proceeding decided upon. Such was the bold and magnanimous measure, immediately adopted by the Emperor Alexander, in concert with the King of Prussia, the Prince of Schwartzemberg, his ministers, and generals. An irresistible fatality led Buonaparte far from the capital which he devoted to destruction, and celestial inspiration guided Alexander to it.

Since the rupture of the congress at Chatillon, when every prospect of peace by negociation seemed

to vanish, this monarch had received from Paris itself the first well authenticated communication as to the real feelings of that city upon political and military subjects. He had ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the government of Buonaparte was divided into two parties; the one composed of his vile supporters, who were decided upon sacrificing all, and consummating the ruin of France for the maintenance of that despotism, which was their only ægis against public execration and contempt; the other, more numerous and diversified, which secretly detested the execrable tyranny of the usurper, and only yielded to the empire of necessity. This party felt that humanity demanded the overthrow of Buonaparte's power, for the happiness of France and the general tranquillity of Europe. At the head of the numerous discontented body in question, was the celebrated statesman, who had expiated the services, which his talents had rendered to the despot at the commencement of his high career, by a frank disapprobation of every thing extravagant and horrible, in Buonaparte's subsequent conduct, particularly the war with Spain. No support, however, was yet offered to this powerful party, which appeared sensible of the views and hopes entertained by the royalists. The declaration, made by the Emperor Alexander, that the allied powers had no desire to interfere in the measures, which the French nation might pursue relative to a choice of government, was a sacred guarantee, and

gave an impulse to the general spirit, which no other circumstance could have produced. Being certain that Paris, and the government itself, contained many persons who were discontented; being certain that the population of that capital was far from being disposed to take up arms, and sacrifice every thing for a man universally abhorred, the confederated monarchs decided that the whole of the two allied armies should directly march on Paris. The mass of the inhabitants, nevertheless, continued to be abused by the false accounts of the journalists, who announced pretended advantages and scientific manœuvres, thereby inspiring a sort of fictitious security. In a word, the Parisians were persuaded that Napoleon was holding the enemy in check far from the capital. "Since his departure from Troyes," said his supporters, "our great monarch has, between the 27th of February and the 20th of March, overrun a hundred and twenty leagues in different directions; has been present at seven battles, and has driven the enemy fifty leagues from Paris."

But this expiring adulation was only considered, by the honest and enlightened portion of society, as a signal of distress; and the events were anxiously awaited, by which in a few days the question was sure to be decided. It was known that Napoleon had been as severely treated at Arcis, as at the attack of Laon; it was known that he had there run a personal risk, and an expression in one of his letters to the Empress Maria

Louisa, was universally quoted : " I have been in peril, and obliged to fire my pistols." It was equally well known, by a letter from the secretary of state, that in imitation of Napoleon, his whole suite had been engaged sword in hand. To this intelligence, so disastrous for the court, still more alarming and more authentic accounts succeeded, such as the revolution of Bourdeaux, and the capture of Lyons by the Austrians. The following is an account of the manner in which that city fell. The reinforcements, conducted by General Bianchi, at first took a direction towards Dijon, and thence towards the Saone and Macon, in order to resume the offensive, and combine their movement with the march of the corps, commanded by the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg, which formed the Austrian reserve. Marshal Augereau, who was surrounded by a superior force, perceived that it was impossible to defend the line of the Saone. Without regard, however, to his numerical inferiority, he sallied from Lyons with two divisions of his army, and on the 11th of March attacked General Bianchi, in front of Macon. The conflict remained for a long time uncertain as to its issue, and continued till night. The Marshal Duke of Castiglione was then obliged to retreat rapidly on Lyons, leaving in the hands of the enemy five hundred prisoners, as well as three pieces of cannon, and on the field of battle a great number of dead and wounded. General Bianchi next day pushed his advanced posts to Saint-

Georges, and on the 14th of March was joined at Bage-le-Chatel by the Prince of Hesse Homberg, who took the command in chief of the Austrian army in the South. Two days afterwards this Prince marched with all his troops against Marshal Augereau, who had collected his forces at Villefranche. On the 18th, an obstinate and sanguinary battle took place between the two armies: it began at Limonet, and finished at the gates of Lyons, though not till night. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides; but the Marshal Duke of Castiglione being overpowered by superior numbers, retired in good order to Echelles, while the enemy entered Lyons as conquerors, and used all their right as such. The inhabitants, deceived like those of Paris as to the number of the Allies, saw with surprise sixty thousand men within their walls. Marshal Augereau hastily retired along the Rhone; but the Prince of Hesse followed him, reached his rear guard at Saint-Symphorien, forced him to accelerate his march, and fixed the Austrian head quarters at Vienne. The Marshal Duke of Castiglione gained Valence, for the purpose of manœuvring to guard the line of the Isere, which extends from Valence to Grenoble. The occupation of Lyons secured to the Allies the conquest of Geneva, Mont-Blanc, and all the provinces which defended the line from the Saone and Rhone to the Isere. Generals Marchand and Desaix, after having resumed the offensive against the corps of General Count Bubna as far as the gates of Geneva,

were forced to fight in retreat, for the purpose of rallying on the troops of Marshal Augereau.

Such were the events, which subjected to the allied arms the second city of France, and led them towards the source of the Loire. At the moment that the coalesced sovereigns received the important intelligence of Lyons being occupied; at the moment too that the report of this event found its way to Paris, and there caused a great sensation, in spite of the silence and precautions of ministers, the Emperor Alexander, and the King of Prussia formed the courageous and irrevocable determination of effecting a junction of the allied armies in the West, placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and marching with two hundred thousand men on the capital—the only enterprize capable of putting an end to the war.

CHAPTER XV.

Junction of the Allied Armies between the Aube and the Marne—Retreat of Marshals Marmont and Mortier on Paris—Battle of Fere Champenoise—Capture of a convoy and five thousand men, destined for the army of Napoleon—March of the Allies on Paris—Passage of the Marne at Meaux and Treport—Movement of Napoleon towards Saint-Dizier and Doulevant—He believes the grand army to be close behind him—Countermarch on Vitry and Saint-Dizier—The Russian cavalry is dispersed and put to flight—Napoleon is at length informed that the Allies are marching on the capital—He suddenly takes a tranverse direction upon Vandœuvres and Troyes—He sends to ask the intercession of the Emperor Francis in his behalf.

ON leaving the right bank of the Aube, the allied monarchs, in order the better to conceal their design, had put the grand army in motion towards Vitry, where the Prince of Schwartzenberg, by two forced marches of eighteen and twelve leagues, fixed his head-quarters on the 24th of March. At the same time, the generalissimo, to complete his dispositions, formed, on the line of Bar-sur-Aube, a corps, the command of which he gave to General Duca, who was entrusted with the protection of the Austrian Emperor's head-quarters, magazines, baggage, and parks of reserve. This general was also to transport any thing wanted by the army of the South, and to secure the communications of the grand army, while it pressed its march towards the capital.

Nothing was wanting to the completion of this great enterprize, but the junction of the Silesian

army. The Allied Sovereigns, therefore, joyfully received certain information that Field-Marshal Blucher had arrived, with a great part of his forces at Chalons sur-Marne. Soon afterwards, General Wintzingerode and Czernicheff, with all their cavalry, entered Vitry-le-Français, and were immediately dispatched, with ten thousand horse and fifty pieces of cannon, to observe the march of Buonaparte on Saint-Dizier, as well as to menace his rear. The infantry of General Wintzingerode, with the corps of Generals Woronzow and Sacken had remained at Chalons, with Field-Marshal Blucher. General Bulow had again marched against Soissons, while Generals York and Kleist, after having passed the Marne, and retaken Epernay, on the 21st of March, had moved on the line of Montmirail.

It is easy to be perceived, by a mere inspection of these combined movements, that if Buonaparte had not promptly repassed the Aube, between the two allied armies, he would infallibly have been in a situation similar to that which occurred to him at Leipzig; and that the result would have been the same, from the extreme disproportion of the enemy's force. On the 25th of March, several regiments of the Silesian army left Chalons, taking the road to Vitry, which the Russian cavalry had entered; when suddenly a message arrived from the King of Prussia, ordering Field-Marshal Blucher to direct his army on Paris, without paying any attention to Buonaparte or the French army.

Every thing being arranged and provided for, the grand Austro-Russian army faced about and marched from Vitry, on the 25th of March, in three columns, taking a direction upon Fere-Champenoise and directly towards Paris. The cavalry, forming the advanced guard, was to push, on that day, as far as Sezanne, and the rest of the army was to *bivouac* at Fere-Champenoise. The fourth and sixth corps marched in the centre; the fifth in column on the right; the third, the reserve, and guards on the left. The state of the atmosphere and a forward spring favoured this brilliant expedition. In the mean time the corps, commanded by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, which had fallen back, and repassed the Marne before the army of Field Marshal Blucher, descended towards Vitry, to join in the operation of Napoleon. They had arrived in the morning within two leagues of that place, and the advanced guard of the Duke of Ragusa had even approached nearer to it without suspecting that it was occupied by the Allies.

On the following day, the two Marshals continued their progress in the same direction when all at once they fell into the advanced guard, belonging to the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg. What must have been their surprise, on perceiving themselves so near the Grand Allied army, at the very moment they expected to find that of Buonaparte!

On seeing this considerable corps, the French advanced guard had scarcely time to think of a retreat. They were vigorously pursued to Con-

nantry, and Fere-Champenoise, by the cavalry of the fourth and sixth corps, under the command of General Rayefski. This commander made many charges, by which he took a great number of ammunition and baggage waggons. At the same time, the light horse of the Russian guards, commanded by the grand Duke Constantine in person, attacked the retreating columns on the left, first charging the cavalry, and then the infantry; while the Wurtemberg horse, and the Austrian *cuirassiers* made the attack from another side. Exposed, in almost every direction, to the shock of so numerous a body, the French battalions left a great number of killed and wounded on the field of battle, besides losing ten pieces of cannon, and nearly a thousand prisoners. The two Marshals were thus pursued as far as Sezanne, and compelled to abandon twenty more pieces of cannon, which it became impossible to save; the artillery men being so completely panic-struck that they cut the traces, fled on horseback, and left the ordnance behind them.

The cavalry alone took a part in this pursuit, while the main body of the grand army filed on Fere-Champenoise, and there immediately established head quarters. Scarcely had the Allied Monarchs and Generalissimo arrived at this place, when a strong cannonade was heard on the right, and a corps of infantry was soon perceived, in direct march upon the head quarters of the Allies. This was at first supposed to be a French column,

and the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the King of Prussia, ordered it to be attacked by a train of artillery. Several squadrons of cavalry debouched in the same quarter; and it was now perceived that these troops belonged to the army of Field-Marshal Blucher. Thus the junction of the two armies was effected between the Aube and the Marne. A splendid and unforeseen advantage was about to mark this re-union, this prelude of events so memorable in history.

A column of five thousand men, had been detached from Paris, under the command of Generals Amey and Pactod, escorting an immense convoy of ammunition, and a hundred thousand rations of bread, for Buonaparte's army. This convoy was in itself, and from the number of troops which accompanied it, of extreme importance. Protected by the Marshal Duke of Ragusa's corps, it had approached Montmirail, in order to join Napoleon; but by this direction it could not escape the two grand allied armies, then so near each other.

It was first perceived by Field-Marshal Blucher's cavalry, or rather by Captain Harris, aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Stewart, the English commissary, who had gone to a distance on a reconnoitring expedition, with some cossacks, and gave the Field-Marshal notice that the convoy was passing. Blucher instantly detached the Generals of cavalry, Korff and Basilischikoff to attack it. On seeing the enemy, the French fell back towards Fere-Champenoise, at the very mo-

ment that the cavalry of the grand Austro-Russian army arrived at the same point, by the Vitry road. The Generalissimo Prince of Schwartzenberg, being informed of this rencounter, hastily recalled part of the cavalry, which was in pursuit of Marshals Marmont and Mortier; while, at the same time, the Emperor Alexander himself ordered the Russian artillery to advance. Thus pressed and charged on all sides, the French column formed itself into several squares, and opposed the most courageous resistance. It consisted, nevertheless, merely of young soldiers and national guards, but nothing could intimidate them. The squares continued to fire, as they marched; braving the charges of the cavalry, rejecting every summons on the part of the Russian officers, and refusing to lay down their arms, in spite of the most vigorous attacks. It was in vain that Colonel Rapatel, a distinguished officer, the same who witnessed the last words and expiring sigh of General Moreau, advanced alone to end this useless struggle; the brave French troop, though surrounded and despairing of escape, wished at least to die with glory. "Friends, and fellow-countrymen," exclaimed the Colonel, "cease your resistance. You have conducted yourself with honour, and Alexander will give you liberty on the spot." Scarcely had he finished this address, when he was struck by two musket balls, and fell dead; honoured with the regret of the army, and the Russian Emperor, whose aide-de camp he was become.

The artillery alone could subdue this handful of brave men, who maintained the contest against a whole army. The batteries opened their fires, and broke the squares ; while cavalry rushed among them, spreading death and disorder around. There was no alternative but to yield. The Generals of Division Amey and Pactod, five generals of brigade, twelve pieces of cannon, four thousand eight hundred men, and the entire convoy fell into the hands of the confederated army. The prisoners defiled before the Emperor Alexander, who deigned to address them with words of kindness and consolation. Several of the national guards and conscripts, indignant at having been abandoned, and sacrificed by Buonaparte, cried : “ *No Emperor Napoleon !* ” This brilliant day paved for the Allies the road to the metropolis.

While Field-Marshal Blucher’s infantry advanced from Etoges on Montmirail, the grand army continued its march in three columns, taking a direction on Ferte-Gaucher. The third corps covered all the baggage, the artillery, the parks and trains, and thus rendered the order of march more compact. The corps of Generals Laiseroff and Ledavin occupied and observed the country towards Arcis and Troyes, between the Aube and the Seine.

The Allied Sovereigns and Generals had not, however, lost sight of the intermediate corps, under the command of Marshals Mortier and Marmont, and General Arrighi, which had pre-

cipitately retired to Ferte-Gaucher. It was difficult for them to escape without further loss ; all the dispositions being made to harass and surround them, not only by the cavalry of the Grand Duke Constantine, and General Count Pahlen, but also by the squadrons of General Rayefsky, and the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg. The pursuit was so determined, and the retreat so rapid, that the regiments continued to abandon their artillery in every direction. This rout became still more disastrous by the sudden arrival of the Prussian corps, under Generals Kleist and York, at Ferte-Gaucher, at the very moment that the two Marshals were marching past with all possible speed, on the 26th of March, for the purpose of falling back on Meaux and Paris. Thus assailed in front and rear, they forced a passage sword in hand, leaving, after an obstinate combat, fifteen hundred prisoners in the power of the enemy. The pursuit was continued without intermission. On reaching Crecy, the French corps separated, the one taking the road to Meaux, the other to Lagny. The latter was continually harassed by the cavalry of General Count Pahlen, and the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg ; the other by the troops of Generals Kleist and York, in the direction of Ferte-Gaucher to Meaux. What other body of soldiers thus pressed and almost surrounded by superior numbers, would not have entirely submitted, and laid down their arms ? Yet these brave men, stripped of every thing ; without provisions, food, or hope ; abandoned, as

it were, by their insensate chief, whose duty it was, from motives of honour not to betray them, forgot their own misfortunes, thought only of their native country, and wept with sorrow at the misfortunes she was doomed to undergo. They braved every fatigue, privation, and danger, for the purpose of hastening to defend the capital.

The loss of these corps may be estimated, without exaggeration, at seven to eight thousand men killed, wounded, or prisoners, that is to say a third of their whole number. Those, which succeeded in escaping, effected it only by forced and continual marches. The loss of artillery was in still greater proportion, for eighty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies, from Fere-Champenoise to Crecy, and the environs of Meaux. On the other hand, when it is stated that the Silesian army was on the 24th of March still at Fismes, between Rheims and Soissons; and that on the 26th it was in battle at Ferte-Gaucher, after a march of twenty-six leagues, it is evident that no physical effort can ever surpass those of the unexampled crisis, which I am describing.

During the night of the 26th and 27th, General Woronzow, surprised, near Ferte-sous-Jouarre, a French corps at *bivouac*, and took about two thousand prisoners. From Meilleret, where the grand army had taken a position on the 26th, it continued its march without interruption, and on the 27th its head quarters were established at Conlommiers; the Austro-Russians having marched

twenty seven leagues in three days, and being now no more than thirteen league from Paris. On the same day, Field-Marshal Blucher fixed his head quarters at Ferte-sous-Jouarre, with an intention of passing the Marne on the following morning, while the grand army crossed it at Lagny. The plan of the Allied Sovereigns was to concentrate the whole force on the right bank of the Marne and Seine, and to attack Paris on the North, by taking a position upon the heights of Montmartre.

With what astonishment did the inhabitants of the Brie behold these immense armies defile in admirable order, after having been represented as routed, flying, and reduced to a wreck !

On the 28th of March the allies continued their progress on Meaux by the two roads of Ferte-Gaucher and Montmirail. Ten thousand of the national guard, mixed with some troops of the line, attempted, between Ferte-sous-Jouarre and Meaux, to make head against the army of Silesia ; but the effort entirely failed. General Horn attacked them with impetuosity, and placing himself at the head of some squadrons, rushed into a mass of infantry, and took the French General prisoner.

On the same day, part of Marshal Mortier's corps, under the command of General Vincent, passed through the town of Meaux, broke the bridge after marching over it, and thus retarded the progress of the Allies. The evacuation of Meaux was distinguished by the terrific explosion of an immense powder magazine, which Buona-

parte caused to be blown up, without giving the least notice to the inhabitants. The concussion was such, that they thought themselves at the point of being buried under the ruins of the place. All the windows, without exception, were shattered to atoms, and all the houses damaged, as well as the cathedral, an edifice remarkable for its structure, its ornaments, and above all, that *chef-d'œuvre* of architecture, its choir.

The Allies had thrown several bridges over the Marne, for the purpose of filing some columns to the right bank. The passage was disputed at Treport; but in spite of the French fire, the bridge was soon constructed, and the whole army of Silesia passed over it.

Thus on the 28th of March, four days after the movement of Vitry, the Allied Sovereigns found themselves in the neighbourhood of Paris, without obstacle or any formidable force to prevent their further approach. This decisive advantage must be ascribed to the celerity of their manœuvre, and the vigour of their resolution, which had caused them to gain four days on the French army, commanded by Napoleon in person.

Let us now see, by what strange perversion of mind this fallen conqueror, but still ever active foe, suffered his capital to be snatched from him, without having the least suspicion of it. At the moment that the allies commenced their rapid movement, he displayed to his army that hypocritical and insulting confidence, with which he

had so often imposed upon the world. "They talk of peace," said he, "but I do not treat with my prisoners;" for at that time he considered the allied armies as cut off, and inclosed within the heart of France. The fate of Paris, abandoned as it were to itself, had only excited in his mind a trifling degree of solicitude; for his principal anxiety was confined to himself, and his principal reliance placed on the resources near him. He saw himself in the midst of a faithful, intrepid, indefatigable army, which had gained more victories than it had experienced defeats, and the success of which, in so trying a campaign, raised its glory to a still higher pitch than it had ever before attained. In trying to change the theatre of war, for the purpose of striking a decisive blow, he did not foresee that the capital would run any further risk than that of being insulted, for a moment, by some detached corps of the Silesian army, till the report of his movement, on the communications of the grand army, would force all the hostile troops to retrograde towards the Rhine.

Persuaded that such would be the result of his manœuvres, he had expedited a courier to his brother Joseph and his ministers, with a dispatch, expressly demanding, whether they could give him an assurance that, while he executed an operation, which would astonish Europe, Paris would not be alarmed at the appearance of a detachment from Blücher's army; and whether Paris, seconded by the troops of the line, would oppose an efficacious

resistance to a sudden attack, which could not continue for a longer time than eight-and-forty hours. Enthusiasm was at its height in the council, when this imperial dispatch was read. The ministers, and that stage monarch, who called himself *King Joseph*, engaged their responsibility, not merely for a resistance of eight-and-forty hours, but for a regular defence of eight days, defying the enemy to penetrate into the metropolis with only part of his army.

This satisfactory assurance was rapidly conveyed to Arcis, and reached Napoleon, when he was still uncertain whether to attack the grand allied army, or commence his movement towards the East. On the arrival of the Auditor, or Master of Requests, who is charged with the portfolio containing the minutes of the council and administration (minutes, which the despot received for the last time), he said, to a young functionary, in his accustomed brutal style: "Well, are the boobies at Paris afraid?" The young aspirer to imperial patronage extolled the warlike disposition of the Parisians, and their devotion to the person of the Emperor; so that, being encouraged on all sides, Napoleon continued his movement on Lorraine with undisturbed confidence.

It was on the 23d of March that his army had taken that direction, and it occupied three days in reaching Saint-Dizier. There Buonaparte learnt that the Marshal Duke of Tarentum, and the Marshal Duke of Reggio, who formed his rear

guard, had suffered great inconveniencies, since they marched from Arcis-sur-Aube ; that they had left part of their artillery in the bogs of Somme-puis, where the roads were impassable ; and that they had, not without great difficulty, effected their junction at Vitry with Marshal Ney, who had been left in a position before that place. M. de Caulaincourt, minister and plenipotentiary of Napoleon, now arrived from the dissolved Congress, and joined the army at Saint-Dizier. On the following day, Napoleon collected the whole of his force, and marched towards the South, by the road to Joinville ; passed Vassy, and halted at Doulevant on the same evening. This new direction removed him still further from Paris and the allied armies. In the opinion of the most enlightened military men, there could now be no doubt but that they would effect their junction, and march on the capital ; it was the general sentiment of the army. Napoleon alone saw nothing, heard nothing, suspected nothing. The general uneasiness, as to the presumed movement of the enemy, was the more confirmed, by no intelligence from Paris having reached head-quarters since the 19th, a circumstance, which evidently proved that the communication was intercepted. No one could conceive what were the motives for a manœuvre, which opened to the Allies free access to the capital. Several officers were of opinion that Buonaparte had renounced the idea of defending it, and that it was his intention to draw near the strong places in

the district of Messin and county of Lorraine, in order to reinforce his army by part of their garrisons. Others supposed that the march on Doulevant had for its object to seize the Allied Monarchs, who were conjectured to be retreating by Bar-sur-Aube, towards Langres. It appears certain that this movement was in unison with that of some light-horse, which were detached on the high road from Chaumont to Vesoul, not only for the purpose of attempting to seize the august brother of Louis XVIII, but with a similar view respecting the Emperor of Austria. It is said that his Imperial Majesty was aware of his danger, or had been informed of it while at Bar-sur-Aube, and that he rode thirteen leagues on horseback, in great haste, with an escort of choice cavalry, to reach Chatillon-sur-Seine; equally avoiding two bodies of men, which had been detached under General Piré and General Alix.

It was thus that Napoleon, by losing sight of the war, and occupying himself in the pursuit of prey, which he did not obtain, allowed Paris and the empire to be wrested from him. Not having received, during the whole of the 26th, any certain intelligence as to the march and force of the enemy, whom he always supposed to be following the footsteps of his army, he dispatched an aide-de-camp to the Marshal Duke of Tarentum, whose corps formed the extreme rear guard, and who was known to have been attacked as he passed at Saint-Dizier. The aide-de-camp was ordered to obtain,

from the Marshal, positive information as to the force which the enemy had displayed, and in case the whole allied army had appeared, he was to announce the Emperor's intention of coming to a general action. Napoleon, being master of the communications with the neighbouring towns, such as Brienne, Bar-sur-Aube, and Chaumont; and having it, consequently, in his power to choose the field of battle, had no doubt of success. The aide-de-camp found the Duke of Tarentum at a short distance beyond Vassy, and received information from this commander, that, at the moment of his departure from Saint-Dizier, the enemy had shown about ten thousand horse and fifty pieces of cannon, in a position near Hoiricourt, on the right bank of the Marne; that the artillery had fired from one bank to the other, on the troops which were marching from Saint-Dizier to Vassy, where the road extended about half a league along the river. These were the ten thousand cavalry under Generals Wintzingerode and Czernicheff, who were charged with the office of observing Buonaparte's movements. Marshal Macdonald added, that, since this first attack, he had only seen a small number of squadrons follow the army. The aide-de-camp, wishing to acquire as much information as he could, repaired to Generals Milhand and L'Héritier, whose cavalry formed the rear guard. Their reports entirely coincided with those of the Marshal, and these two officers agreed in opinion, that the enemy had only shown cavalry, and not a single foot soldier.

Several generals, however, whose opinion ought to have had great weight, were persuaded that this hostile body was a strong advanced guard, and that the grand army, or at least the greater part of it, had returned, on the footsteps of the French, towards Saint-Dizier, by the direction of Joinville, with the intention of turning Napoleon's army at Doulevant, and separating its different corps, by falling between the last-mentioned place and Vassy.

Marshal Ney, however, who had also made diligent inquiries respecting the movements of the enemy, was far from being of the above opinion. Judging of the state of the war with the penetration and acuteness of a consummate general, he had no doubt that the allied armies had effected a junction, and were marching on the capital. In the course of the night, Napoleon's aide-de-camp returned, by the Doulevant road, to acquaint his master with the result of his mission. "The enemy," said he, "has shown nothing but cavalry, and there is great reason to believe that the troops, which followed the Marshal Duke of Tarentum, were only a corps of observation, covering the junction of the two combined armies. These, according to appearances, are in full march to Paris." Napoleon paid extreme attention to this report; but his only reply to the aide-de-camp was: "I shall see to-morrow what I have to do."

What was the surprise of this officer, when, two hours afterwards, he heard the order given for

departure towards Vassy, Napoleon wishing to fight a general battle upon ground where he had not a single enemy? So rooted was his conviction, that no earthly power could shake it: and he marched with a certainty of finding the grand allied army in this direction.

The French troops, having now returned towards Vassy by a countermarch, discovered the advanced posts of General Wintzingerode's cavalry, a few leagues from that place. They fell back on Saint-Dizier, at the approach of the French cavalry, which easily overthrew the first squadrons of the Russians.

The army arrived on the same day, viz. the 26th, and found the whole corps of General Wintzingerode, in order of battle, on the right bank of the Marne, occupying the road from Saint-Dizier to Vitry. Napoleon immediately caused Saint-Dizier to be attacked by the Marshal Duke of Reggio; and passing the Marne in person, at the ford of Valcour, with his best cavalry, he reinforced his left, with an intention of falling on the extreme right of the enemy, and driving him on Saint-Dizier. The dragoons, the *chasseurs* and lancers of the guard, commanded by General Sebastiani, made several brilliant charges, seconded by the corps of cavalry which had recently arrived from Spain, and burnt with eagerness to distinguish itself. In a few minutes the ten thousand horse of General Wintzingerode were entirely broken, and retreated in disorder towards Bar-sur-Ornain;

leaving the woods and meadows piled with their dead. A small number of the fugitives took the road to Vitry. The victorious French cavalry made a great number of prisoners, and took four or five pieces of cannon, displaying the most noble ardour on this occasion. It was a glorious exploit; but of no importance towards the general issue of the war. No one in the French army had a doubt but that Napoleon was pursuing a solitary corps, and that the main body of the confederated forces was at the gates of Paris, or perhaps even within its walls; but he still persisted in his blind supposition, and appeared to be solely occupied with the advantages, obtained by his cavalry over that of the Russians; while the commanders of the latter prolonged their disorderly flight, for the purpose of drawing him to a still greater distance from the seat of his power.

It has been said, that he was so satisfied with his brilliant success in this affair, as sometimes to forget Paris, his foes, and France; thinking only of the exact points which he occupied. He particularly gave himself credit for manœuvring on the rear of the grand Austro-Russian army; he saw himself in possession of Saint-Dizier, Joinville, Montierender, and Brienne; he was also master of Chaumont; he had pushed his patrols to Langres, and held communication with Troyes. Prisoners and baggage were brought in from every quarter; couriers were intercepted; and every thing, as he thought, rendered it impossible for the enemy to

resist the ascendancy of such a manoeuvre. He was persuaded that the Allies would fly, with all possible speed, in order to escape entire ruin; for the last supposition that entered his mind was, that they could really be marching towards the capital, he not thinking them capable of so vigorous a determination.

On the same day, viz. the 26th, while the Marshal Duke of Reggio pursued General Baron de Wintzingerode to Bar-sur-Ornain, Napoleon transferred his head-quarters to Saint-Dizier. On the following day, he again marched, with his guard, and the Duke of Tarentum's corps, on Vitry, which had constantly remained in the occupation of a Prussian garrison. He wished to become absolute master of this position; and hence, though he saw nothing around him which could confirm the strange supposition that the Allies were following him with all their forces, though he had already lost much precious time, and not received a single direct courier from Paris for a week, he, nevertheless, employed a whole day in making dispositions to seize on Vitry, the occupation of which was, at this time, of so little importance. What can more manifestly prove that his military genius had forsaken him, since his reverses had taken place? Furious at not being able to intimidate the garrison of Vitry, he resolved to burn that place, and caused one hundred and twenty cannon and howitzers to be planted against its walls. The town would have been lost, had he not, on the

evening of the 27th of March, received, through an indirect medium, intelligence that the two allied armies were at Meaux, and marching on the capital. He forthwith suspended the attack, and gave orders for departure.

On this occasion, he more than ever evinced that spirit of caprice and folly, to which he was become a prey. The direct road by Sezanne might have brought the heads of his columns to Paris in forty hours, or in a forced march of three days. If, by taking this direction, he ran a risk of encountering the main army of the Allies, he might at least have followed the direct road from Vitry to Troyes; but in his anxiety and confusion, he suddenly abandoned Vitry, without letting any thing transpire, and then wandered, as it were, in quest of adventures over the cross road from Vassy to Troyes, thus withdrawing still further from Paris, and re-arriving on the 28th at Doulevant. The army was, therefore, at the same point, which it occupied on the 23d. At length, however, Napoleon appeared to feel that there was no more time to be lost, and that it was necessary to approach Paris. On the 29th, at break of day, he put in march for Vandœuvres the cavalry, artillery, and battalions of the guard, forming the head of his columns; and such was the rapidity of this transverse march, that all the horse and flying artillery travelled eleven leagues on the first day, over cross roads. It became requisite to employ the horses belonging to the artillery of the line, as

assistants in the train of the guard, whereby sixty ammunition waggons were left without horses to draw them, and set on fire. The peasants collected the cartridges scattered on the road, and distributed them to the soldiers, who followed. On arriving at the bridge of Doulancourt, where the advanced guard was to pass the Aube, it met a courier from Paris, with dispatches for Napoleon.

The report of his arrival spread through the army, and excited the highest degree of curiosity. More than ten days had now elapsed, since Buonaparte and his Marshals had received authentic intelligence from the capital. Napoleon alighted from his horse, in a small meadow on the borders of the Aube, hastily broke the seals of the packet, and put questions to the courier. The result of his information and the dispatches proved that, on the day before, the allied armies were at Claye, five leagues from Paris, and that Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having fallen back before the enemy, were making dispositions to defend the capital.

All the illusions, all the presages, all the hopes of Napoleon were at once dissipated; and the bandage, which had so long covered his eyes, was torn away. As if struck by a thunderbolt, he foresaw the catastrophe, which was about to destroy the great edifice of his power; but the state of his soul rather manifested itself by unfeeling stupor, than by convulsions of rage and delirium. He appeared to be subdued by his reverses, and by

the law of destiny. In this state he passed several hours at the bridge of Doulancourt, surrounded by his aide-de-camps and generals. It may be easily imagined what anxiety must have been felt by these children of valour and glory, these illustrious commanders, who were devoted by duty to the interests of the most insensate and most ungrateful of men. Their fear and alarm were naturally excited as to the fate of the metropolis. They were ignorant respecting the intentions of the allied sovereigns; and however favourable these might be supposed, it could hardly be admitted as a possibility that they would have it in their power to restrain their troops, and preserve Paris from ruin. Almost all the French commanders had, in this immense capital, either families, or friends, or objects most dear to them. Napoleon appeared, for a moment, as if he gave way to the sentiments of uneasiness and compassion, manifested by his officers respecting the fate of Paris; and dispatched General Dejean in great haste, with a formal order not to sacrifice the capital by an obstinate defence. During this short interval of resignation to the universal opinion of those around him, he thought of applying to the Emperor of Austria, whom he hoped, a few days before, to have made a prisoner. He, therefore, summoned into his presence and set at liberty Baron de Wissemberg, the Austrian minister, recently seized between Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. In this conference, he avowed his distress, and conjured the Baron to repair,

without loss of time, to his imperial father-in-law, for the purpose of interceding in favour of Maria Louisa, and recommending his son the King of Rome to the tenderness and political influence of Francis the Second. Baron de Wissemburg yielding to the intreaties of Napoleon, immediately repaired to Dijon, whither the Emperor his master had retired. A M. de Galbois was also dispatched on a similar mission, and passed through Chatillon-sur-Seine, accompanied by M. Guinet, chief of the squadron, attached to the head-quarters of Marshal Berthier. These envoys returned from Dijon, under the escort of an Austrian officer, who reconducted them to Vandœuvres, the present head-quarters of Napoleon, while on his forced and useless march on Paris. Whether the mission of M. de Galbois preceded or followed the negotiation of Baron de Wissemburg, it is evident that, before the allied army arrived at Fontainebleau, and entered Paris, Napoleon thought his cause so desperate that he made a tardy appeal to the Emperor of Austria, whose mediation he had before so obstinately refused—a Prince, too much devoted to the cause of Europe and his monarchy, to sacrifice them for personal and secondary interests. These superfluous attempts served only to pourtray the agony of expiring power. It was in vain that Napoleon, when a gleam of hope shone upon him, thought that he should astonish and surprise his enemies by his celerity. It was in vain that he ordered his guard, which should have had some

hours of repose at Vandœuvres, to file as far as Troyes, thus performing a march of two days in one. It was in vain that he was seconded by the devotion and zeal of his soldiers. The time for saving himself was gone by; and Paris, which for fifteen years had been the seat of his usurpation, was about to escape from the tyrant of France, and the scourge of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Allied Armies approach Paris—Review on the 27th of March—The Empress, the King of Rome, the Ministers and the Grand Dignitaries fly from the Metropolis—Dispositions for the Attack—Preparations for the Defence—Proclamation of King Joseph—Infamous Conduct of the Police—Ferment among the Populace—Paris is attacked—Obstinate Battles—The Emperor Alexander signifies his Intentions to Captain Peyre—Joseph Buonaparte is informed by this Officer that the Allied Sovereigns are at Bondy—Attitude assumed by the National Guard—Appearance of Paris during the Battle—Joseph Buonaparte gives Orders for a Capitulation, and flies—The Positions which cover Paris are taken—Suspension of Arms—Napoleon sends an Aide-de-Camp with Directions for defending Paris to the utmost—Arrival of Napoleon at the *Cour de France*—Attempt to rouse the Populace in his behalf—Capitulation of Paris.

AFTER having passed to the right bank of the Marne, the two reunited armies, under the command of the Prince of Schwartzemberg, and Field-Marshal Blucher, continued their march towards Paris by three different roads; namely, those of Meaux, Lagny, and Soissons. The corps of Count de Wrede and General Sacken, forming nearly thirty thousand men, remained in reserve not far from Meaux, to secure the passage of the Marne, in case Napoleon should return with his army, by taking the direction of Sezanne.

The Allies, on approaching the capital, experienced at first only a feeble resistance by the Marshal Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, who fell back between Claye and Bondy, in order to concentrate, and take a position on the heights, which cover Paris towards the north-east.

As the enemy advanced, a multitude of country people fled to the capital, spreading alarm as they passed along. The sight of so many fugitives soon established the truth of the disastrous rumours, which were circulating among all classes. It was known that Napoleon was manœuvring towards Lorraine, and that two corps, which were ordered to cover the capital, having been destroyed, their confused remains were fighting in retreat on the Meaux road. But the more the danger increased, the less sensible of it did people appear to be; whether it was that every sensation of alarm and terror had been exhausted, or that peril itself was thought preferable to a cruel anxiety. The emissaries of the police, who mixed among the populace, used every exertion to stifle the voice of truth, and deny its access to the disturbed multitude. "The country people," said they, "are panic struck, and fancy they see numerous armies, where there is but a handful of partisans. The corps which is advancing towards Meaux, is nothing more than a *strayed column*, which will soon fall into the pit, dug for it by the Emperor, and his triumphant army.

Such, however, was the embarrassment felt by the satellites of declining power, that they manifestly contradicted themselves, when they addressed the enlightened and thinking part of society. They endeavoured at the same time to deny the danger, and to magnify it, wishing to animate the low spirited, and prepare the mass of

the people to take up arms from a feeling of despair. Thus they hoped rather to see Paris a heap of ruins, than in possession of Napoleon's enemies.

"The Allies," said the writers of government, "contemplate the pillage and destruction of Paris, as the recompence and end of their invasion. They boast that they shall enter the city without resistance, and give it up to plunder. They have resolved to transport the best workmen, artizans, artists, and young women, to the heart of Russia, for the purpose of peopling its deserts; chasing the rest of the population away, and then destroying our metropolis by fire.

"But with what hopes of success can an hostile army dare to enter Paris? What will become of it in the midst of an immense population, armed, irritated, and resolved on defence? The city contains within itself twenty thousand draught horses, which are capable of putting in motion five hundred pieces of cannon. Besides it would be easy to barricade the streets, and to oppose at every point an invincible resistance. It would, indeed, only be necessary to close the barriers on our enemies when in Paris, and their extermination would be insured to the last man.

"What is there to be feared from the fire of cannon, placed on the heights, which surround this immense city? Is it not known that the very largest piece of artillery, when planted on the elevation nearest to our barriers, cannot send a ball

so as to reach a tenth part of the distance to Paris; that is to say, the populous quarters. Before the enemy could destroy half a dozen houses by its artillery, it would consume six times as much ammunition as would be necessary for a whole campaign. Never will the Allies dare to approach Paris. Never will they dare to insult the ramparts of the immortal city."

Nevertheless, every circumstance seemed as if it gave the lie to this fallacious security. The intelligence assumed an alarming character. The refugees from Conlommiers and Meaux declared, that they had seen an innumerable army defile over the hills of the Brie. They were treated as visionaries, and in spite of the reports made by the retreating commanders, King Joseph and the ministers themselves persisted in asserting that the immense force which approached the capital, was nothing but a detachment from Blücher's army.

It was necessary, however, to put the city in a state of defence; and on Sunday the 27th of March, six thousand regular troops, and twenty thousand national guards were ranged in battle array, and passed in review at the Tuilleries; afterwards filing over the bridge, and through the public places, in an imposing manner. The mournful spectacle of the artillery, the martial appearance of the horse and foot, the gloomy silence of the soldiery, and the uneasy anxiety of the curious crowd, formed the principal *traits* of this

military procession. Every one laboured under a weight of oppression. The boldest felt involuntary fear.

The Russian corps of General York now came into action at Claye, and its environs, with the rear-guard of the French corps, which fell back under Paris. The latter being posted on advantageous ground, caused the Prussians a loss of four to five hundred men by the fire of the riflemen, but General York soon received reinforcements, and finally remained master of Claye, as well as of the roads which adjoin it. His corps and that of General Kleist immediately removed from the Meaux road to that of Soissons, making room for the army commanded by the Prince of Schwartzenberg. Scarcely was the sixteenth corps, under the orders of General Rayefski, formed into line, when it likewise came into action with the French rear-guard at Ville-Parisis; there, after several skirmishes, the commanders on both sides agreed to a suspension of hostilities during four hours. The march of the enemy became thereby less rapid, but more certain. Thus the tempest hovered above the heads of the Parisians, and they expected to be almost immediately crushed by it. The enemy was at their gates, and the deceitful bulletins, which still spoke of victory, inculcated a dangerous security. The eyes of all were turned to the afflicting scenes, which the *boulevards* principally exhibited on the morning of the 28th. The peaceful promenades, generally

embellished by brilliant equipages and elegant females, with all the accompaniments of pleasure and luxury, were suddenly filled with wounded soldiers, and peasants who had abandoned their farms, carrying with them the remnant of their rustic fortunes. To these succeeded carts, in which a few trusses of hay or straw served as bedding for whole families; and in some instances the flocks and herds had accompanied their masters. Groups of Parisians, full of anxiety and alarm, assailed the miserable peasants with questions, and seemed to derive consolation from the recital of their disasters. Towards noon these scenes changed their character, and exhibited to the eyes of the multitude another diversified and curious spectacle. Every thing assumed a warlike aspect, and confidence appeared to revive. It is true that fugitives and wounded soldiers continued to arrive; but fresh troops, ammunition, and artillery departed in good order. The officers of these corps, as they left the metropolis, endeavoured, by false reports, to instil the doctrine of security; and the Parisians beheld without emotion the same objects, which had completely terrified them but a few hours before. They resumed their habits; and confidence succeeded to inquietude. There was no positive and visible proof of the enemy's approach in force; though General Rayefsky had pushed forward beyond Bondy, with the sixteenth Russian corps; while the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg approached the points of attack, by gaining the high road from

Lagny, and taking a position on the heights of Chelles. The French rear-guard in falling back, abandoned the outer part of Pantin, and the ground on the left in front of Montmartre.

On the 29th of March in the morning, the Allies removed their advanced posts towards Pantin, Villette, and the forest of Vincennes, harassing the French corps, which were rallying under the walls of Paris.

The shops were shut, and all business suspended. The numerous groups, which assembled on the quays, in the squares, and *boulevards*, the visible alarm depicted on the countenances of the government agents, and the mystery with which they attempted to cloak every circumstance, all announced an approaching *denouement*; but while stupefaction and terror reigned at the court of Napoleon, the populace of Paris preserved an appearance of calmness.

It was clearly perceived that the late colossal, now exhausted power of the French empire was falling into dissolution. The treasure and equipage, which were the fruits of rapine and extortion, filed on the roads of the Loire. The trembling ministers caused their cabinets to be emptied, and presided in person at the burning of all their papers—the mysterious testimonies of their guilt.

There was soon not a doubt in any one's mind as to the reality of danger. At a deliberation of the council it had been resolved, that the Empress Maria Louisa, and the members of administration

should remain in Paris; but the Arch Chancellor of the Empire suddenly adopted a contrary line of proceeding, in consequence, as was reported, of secret intelligence conveyed to him, but not made public, lest the alarm, with which he was seized, might extend further.

Not only the principal dignitaries, but the Empress and her Son suddenly abandoned Paris—a desertion injurious to the national guards, Napoleon having confided the defence of his dynasty to them. The fate of the capital was certainly accelerated by this measure. The Parisian guards, full of honor and loyalty, saw with indignation the pusillanimity betrayed by all the members of administration, who fled, carrying with them their riches and public maledictions, yet dared to desire that the Parisians would shed their blood, and sacrifice their property in supporting a desperate cause, which they, in so dastardly a manner, shrunk from. The sentiment of honour and duty no longer existed, except in the camp, and in the mass of population. Those, who held dignified offices, trembled only from the fear of losing their wealth.

The troops, left to defend Paris, were not only the remains of the corps which had fallen back before the enemy, but five to six thousand regulars in garrison duty, commanded by Generals Compans and Ornans, and thirty thousand national guards, of whom eight or ten thousand at the most were fit for active service. With all this united force, Paris could scarcely bring into action more than

twenty-six to twenty-eight thousand men, and only eighteen to twenty thousand effective soldiers. This little army was under the immediate command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by the Marshals Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, and the Governor General Hulin. But this Joseph, the ephemeral usurper of the Spanish throne, had thrice fled from Madrid on the approach of the enemy ; and at the battle of Vittoria, which was the last in the Peninsula, he himself had given the first signal of defeat. What a prospect for so many brave men, who had devoted themselves to the defence of Paris !

Joseph, however, appeared determined on holding this last bulwark of his family's power. His proclamations of the preceding day, had said to the Parisians : " I will not leave you ;" by which he wished to weaken the effect produced by the flight of Maria Louisa, and contracted a solemn engagement not to follow her example. Next day he examined the line of the army. It took a concentrated position, its right being stationed on the heights of Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-Chaumont, resting on Vincennes, the centre towards the canal of the Ourcq, protected on the rear by Montmartre ; the left extending itself from Mousseaux to Neuilly. The nature of the intersected ground on the right, several redoubts covering the centre, Montmartre commanding the plain behind the canal of the Ourcq, and finally a park of artillery, consisting of a hundred and

fifty pieces of cannon, advantageously disposed on the whole line, added to the strength of the defensive position.

While these preparations were completing, the Allied Sovereigns and Generals assembled at a Council of War, during the night of the 29th to the 30th and arranged the final dispositions for the attack. The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, who formed the left, was to march on Vincennes; General Rayefski on Pantin and Belleville; the Russian and Prussian guards on the high road, which leads from Bondy to Paris along the Ourcq canal. On the right the army of Silesia was to take a direction by the Soissons road towards Saint-Denis, and on the village of Villette, and to attack the heights of Montmartre; while the grand army was to make its offensive efforts on the heights of Belleville and Romainville. The third corps was posted in reserve, as well as part of the cavalry.

Every thing predicted an approaching attack, in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis; but the Parisians did not by any means suspect the extent of the dangers, with which they were menaced. Faithful to its system of perfidy and falsehood, government announced that all these military preparations had no object but to repel a feeble column of the hostile army; and yet two hundred thousand men arrived under the walls of Paris. Immense masses of infantry advanced by three different roads, a large body of cavalry covered the

plains, and six hundred pieces of artillery approached to thunder from the heights.

Of all spectacles the most novel to the Parisians, as well as the most terrible, was undoubtedly that of a battle. For nearly two centuries war had not approached its walls.

On the 30th of March, at two o'clock in the morning, Joseph gave a formal order for the defence of Paris, and the march of the national guards. Between three and four o'clock, drums were heard in every quarter of the city, and awoke the Parisians; a great number of whom had yielded to the sweets of repose, without foreseeing that they would awake to witness sanguinary horrors. All the national guards, though irritated and discouraged by the disgraceful flight of those to whom the administration of public affairs was committed, seized their arms, and alertly repaired to their different posts, which were assigned to them in the second line. In vain did women and infants endeavour, with tears and supplications, to detain their husbands and fathers, who tore themselves away from the embrace of those so dear to them. Generals, officers, soldiers, citizens, — all were united in one common sentiment, in spite of a diversity of opinions—all were penetrated by a feeling sacred to every nation, the duty of defending their capital. Two officers had presented themselves at the advanced posts of Marshals Marmont and Mortier; but had been refused admit-

tance. Every thing was ready for a courageous resistance, on the heights which protect Paris. The artillery defended the positions; and the largest force was stationed on the hills of Belleville and on Saint-Chaumont. At this point the corps of the Marshal Duke of Treviso was stationed, with batteries containing forty pieces of cannon. The riflemen increased, extended themselves, approached, attacked; and the combat became more and more sanguinary and obstinate—a terrible prelude which served as a signal to the numerous satellites of the police, whose chief was still at his post. These desperate men endeavoured to mislead and arm the people by false accounts, constantly declaring that the enemy was repulsed, and that Napoleon was at hand with eighty thousand troops. Cunning and perfidy were employed to inflame the spirits and stir up the passions. The literary manufactory of the police vomited an incendiary handbill, entitled *Shall we allow ourselves to be plundered? Shall we allow ourselves to be burnt?* The following is the substance of it.

“While the Emperor is acting in the rear of the enemy, twenty-three to thirty thousand men, led by an audacious partizan, dare to menace our barriers; can they impose upon more than five hundred thousand citizens, who are able to exterminate them? Have we not cannon? Have we not bayonets, pikes, and iron?” exclaimed the frantic writer. “Our suburbs, our streets, and our

houses will all serve for our defence. Let us barricade the city; let us cause our carriages to depart, and every thing which can obstruct the freedom of passage; let us embattle our walls; let us dig fosses; let us convey the pavement of our streets to the upper stories of our dwellings: and the enemy will shrink back appalled. What would be the fate of an army, trying to penetrate into one of our suburbs, against so many obstacles, incessantly exposed to a cross fire of musquetry from all the houses, as well as stones, logs of wood and other missiles, hurled at them from every quarter? Would not such an army be destroyed, before it reached the centre of Paris?"

The vigilance of good citizens stopped the distribution of this infernal production, but few copies of which found their way into circulation. It was by propagating these ideas among the people, that the favourers of Napoleon would have reduced Paris to a heap of ashes and dead bodies. It was at least evidently their wish to transform that city into another Saragossa. Infamous wretches, and stupid as infamous! Did the breath of tyranny ever inspire the exaltation of patriotism? Was it ever in the power of an oppressor to effect a national defence?

Roused, however, by so many emissaries and agents, a certain number of inhabitants, who were not yet armed, and principally consisted of persons in very indigent circumstances, formed themselves into collected bodies, and ran to the barriers, de-

manding arms, which they nowhere obtained. One of these bodies hastily repaired to the Place Vendôme, and was furnished with pikes; but the people rejected these, exclaiming that they were betrayed; as if it was in the power of the officers to furnish muskets, when there were none left in the dépôt. Those, who composed associations of this nature, were principally persons who wished for opportunities to plunder. This was their only motive in applying for arms, in provoking carnage, and in proclaiming the sudden return of Napoleon with his army. They had held horrible meetings in the suburbs, where they had sworn to exterminate many of the richer inhabitants, that they might share the spoil. The victims were absolutely fixed upon by name, and the carriages all ready for the removal of the booty. Such were the views of a few infuriated hundreds, and these impure dregs of the populace did the police endeavour to stir up, at the very moment that the allies, after two hours of skirmishing and cannonade, were proceeding to more serious attacks.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the Russian corps of General Rayefski had advanced from Bondy in three columns, supported by the guards, as well as the reserve, and quitting the high road from Meaux, had attacked the heights of Belleville, and Romainville. Like those of Montmartre they command Paris, and the surrounding district, which is covered with villages, and country houses. The division, under Prince Eugène of Wurtem-

berg, after having commenced the fire, tried to turn the right flank of the position at Belleville, but his infantry was repulsed by the batteries. The Duke of Ragusa, instantly assuming the offensive, caused the woods and houses, in front of Pantin, to be occupied by his riflemen, and supported all his infantry by ordnance favorably planted. The nature of the ground not permitting the allied cavalry to make any decisive charge, the fire of the Parisian artillery had time to cause great destruction in the ranks of the enemy. The combat continued with obstinacy, on the heights between Romainville and Pantin; and such was the determination, on both sides, that the riflemen were more than once renewed. The villages of Pantin and Romainville were taken and retaken several times, but remained at last in the power of the French.

The arrival of all their columns, and great efforts of courage could alone obtain victory for the Allies. Two unforeseen circumstances increased the uncertainties and dangers of this memorable day.

General Barclai de Tolly, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, learnt, as soon as he reached the field of battle, that Marshal Blucher had not received the plan of attack till that morning, and could not, from his distance at the time, reach the decisive point of Montmartre, till towards mid-day. The Russian General was, in like manner, informed that the corps, commanded by the Prince

Royal of Wurtemberg, supported by that of General Giulay, would not be able to take any part in the action below Vincennes till afternoon. These untoward circumstances, and the resistance of the French troops multiplied the obstacles to such a degree, that it became doubtful whether it would be possible to gain possession of the heights, which command Paris, in the course of the day. Every thing, therefore, became problematical; for the sudden appearance of Napoleon, in the centre of such military and political resources, might change the state of affairs in a moment. Admitting even that Napoleon were to re-appear alone, and without his army in Paris, he would there find immense means for opening a new field of carnage. The last reports of General Wintzingerode rendered this circumstance probable, Buonaparte having made a retrograde movement towards Vitry, on the 27th of March. Penetrated with the full urgency of the danger, and the necessity of an extraordinary effort, General Barclai de Tolly judged that it became indispensable to bring the choicest troops at once into action, and thus decide the fortune of the day.

Without losing a moment, he caused the grenadiers of the reserve, as well as the Prussian and Baden guards, to advance, and take a part in General Rayefski's attack. The village of Pantin was soon retaken at the point of the bayonet, and Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg seized the village of Pres-Saint-Jervais; but the French troops also

received reinforcements, and returned to the charge, displaying the rarest valour, and attempting several times to resume the offensive. Being at length stopped by the Russian grenadiers, near the woods of Romainville, they were driven back into the villages of Belleville and Mesnilmontant. No advantage, however, was obtained but at the price of great sacrifices, and after the most vigorous resistance. A continual fire of musquetry and cannon prevailed on the whole line. The Parisian artillery was served by the pupils of the Polytechnic school, who were principally from twelve to fifteen years old. They had, of course, but little experience; yet they rivalled, in ardour, the veterans with whom they associated; and their well-directed fire filled the approaches to the positions with the dead bodies of the enemy. Being thus transformed into disciples of war, they served the batteries with all the enthusiasm of valour; and a great number of them fell close to their cannon. The soldiers of the line too, inflamed with the most lively ardour, never ceased to renew their attacks, and descended from the heights with their bayonets in advance, to repulse the Allies. The field of battle was covered with the dead, and the carnage presented a frightful spectacle. General Barclai de Tolly, seeing the hills between Romainville and Pantin occupied by the columns of the grand army, ordered the regiments (which were principally so much reduced as to contain only riflemen) to collect their forces, and cease the offensive; being

convinced that when the army of Silesia, and the advanced guard, under the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, came on the ground, they would seize on Belleville and Saint-Chaumont with less sacrifice.

The principal French commanders did not now conceal from themselves that Paris was on the point of falling, if the Allies could bring forward a still stronger force ; but a sentiment of national honour induced both the officers and soldiers to redouble their courageous efforts. Joseph Buonaparte himself manifested a degree of emulation, and flattered himself that the seat of his brother's government would yet remain unconquered. From the heights of Montmartre, to which he repaired, with the same staff that he had at Vittoria, he dispatched his aides-de-camp to all the posts, repeating to the national guards, as well as the regulars, this encouraging expression, which formed part of his proclamation : "*I am with you. Defend yourselves.*" Such was his confidence, after the cannonade had continued four hours, that he still supposed the enemy to be making the attack, with only twenty or thirty thousand men ; nor was he undeceived, till an officer suddenly arrived, who had been taken the day before by a party of cosaks, and conducted to the head-quarters of the Allied Sovereigns. It was Captain Peyre, of the engineers, who was attached to the staff of Paris.

He had received from the Governor-General Hulin the delicate charge of going to reconnoitre

the strength and position of the Allies beyond Pantin, or, according to another version, he had been merely ordered to learn what were the motives for refusing admittance to the officers sent by the Allies. Scarcely had he left Pantin, when he was made a prisoner by the cossacks. He maintained that their conduct was contrary to the laws of war, as his mission had for its object the safe conduct of officers sent with proposals; and he insisted upon being immediately re-conducted to the French advanced posts. The objection made was, that his appearance was not regular, he being not preceded by a trumpeter, and having no order in writing. He was, therefore, compelled to remain in the custody of the cossacks, till the next morning at day-break, when he was removed to Bondy. As he passed along, he began to examine the strength of the Allies, which he, in common with all the inhabitants of Paris, had supposed to be twenty-five or thirty thousand men. What was his surprise, on arriving at the head-quarters of the Allies, to learn that the orders of the Emperor Alexander would be taken respecting him! It was seven o'clock in the morning, and he could distinctly hear the cannonade in the neighbourhood of Paris, when the Prince of Schwartzemberg announced to him that he would have an audience of the Russian Emperor, as soon as the council broke up, which was then assembled. Accordingly he was afterwards introduced into the presence of the Czar.

“ Sir,” said Alexander to him, “ after the re-

fusal to receive the officers sent by the Allies yesterday, I had determined to have waited till propositions were made to me by the city of Paris. It is not against the French nation that we carry on war, but against Napoleon; who, by the most unjust aggression, though I dealt frankly and faithfully with him, invaded my states. Did he not occasion the devastation of my empire, and the destruction of my capital? I might use reprisals, but I repeat to you, that it is not against the French nation, it is not against the city of Paris, that I carry on war. Do you think that Paris will defend itself?"

"Yes, sire," replied Captain Peyre.

"So much the worse," observed the Emperor. "You have been able to form a judgment as to our strength. It is not a solitary division, as you have been falsely informed, but the army of all Europe, which is before your capital. Resistance, therefore, would be in vain, and would only cause a useless effusion of blood. How strong is the army, close to Paris?"

"Your Majesty will pardon me, if I do not reply to this question," said the Captain.

"It is just," answered Alexander; "but, Sir, as the French wish to defend themselves, tell the person who sent you, that the Allied Sovereigns have ordered General Barclai de Tolly to receive, at the advanced posts, the officer, who may be sent to enter into a conference. There are some proclamations. Deliver them to any one, thought by

yourself most proper. Above all, do not forget to state, as the Parisians are resolved on a defence, that I shall be ready to treat, even when the troops are fighting in the suburbs ; but that if the boundaries of the city should be forced, sword in hand, it will not be in our power to arrest the progress of our troops, and prevent the pillage of Paris. Go, Sir—the safety of the capital is in your hands.”

Captain Peyre immediately took leave of the Emperor, and repaired, with the Russian escort, to the village of Pantin, accompanied by two trumpeters and an officer. The clocks now struck nine in the morning, and a brisk discharge of musketry had taken place, on both sides, by the sharpshooters. The Russian officers immediately caused the fire of their soldiers to cease, but there was no means of suspending that of the French. Captain Peyre, impressed with the high importance of his mission, rushed through a shower of balls, several of which penetrated into his clothes ; and having crossed the line of defence, hastened to Montmartre, where the staff was stationed. It was thought that he had been taken ; but, on his reappearance, the Governor of Paris immediately repaired with him to Joseph Buonaparte. This Lieutenant-General, and representative of Napoleon, was sitting at table, in the fulness of fancied security. His surprise was extreme, when Captain Peyre informed him that the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia were at Bondy, with all their forces. Overpowered by the first impres-

sion, which this intelligence caused, Joseph exclaimed: "In that case, there is no alternative but to treat with them." Captain Peyre himself declared, that it was utterly impossible for the French troops to resist the enormous army, commanded by the Sovereigns in person. Having finished his recital, he presented to Joseph the proclamations, of which he was the bearer. The weight of such evidence appeared as if it ought to dissipate every doubt; notwithstanding which, Joseph and his staff were still dubious, or rather blind to the danger of Paris; not being able to persuade themselves that all the allied troops could be so near. Almost an hour had expired, before they gave credit to the statement of Captain Peyre, when at length they perceived the confederated armies, spreading over the plain of Saint-Denis, and displaying a front of more than two leagues in front. It was then noon; the national guards departed from the barriers to support the line, and it was clearly perceived that the Allies were making dispositions for a general attack. The first column of the Silesian army had reached the ground, and Saint-Denis was blockaded. The corps of General Langeron, after having dislodged the troops which occupied Aubervilliers, advanced directly by Clichy on Montmartre, while the Prussian corps, under Generals York and Kleist, marched on the villages of Villette and Pantin. Their artillery opened its fire, which was successfully returned by the French batteries, between the two

villages; while several battalions resumed the offensive, and renewed their efforts to effect an entrance. The Prussian troops repulsed the first columns, but were, in their turn, overpowered by fresh regiments, and by the destructive fire of the Parisian batteries, which were covered and flanked by deep ditches. Further battalions, however, of the Prussian and Baden guard, rushed forward with advanced bayonets, and a second time seized the village of Pantin.

During these different combats, the riflemen, belonging to the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg's advanced guard, had approached from Vincennes; and General Barclai de Tolly, having received information of this circumstance, ordered a general attack. The division, commanded by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, moved on Belleville, and that under Prince Gotschakoff on the village of Charonne; while the corps of Russian grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-General Lambert, also marched to attack the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-montant.

On the side of Montmartre, the enemy's batteries were planted at the very foot of the hill; and opening their fire, discharged balls and bombs, which flew round the heads of Joseph Buonaparte and his staff. The Marshal Duke of Ragusa now announced to him that the French troops, in spite of their glorious resistance, were about to be overpowered by numbers, and could not sustain the battle more than an hour and a half longer. Joseph

perceived too that the capture of Belleville, Saint-Chaumont, and Montmartre, would speedily afford the Allies access to the capital, and that it was time to think of his own safety, which he once more sought in a speedy flight.

He immediately ordered Captain Peyre to accompany the Aide-de-Camp, whom he sent to the Duke of Ragusa, authorising the last-mentioned officer to apply for a suspension of arms, and a capitulation ; but these pacific dispositions could not be effected with a promptitude, sufficient to stop the effusion of human blood. Time passed away ; the conflict was prolonged through the whole line, and the successive arrival of the allied troops gave the enemy a decided superiority.

While the vicinity of this great metropolis was thus become the theatre of carnage, the interior presented a calm and formidable aspect. The populace covered the squares, streets, and interior *boulevards* of the North, though without confusion or disorder, and without any manifestation of surprise or alarm, but rather of curiosity and expectation. The crowd more particularly moved towards the gates of St. Denis and Saint-Martin, as if to assist at a public ceremony. Amidst an uninterrupted line of carriages, baggage waggons, and artillery trains, with officers and soldiers of every description, filing towards the field of battle, or returning wounded from it, an immense multitude proceeded through the city, consisting of almost as many women as men, attracted by a spec-

tacle the most singular in the annals of Europe. One universal sentiment of esteem and interest was felt for the brave men, who devoted themselves to almost certain death. It was the theme of lamentation that they should fight for a tyrant, detested by all, and whose overthrow would be considered as a benefit bestowed by Heaven ; but the cause of the French was still the cause of honour, so long as there appeared any chance of success, from the effort of their arms.

Neither the roar of artillery, and musketry, nor the afflicting intelligence which the disturbers of public tranquillity so industriously spread, nor the vociferation of the police agents could alarm Paris. It seemed as if a secret presentiment assured the inhabitants that the *denouement* of this great drama would not be fatal, and that the interior of this beautiful capital would be preserved from the horrors of war. But if the populace waited the event with firmness, such was not the case with many families. How many wives and mothers were in tears and agony ! The latter looked forward with terror to the probability of Paris being sacked, and their daughters outraged ; the former, who were very numerous, trembled for the fate of their husbands and sons, who had taken arms. The commander, however, did not require, on the part of the national guards, who were summoned beyond the barriers, any other service than that of posting themselves in the second line, and presenting to the enemy an appearance of a force

which did not in reality exist. It could not be expected that the Parisian guards should display that firmness and heroic valour, by which regular veterans were distinguished. In fact, several fathers of families, who for the first time witnessed a battle, and some, who revolted at the idea of supporting an odious tyrant, and a detested government, saw the means of retreat in their rear, and availed themselves of it; while others, affected by the tears of their wives and daughters, who came to draw them from the post of danger, likewise followed the example, which prudence and indignation suggested. On the other hand, however, historical impartiality requires it to be stated that the majority of the Parisian guard furnished a great number of irregular troops, who assisted in repulsing the enemy on several occasions. Many of them were wounded; above three hundred were left dead on the field of battle; and in general they remained firmly under their colours, though one of their own commanders had set the shameful example of cowardly desertion, after having instigated all Paris to take up arms. This organ of every disastrous measure, this vile apostle of tyranny, had unceasingly endeavoured, by word and deed, to perpetuate the system of general desolation, on which the power of Napoleon was founded. He had enjoyed too all the favour of the despot; honours, riches, and rank had been accumulated on his head. Who would not then have thought that, after drawing his sword, he would have shed

the last drop of his blood in behalf of the brother, for whom he had no hesitation in sacrificing France? Had he not declared to the national guard, that if it would only defend Paris for a single day, the Emperor would arrive with a considerable force? What was the result of all this? The cannon roared; the balls flew over the barriers; the throne of Napoleon was in danger; and this man, who was at one and the same time an orator, academician, counsellor of state and minister—this man, who had assumed the habit of a warrior, was seen pale and trembling. He ignominiously fled amidst the clamour of his brethren in arms, whose indignation was such that they threatened to fire at him. The swiftness of his horse soon brought him to a place of shelter, and he now increases the number of those fallen courtiers, to whom nothing remains but public contempt and execration. By the dastardly conduct of Joseph, the national guards were left without a commander-in-chief, and were exasperated beyond measure; but shortly afterwards they were in some degree appeased by the presence and address of Marshal Moncey, who was the second in command. This officer, in an oration analogous to the serious state of circumstances, exhorted the guards, now ranged in order of battle at the barriers, not to forsake their post, but to answer public expectation, by assuming a steady and resolute appearance. He added, that if the Allies should appear in too great force at the points of attack, it was possible that

he might be constrained to capitulate, but that it was always necessary to maintain an imposing attitude, in order to obtain honourable conditions.

All the efforts of perseverance and courage were, however, on the point of being exhausted. The conflict had been very animated towards Villette, where the Parisian artillery opposed a long resistance to the chosen troops of the grand army, supported by six Prussian battalions, and inspired by the presence of Prince William of Prussia; but the corps, under the command of Generals Kleist and York, having taken part in the action, their artillery silenced the French batteries; and the troops immediately concentrated themselves in Villette, making dispositions to defend the village.

At the same time, two Russian divisions seized the church-yard of Mont-Louis, under a heavy fire of musketry and grape-shot. They took eight pieces of cannon and instantly occupying the village of Charonne, thus arrived at the very gates of the metropolis.

It was in vain that the Marshal Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa had made another attack on the Prussian and Baden guards, in front of Belleville. The allied troops, resuming the offensive, overthrew every obstacle; and in a short time the heights between the barriers of Belleville and Pantin were in their power, as well as twenty pieces of cannon.

The Russian grenadiers forced the two villages of Belleville and Mesnilmontant with the same

vigour and success. Saint-Chaumont was also taken; and the national guards re-entered the barriers in some degree of disorder. The Allies now made arrangements to fire on the edifices, which are between Saint-Chaumont and the barriers; the inhabitants immediately displayed a black flag. The centre of the French troops still held their station at the farm of Rouvroy, in front of the Ourcq canal, where a strong redoubt had been constructed, which was defended by a battery mounting eighteen pieces of cannon. This position had, during a considerable portion of the day, held the corps of General York in check, but the flank being assailed from the heights of Romainville, the enemy, by a simultaneous attack, drove the infantry back to Rouvroy. There the Allies were awhile arrested in their progress by the French artillery; but their own coming up to their support, they forced all before them to the barriers, after having taken seven pieces of cannon. This was, however, at the expense of much blood-shed on the part of their bravest soldiers. The French troops never for a moment belied the high reputation, which they had acquired during the almost uninterrupted triumphs of five-and-twenty years. Overpowered by numbers, they were compelled to give way, but they were dreadful to the enemy even while they yielded the ground. During this unequal struggle, several of those brave veterans, whom the populace call *old mustachio*, were carried within the barriers, mortally wounded, and

there expiring with their muskets in their hands, feebly said, "*They are too many for us.*"

The Generalissimo, Prince of Schwartzenberg, had sent an officer to General Drouaut, who still maintained some positions beyond the barriers, exhorting that commander to cease an useless resistance, which could only draw down misfortunes upon the inhabitants of Paris. General Drouaut had replied, that he did not command the French army, but would immediately communicate this overture to the Commander-in-Chief. The moment was decisive. Towards Charonne, Belleville, Mesnilmontant and Saint-Chaumont, the enemy had surmounted every obstacle. The capital of France was about to be forced, sword in hand; when the Marshal Duke of Ragusa, who had received information of Joseph Buonaparte's flight, and saw that the most advantageous positions were occupied by the Allies, sent an officer to General Barclai de Tolly, asking a truce of two hours. On this condition he promised to abandon all the ground, which he still occupied beyond the barriers; and engaged that he would sign the surrender of Paris, at the expiration of the armistice. General Barclai de Tolly lost no time in referring this proposition to the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, who had never for a moment left the field of battle. These two monarchs, animated by a desire to stop the effusion of blood, and wishing to preserve from ruin one of the first cities in

Europe, agreed to the truce, and ordered their armies to cease hostilities.

During this parley, the heights of Montmartre were attacked by the army of Silesia, the distance not allowing it to have yet received notice of the proposed armistice. Four hundred French dragoons, with a colonel at their head, audaciously charged more than twenty thousand infantry and cavalry several times, but of course without effect. Their commander, seeing that they were at length about to be turned on the plain of Neuilly, caused a retreat to be sounded, and they retired in disorder. Montmartre being thus uncovered, the eighth Russian corps, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Roudsevitch, and the tenth commanded by Lieutenant-General Kapzevitch, though several times repulsed, finally climbed the heights, after having overthrown some companies of the line, which were supported by the national guards. Twenty-nine pieces of cannon and sixty ammunition waggons fell into the hands of the enemy, whose bombs and balls reached the suburb of Montmartre and Chaussée-d'Antin.

Every obstacle was also upon the point of being surmounted at Villette. The allied cavalry, which had formed at Rouvroy, deployed upon the plain. The black hussars of Brandenburg repulsed the charges made by the French dragoons, and penetrated into the village, which the infantry in vain endeavoured to maintain. Two battalions of

Russian *chasseurs*, belonging to the corps of General Woronzoff entered it at the same time as the other allied cavalry, and joined in taking possession of it, as well as of the batteries planted to defend it. In like manner, the Prussian corps, under Generals York and Kleist, marched on the great road against La Chapelle, and carried that village, which is contiguous to the suburb of Saint-Denis. At the moment that these vigorous attacks conducted the enemy to the barriers, the first cry of alarm and terror was heard in Paris. The panic, which became general, was occasioned, according to some, by the bursting of a shell; according to others, by the accidental discharge of a national guard's musket, who was lying dead near the gate of Saint-Denis. A person on horseback galloped, just at the time, through the suburbs, exclaiming, as he passed the crowd: "*The enemy is coming!*" The cry of *they are coming, they are coming*, which gained credit from the explosion just mentioned, spread terror through an immense concourse of people in the Boulevards. The crowd dispersed in the twinkling of an eye, and flying in all directions, gained the centre of the city. Some shops, which had still been open, were instantly shut, and the houses barricaded. The market-places looked like solitary deserts. Recovering, however, from this false alarm, the populace again filled the streets, the squares, and the *Boulevards*, incessantly agitated by different opinions, and a hundred contradictory reports; incessantly har-

arrassed and tormented by the vile instigators, who had immersed from the caverns of the police. It was not accurately known whether the enemy was victorious, or repulsed, or still fighting. Uncertainty and anxiety held every mind in suspense.

Such was the situation of Paris, at the moment of the armistice. Previously, however, the troops, commanded by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, on the left flank of the line, had driven back the corps, which defended the approaches to Vincennes, and taken thirteen pieces of cannon, at that point ; after which the Prince arrived on the ground of general action. The barrier of Trone had been confided to the artillery men of the Parisian guards, who made a courageous resistance. The conflict had been maintained for two hours, under the walls of this barrier, and the allies had been repulsed ; but the arrival of the advanced guard, commanded by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, gave the enemy a superiority at this point also. Some cossacks penetrated towards the suburb of Saint-Antoine, and took two pieces of cannon, which had been abandoned by a squadron of *gendarmarie*. At the same time, two other columns, belonging to the Prince Royal, moved on the heights of Rosny and Charenton. In vain did the pupils of the veterinary school, seconded by some troops of the line, defend the bridge over the Marne ; a hundred and fifty young men were killed there. The Allies took possession of the bridge, and transported themselves to the right bank

of the Seine, opposite to Port-à-l'Anglais. There the Prince Royal's riflemen fired on the national guards, who were patrolling on the opposite bank.

The tidings of an armistice suspended all the attacks.

In the mean time, several mayors of the different wards in Paris, had assembled at the *hotel-de-ville*, to concert with each other as to the means of preserving Paris from plunder. Captain Peyre brought to these magistrates an account of his interview with the Emperor of Russia, and the favourable disposition of the Allied Sovereigns; urgently pointing out how necessary it was to hasten the moment of capitulation. Deputies, nominated for this purpose, were sent to the headquarters of Marshal Marmont, where they already found Count Orloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and Count de Paar, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzemberg, who were charged with the office of regulating the cessation of hostilities, in concert with Colonel Denys, principal aide-de-camp to the Duke of Ragusa, and Colonel Baron Fabrier, attached to his staff.

The shout of *A capitulation* had resounded on all sides. The heirs of Peter the Great and Frederick the Great had thrown themselves into each other's arms, exclaiming in broken accents, and with tears in their eyes: "*The cause of humanity is victorious.*" These two monarchs repaired, immediately after the armistice, to the heights of Belleville. There they surveyed the capital of

France, and received its deputies. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, Count de Nesselrode entered the city, furnished with full power to ratify the capitulation, which was concluded on the following conditions :

That the Allied troops should, on the succeeding day, occupy the arsenal, and all the barriers ; after which they should enter Paris.

That the Marshal Duke of Treviso and Ragusa should leave the city at the head of their respective corps, with their arms and artillery.

That in no case could hostilities be recommenced, till a delay of two hours had taken place after the evacuation.

Paris was recommended to the generosity of the Allied Sovereigns.

Immediately after the signature of this capitulation, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, accompanied by the Prince of Schwarzenberg, returned to the village of Bondy, where their quarters were prepared.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies, Count Barclai de Tolly, who was this day elevated to the rank of a field-marshal, removed his head quarters to the village of Romainville.

The army of Silesia *bivouacked* on the heights of Montmartre, and in their environs.

The corps of Russian grenadiers established itself on the heights of Belleville and at Charonne ; the corps of General Rayefski took a station in rear of these two positions ; while the Russian, Prussian

and Baden guards remained in the vicinity of Pantin, having, in their rear all the cavalry belonging to the reserve.

The Wurtemberg troops, and the Austrian corps, under the command of Count Giulay, *bi-vouacked* near Vincennes and Charenton.

Thus the allied armies were stopped in their progress as if by a sort of enchantment, and posted before the capital of France, where so many misfortunes, fatigues, and troubles were happily to attain their termination. The obstinate and glorious resistance of the french troops had cost the conquerors seven to eight thousand men, left on the field of battle; and the vanquished had sustained a loss of three to four thousand. Humanity must doubtless sigh at this, but we have at least the consoling reflection that so many brave men were not uselessly sacrificed; that they sealed with their blood the destruction of a monstrous power; and re-erected as it were the standard of regenerated Europe, under the government of legitimate sovereigns.

The human mind, however, remains humiliated, and confounded; and is forced to confess this was not the work of man. Paris, surrounded as it was with dangers, escaped only by a sort of miracle. The very resistance, which duty and honour commanded, might have been the occasion of its ruin. According to the arrangements, made by the allied monarchs during the night of the 29th and to the 30th, all the columns of attack

were to arrive at ten o'clock in the morning, on the ground respectively designed for them ; instead of which not only the Silesian army, but the corps, commanded by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, and that of General Giulay, did not appear in line till just before the suspension of arms took place. The attack of the Prince Royal, towards the barrier of Trone, was to serve as a signal for a general attack, from Montmartre to the suburb of Saint-Antoine, and thence to the Seine. Fortunately his royal Highness was retarded in his march ; and his riflemen were only beginning to fire, at the very moment of capitulation. Had he arrived on the ground at noon, more than a hundred thousand men would probably have entered the capital by main force ; and the eighteen thousand brave troops, who defended it on the heights of Belleville, would not have been able to prevent its fate.

In another respect, Napoleon had almost contrived, by the barbarous orders which his ministers received from him, to make Paris one wide extended scene of desolation and carnage. Pressing the movement of his army with incredible celerity, he arrived at Troyes with his guard on the 29th of March at eleven o'clock at night, after having exhausted his troops by a march of twenty leagues that day. Tortured by sinister presentiments, he had formed an opinion that the duration of his power depended upon the resistance of Paris, and that unless he prevented the reduction of that city, he had lost all. He therefore adopted the reso-

lution of dispatching, during the night, General Girardin, his aide-de-camp, by whom he sent orders, diametrically opposite to those which General Dejean had received from him, at the bridge of Doulencourt. The dispatches, addressed to the ministers of war and police, are said to have contained his positive commands to defend Paris by all practicable means. Napoleon ordered the streets to be barricaded, and the pavement of them to be broken up; he directed that, in every part of the city towards the North, the houses should be embattled; that stones, logs of wood, and boiling oil should be thrown down from the roofs and windows of the houses, for which purpose the populace should be provided with the means of offence. He also prescribed that, in case any part of the northern extremity should be forced, the suburbs were to be burnt, and the inhabitants to withdraw into the centre of the city, on the left bank of the Seine, after having placed trains under all the bridges, for the purpose of blowing them up. It was also his will that the opposite bank should be defended with the same obstinacy, and that, in every quarter, the ground was only to be ceded inch by inch, nor even this until every thing was half burnt or destroyed. Finally, Napoleon promised to arrive, at the head of his army, in twelve hours.

On the 30th in the morning, he left Troyes with his guard, which always formed the head of his column, taking a direction towards Pont-sur-

Seine and Moret. But so great was his impatience that he quitted his army at the distance of five leagues from Troyes, and took the Sens road. On his arrival at Villeneuve-l'Archeveque, he threw himself into a post-chaise, with some confidential officers, and a suite of thirty persons, most of whom travelled in light carts, or upon hack horses—an equipage which appeared rather like that of an adventurer, than a sovereign lately so powerful. Fifteen hundred cavalry, selected from his horse guards, followed at a distance.

As he passed through Sens, Napoleon summoned the mayor into his presence, and stated that the French army, consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand men, was behind him and that subsistence must be provided for it. From Sens he hastily proceeded to Moret and Fontainebleau, and finally arrived at Cour-de-France, near Jeuvisy, which is four leagues from the capital. There he stopped; and as if stupified by fear dared not proceed towards his own capital, which he suspected to be in the power of the enemy. With a sort of tranquillity he awaited at an inn the return of his aide-de-camp, and intelligence from Paris. He remained almost always alone, and paced the room with long strides; but suffered no trace of uneasiness to appear in his countenance, and even supped with appetite; then causing his camp bed to be prepared, he threw himself upon it, and sunk to sleep.

With every exertion, his aide-de-camp was

only able to reach Paris, at the moment that the capitulation was signed. Thus the delay of a few hours saved Paris, both from the general attack of the allies, and from the disastrous effects of the inhuman orders, transmitted by Napoleon.

If they arrived at too late a period for the military commanders, such was not the case with regard to the heads of the police. These men, so infamously sold to despotism, had never ceased, for an instant, to provoke the ruin of Paris. Before they were even acquainted with the intentions of their master, so conformable to the infernal plan, which they had attempted to put in execution, they still issued *bulletins* to deceive and exasperate the people. Their emissaries ran to every quarter, announcing, at one time, that the enemy was repulsed; at another, that the King of Prussia was cut off with a column of ten thousand men, and that he would shortly enter the metropolis as a prisoner. They propagated these gross falsehoods, at the moment that their excellencies the grand dignitaries, and even the Empress Regent herself, with her son, were continuing their flight from Paris; affording a mournful example of the fragility of human grandeur. Nothing, however, could discourage the favourers and satellites of Napoleon, though their own depression plainly betrayed the falsehood of their reports. When they received an assurance that the Emperor himself was approaching in person, they pursued the execution of their projects with renovated energy.

They scattered money among the populace in various quarters, exciting them to rise; appealing to the most furious demagogues; appointing nocturnal meetings; and putting every thing in motion to counteract the capitulation, or to cause a violent rupture of it by popular insurrection. The calmness of attitude, however, which the Parisians had now in general assumed, was proof against the frightful calculations of these homicides.

It was only towards the close of the day, that the inhabitants of the city heard of the authority, sent by Joseph Buonaparte to the Marshal Duke of Ragusa, as to treating with the allied commanders; and French troops had soon afterwards entered Paris, whose movements announced, to the least experienced eye, an approaching abandonment of the place.

Some shots, fired from the heights, which command the capital, informed the inhabitants that from this time their destiny depended only on themselves, and the conquerors, who directed this war of liberation in favour of Europe. The night covered with its first shadows the successive retreat of the brave troops, who had so nobly defended the metropolis. They withdrew without disorder, and without noise.

When day light was entirely at an end, a novel spectacle arrested the public attention. Innumerable fires covered the whole chain of hills, which, towards the north and east, command the capital. This vicinity of the allies recalled to the

minds of the Parisians what Napoleon had said, the year before, when he solemnly declared that if the enemy even occupied the heights of Montmartre, he would not yield a single village, which had been united so the ancient domains of France.

Though Paris now gave way to confidence, it had not yet escaped all its perils. A horrible attempt at destruction still menaced a city, which two hundred thousand troops had respected. Buonaparte had ordered the powder magazine at Grenelle to be blown up, and this edifice contained two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of gunpowder in grain, five millions of infantry cartridges, twenty-five thousand artillery cartridges, three thousand loaded shells, and an immense quantity of other combustibles. Half Paris would have been blown to atoms by the effect of so terrific an explosion; and this was no doubt the last despairing blow, which the tyrant darkly threatened Paris, when he said that the present and future generations should be appalled with horror at his fall. At nine o'clock in the evening, a colonel arrived on horseback, and demanded to see the director of artillery, Major Delescourt. This officer appeared. "Sir," said the Colonel, "has the ammunition been removed from the powder magazine at Grenelle?"—"No," replied the Major, "that has not been been possible. We have neither had time, nor horses enough."—"Then it is be to blown up instantly," said the messenger. — At these words the Major turned pale, and was much disturbed.—

“ Do you hesitate, sir?” demanded the Colonel.— Recovering himself after a moment’s reflection, and fearing that a similar order would be transmitted to some other person if he refused, Major Delescourt affected a calm demeanour, and answered that he would immediately attend to the command. The Colonel disappeared, and the Major lost not a moment in effecting the evacuation of the magazine ; thereby saving Paris from a dreadful catastrophe, during which Napoleon, from the heights of Juvisy, might, in imitation of Nero, have seen his capital a prey to destructive flames.

This night of the 30th, which had been destined by Buonaparte to desolation, was, on the contrary, the happy period to fifteen years of slavery. It paved the way to the arts, and good taste : to our alliance with the great powers of Europe, and to the restoration of our sacred throne ; a revolution so surprising, that the warmest patriot could hardly hope such a vision to be realized.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arrangements and projects of the Royalists—The 31st of March—All the People go to meet the Allied Troops as Liberators—The first shouts of *Vive le Roi!* at Paris—Formation and March of the Royalists—Abortive efforts of Napoleon's partisans to stop this movement—It communicates itself to the People—The Allied Monarchs and their Troops enter Paris—Their march to the Champs-Elysees—Intoxication of the Populace—Magnanimity of the Emperor Alexander—All Paris proscribes Napoleon, and the signs of his Government disappear.—Perfidious accusation, made by the satellites of Buonaparte—Assembly of the Royalists at the Hotel-de-Morfontaine—Address to the Emperor Alexander, praying that the Bourbons may be recalled—Napoleon receives the capitulation of Paris at Cour-de-France—His retreat on Fontainebleau.

PARIS, the focus of those revolutions, which had desolated Europe; Paris, a prey successively to all the evils of anarchy and tyranny, after twenty-five years of convulsions and war, saw Europe in arms within its walls, saw nations, who abjured every spirit of vengeance, and appeared as liberators to the oppressed inhabitants. Their fate, therefore, depended upon themselves. It was, however, much to be feared that a long period of slavery had debased all hearts; that oppression, after having undermined the foundations of morality and civilization, had extinguished the love of independence; and that the rights of legitimacy would be forgotten.

Nevertheless, the approach of the crisis had secretly given birth to three parties, into which the

city was divided. The first was composed of faithful Royalists, who prayed for the return of the Bourbons; another party, almost equally numerous felt a vague desire for the establishment of liberty; while the third wished to maintain despotism by violence and terror. These elements of intestine discord spread themselves nearly throughout France; but the royalists and partisans of liberty, by uniting together in one common sentiment, were able to crush, under the weight of general indignation, the satellites and supporters of the tyrant, in the midst of their last efforts against the public tranquillity.

Napoleon, however, was neither defeated nor flying from his enemies. He was merely conquered by the superiority of numbers, and the skilful movement of his opponents; but his army hastened, at his call, towards the capital, where his name and the apprehension of his arrival were sufficient to inspire alarm and dread. The two hundred thousand troops of the European powers, which Paris had received within its bosom, seemed insufficient to protect its inhabitants from the vengeance of the irritated oppressor.

On the 31st of March, therefore, Paris was still held in awe by ten thousand government spies, and a sceptre of iron. Nothing was wanting to complete its deliverance, but that political energy, of which Northern Frenchmen, formerly so martial, no longer shewed themselves susceptible.

Some royalists, however, braved every danger, and declared themselves. In spite of a restless and prying police, in spite of those terrible checks on human resolution, exile or death, several secret associations were formed within the capital; some of them spontaneously, others at the instigation of invisible persons, who guided the confederation now extending through almost every province of France. This confederation had existed ever since the year 1800; and the persons, who composed it, were always able to recognize each other by appointed signs and words.

It was under the immediate direction of the King and his commissaries; and the Paris association boasted the illustrious names of Rohan, Rochefoucault, Montmorency, Chateaubriand, and Noailles. It had made a trial of its influence, by introducing a great number of Royalists into the national guard, and by favouring the evasion of Messieurs de Polignac, who, even in the chains of Buonaparte, had not despaired of the restoration. It was in vain that the police caused the arrest of several persons, who were intimately connected with Messieurs de Polignac, among the rest M. de Gobineau, one of the men most devoted to the royal house. Amidst a thousand circumstances, he had served it at the peril of his life, and from his dungeon he served it still.*

* M. de Gobineau only emerged from the dungeons of Buonaparte on the 1st of April, the day after the Allies entered Paris.

The associations escaped all the investigations of the police, even at the critical moment when M. de Saint Victor was arrested. He had been sent into Brittany, for purposes connected with the royal cause, but fell into the snares, laid for him by the creatures of the usurper. Defying, however, the rigours of imprisonment, and the threats of his persecutors, he displayed the most noble courage and resignation. No discovery was made, though the police had certain indications as to the existence, and organization of a royal party.

Neither arrests, nor the expatriation of Messieurs de Polignac, had any effect towards causing a relaxation in the proceedings of the confederacy; which continually increased its influence by the accession of gentlemen, alike distinguished for their probity, religion, and patriotism.

Hope at length dawned on the royalists; for every fear was dissipated by the arrival of his Royal Highness Monsieur Count d'Artois. It was known at Paris that this Prince, when he first placed his foot upon the soil of France, had been overpowered by his emotion, and that he had exclaimed, while tears flowed from his eyes: "I again behold my native country—that country through which my ancestors were delighted to distribute happiness. *I am in France—I shall leave it no more.*" The following proclamation, dated at Vesoul, on the 27th of February, and stamped with a character of authenticity, had also been received by Messieurs Adrian and Mathew de Montmorency, the leaders of the confederation.

"We, Charles Philip of France, son of France, Monsieur, Count d'Artois, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, &c. &c. to all Frenchmen, health!

"Frenchmen, the hour of your delivery approaches. The brother of your King is arrived among you. It is in the centre of France that he wishes to raise the ancient banner of the *fleurs-de-lis*, and to announce the return of happiness and peace, under the guardian influence of the laws, and public liberty.

"No more tyranny, no more war, no more conscription, no more vexatious taxes! By desire of your Sovereign and your father, be your misfortunes effaced by hope, your errors by oblivion, and your dissensions by the union, of which he wishes to become the pledge.

"The promises, which he solemnly renews to you this day, he burns to accomplish, and signalize by his love and beneficence, the moment that fortune shall restore to him his subjects and his children. Long live the King!

"CHARLES PHILIP."

It appeared essential to make this important document known, still more for the purpose of enlightening the public opinion, than of fortifying the royal party. No sooner was this resolved upon, than several zealous members of the association undertook the task. They printed a thousand copies in a single night, without the assistance of any

workmen, and, on the following day, succeeded in distributing them among all classes of society, thus happily completing their hazardous enterprise. M. Adrian de Montmorency, accompanied by his son Matthew, then hastened, in spite of every danger, to deposit at the feet of Monsieur, the oath of inviolable fidelity, on the part of all who were devoted to the interest of the august Bourbons.

Nothing could be more advantageous to the royalists, than the certain intelligence of Monsieur's arrival in France. The usurper of the government endeavoured, by his emissaries and manœuvres, to falsify or stifle the reports, which were prevalent in this respect, both at Paris and in the provinces. To disconcert the artifices of Buonaparte, M. d'Aguestré, who had been taken prisoner, and released on his parole, declared to the world, that he had seen his Royal Highness the Duke de Berry at Soissons. M. d'Aguestré, in the excess of his zeal, congratulated himself on the effect of his deception; but he was pointed out to the police, arrested, and conducted to Vincennes, nor did he obtain his liberty till the restoration took place.

The probable event of Paris being occupied by the Allies, had suggested a movement to the royalists, which would, in a striking manner, distinguish the liberation of the capital. Its object was, in fact, to convince the European monarchs that the wishes of the French, too long suppressed, had always been favourable to the royal cause. The Parisian association, however, had been weakened

by the departure of several royalists, who had repaired to their posts in their respective provinces. How then could it, in this reduced state, supply the impulse requisite towards a general movement? Distrust, despondency, egotism and fear, reigned among all classes of society. No party seemed capable of assuming, at the moment, a powerful attitude. Every thing, therefore, depended on the enthusiasm, with which the partisans of the legitimate dynasty were animated: It became indispensable to abjure frigid calculations, and to be guided by feeling only. It was not to be denied that real danger existed, that the supporters of tyranny were still masters of the ground, and adopting all the means in their power to defeat the attempts of the royalists. Nothing was more evident than that the sudden arrival of Napoleon might overturn their hopes, and give a new aspect to the state of affairs.

It was, nevertheless, determined, that six hundred gentlemen, on horseback, and in arms, should make a public declaration of their sentiments, and thus draw the people away with them; but on deliberating with more calmness and reflection, it was thought impolitic to gain possession of the public opinion by a species of violence. The only mode which appeared proper, was for the party to declare their sentiments, unarmed and openly, which plan was finally adopted.

Having received information, during the night of the 30th, to the 31st of March, that the gates of

Paris would, on the following day, be opened to the Allies, a hundred young royalists entered into an engagement among themselves, under the auspices of religion, morality and friendship, to meet at the Place Louis XV, and declare themselves for the Bourbons. None of them were yet acquainted with the intentions of the Allied Powers. Such was the uncertainty in this respect, that during the night, M. de Semalle, commissary to his Royal Highness Count d'Artois, dispatched M. de Douhet, with orders to pass the advanced posts of the allied line, and obtain from Count Langeron some intelligence as to the designs of the Sovereigns. M. de Douhet executed his mission, and reported that a movement, on the part of the royalists, was absolutely necessary, towards establishing the determination of the European Monarchs.

At length dawned the memorable day, which was to terminate the desolation and carnage of twenty-five years. From the moment that it was light, the inhabitants, of both sexes, left their houses, and crowded towards the squares, the quays, and the northern boulevards in every direction, manifesting throughout a greater degree of curiosity than uneasiness. The universal conversation turned on the dangers of the preceding day, the desertion of government, the flight of Joseph, the plan of defence by which the capital would have been destroyed, and the projected pillage of the houses. The result was, that the enemy could only be considered as the preservers of Paris. In a

short time, some officers of the Allies made their appearance, with patrols of cavalry. At sight of them, loud shouts of gratitude and approbation formed, as it were, a prologue to the singular spectacle, which the astonished Parisians were about to witness. Some murmurs of disapprobation were, nevertheless heard; but they proceeded from the pensioners of the police, which still constituted the great jurisdiction of Buonaparte's government. These hateful men persisted in serving their master to the last moment, with all the energy which criminal baseness could supply. Several of these myrmidons repaired on horseback to different quarters of the Louvre, ordering the people to shut their shops, barricade the streets, and assail the enemy; as Napoleon was arriving in person, to make an attack without the city. The populace was moved, and when the first detachment of cossacks appeared in the Place de Grève, they were saluted with furious shouts of "*Long live Buonaparte! Long live the Emperor!*" accompanied with menacing gestures. The cossacks were disturbed, and about to put themselves in a state of defence; when the commotion was appeased, and the instigators of it dispersed by the patrol of the national guard, which moved with celerity in all directions to maintain order. As soon as the people were left to themselves, these infamous appeals ceased to have any effect upon them. Far from wishing to concur in the maintenance of a detested government, they began to vent their indignation against

its base supporters. In the market-places, squares, and other public quarters, expressions of contempt and execration were universally heard against the vile instruments of an expiring police. "*There they are!*" said the people, recognizing them by their equivocal manner and haggard looks, "*there they are, but we no longer fear them.*" A deep impression of resentment and indignation prevailed through the multitude, against the authors of the cruel event, which had subjected the metropolis, and against the insensate chief, who by draining France, had reduced it to the degradation of making inglorious sacrifices.

Nothing could now shake the conviction of general security, which five hundred thousand citizens felt with respect to the liberating army. The increasing multitude crowded towards the *Boulevards*, where every thing presaged a political explosion. At nine o'clock in the morning M. Charles de Vauvineux appeared on horseback in the Place Louis XV, holding in his hand the following proclamation, by the commander in chief of the allied armies, which he read in a loud voice.

"Inhabitants of Paris, the allied armies are before your city. The object of their march towards the capital of France is founded on the hope of a sincere and durable reconciliation with that country. During twenty years, Europe has been inundated with blood and tears. The attempts, made to put a period to her misfortunes, have been useless, be-

cause there has existed in the government, which oppresses you, an insurmountable obstacle to peace. What Frenchman is not convinced of this truth? The Allied Sovereigns seek, with good faith, a *salutary authority* in France, which is able to join in cementing the union of all nations and governments.

“ To the city of Paris appertains, under existing circumstances, the glorious office of accelerating *universal peace*. Its wishes are awaited with the interest, which their vast consequences inspire. Let the Parisians speak, and from that moment the army, which is before their walls, will support their decisions.

“ Parisians, you know the situation of France, the conduct of Bourdeaux, the friendly occupation of Lyons, the evils under which your country groans, and the real sentiments of your fellow citizens.

“ By following such examples, you will terminate a foreign war, and intestine discord. In no other way can this great result be attained. The preservation and tranquillity of your city will be the object of those measures, which the Allies offer to undertake, in conjunction with the notables and authorities, who enjoy the largest portion of public esteem. No military oppression shall weigh on your capital.

It is with such sentiments that *Europe in arms* addresses you before your walls. Hasten to

justify the confidence, which she reposes in your patriotism and wisdom.

“ The Prince of SCHWARTZENBERG,
Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies.”

M. de Vauvineux had no sooner finished this proclamation than he displayed the white cockade in his hat, and uttered, for the first time that it had been heard in Paris since the revolution, the shout of *Long live the King!* At the same moment it was repeated by Count Leo de Levis in the Rue du Bac; by M. Charles de Crisnoy in the Place Vendôme; by Messieurs de Nieuwerkerke in the Italian Boulevard; and by M. de Maistre at the gate of Saint-Denis. All these gentlemen, who were on horseback, harangued the people, distributed cockades, and repeated with enthusiasm the cry of *Long live the King!* This sacred expression, according to the beautiful idea of the most illustrious as well as the most eloquent of our writers, opened the eyes of the French, changed the hearts of Princes, and saved the world. No one, however, yet dared to join in this call for the restoration.

Count Thibot de Montmorency, M. Charles de Crisnoy, Count Gustavus d'Hautefort, the Chevalier Barrey du Theil, and Count Cæsar de Choiseul arrived together at the Place Louis XV, forming the first group of the hundred Royalists, who had engaged to declare their sentiments together. Astonished at their small number, they

thought themselves abandoned; but, without a moment's hesitation, mounted the cockade, which was the signal of public happiness, rushed alternately into each other's arms, and exclaimed with courageous enthusiasm: "*Long live the King! Long live the Bourbons!*" One of them, loudly deploring the misfortunes of the Royal family, cried: "Let us, by our devotion this day, avenge the death of the Duke d'Enghien, who was murdered in so dastardly a manner." The assembled multitude replied: "To hell with his assassin!" Count de Montmorency immediately attached a white handkerchief to his cane, and waving this ensign of the moment, invited the people to range themselves under the banner of loyalty and honour. They were struck with the boldness of his conduct, but remained motionless.

Such was the first group of the Royalists, which immediately proceeded by the Rue Royale towards the *Boulevards*, and was only increased during its march, by the Duke de Mouchy, Count de la Ferte-Meun, and the Duke de Fitzjames, Count de Lascases, Viscount de Chateaubriand, and Count de Poret. On seeing the white flag, the people flocked towards it and began to be affected. Struck by the cry of *Long live the Bourbons*, a carman exclaimed with tears in the Rue de la Madeleine: "Oh the good princes! why did they not arrive sooner? I had three sons, but the last has been snatched from me. The Bourbons would at least have spared me that one."

Many of the royalists, however, still hesitated to declare themselves; others endeavoured to communicate their feelings in different directions, to the people. The Marquis de Pons, Baron Armand de Maistre, M. le Pelletier de Morfontaine. Messrs. Charles and William Nieuwerkerke, and Baron de Finguerlin traversed the *Boulevards* on horseback, with all the emblems of the august family, trying to propagate their noble sentiments, and to prepare for the allied monarchs such a reception as these august liberators deserved. Anxious, above every thing, to move the people, they explained the advantages of the restoration. "It is peace," said they, "which you will thereby obtain, and with it an end of the conscription, as well as all vexatious taxes." The populace now crowded round them, and enthusiastically repeated their words. Some kissed their boots, others fell at the feet of their horses; the women, in particular, pressed towards them, and embraced them, as if overpowered by a delirium of joy. It was thus that by degrees the movement was communicated to the multitude. The majority of the national guards partook of it. At a post in the suburb of Saint Honoré, there were more than a hundred men, who spontaneously stepped forward, and joined in the shout of *Vive le Roi!* Several patroles manifested similar sentiments. Such was the praiseworthy conduct, displayed by the majority of the guards, that on receiving orders to fire at the royalists in several quarters, they constantly refused to do this, and

manifested all the horror, which a civil war inspires. The royalists were also making every effort in the Italian *Boulevards*, and how great was their delight in finding themselves supported by general approbation ! Several of them read aloud the proclamation of the Allies, and M. Eugene de Carbonnieres spoke with so much animation in the great cause, that the transported auditors vociferated : “ *Down with the tyrant ! Long live the Bourbons ! Long live our legitimate Princes !* ” Fired by enthusiasm, M. de Carbonniere snatched the tricoloured cockade from the hat of his son (a pupil at one of the Lyceums) and substituted the white one, exclaiming before the assembled multitude : “ My boy, I have the happiness to decorate thee with this cockade, the symbol of the affection, which is felt by thy father and every good Frenchman for the august family, which Providence is about to re-establish on the throne. Remember that I was ever faithful to it. Swear that thou wilt follow my example, and die if necessary for thy King.” These words, which he pronounced with energy and sensibility, while he clasped his son in his arms, inflamed the auditors, who trampled under foot the tricoloured cockade, and decked themselves with the white one, the emblem of political regeneration.

A great number of the royal parties were assembled in various quarters, some of which met with opposition not only from the emissaries of the police, but also from the National Guard itself. Messieurs Holbac, Morin, and Mercier were em-

ployed in issuing the proclamations of the royalists, which had been printed during the night. As they passed through the Rue Montmartre, they encountered a detachment of Napoleon's satellites, who stopped them with the appellation of traitors, held bayonets to their breasts, tore away their cockades, destroyed their proclamations, and dragged them before one of the Mayors, where a *procès-verbal* was prepared against them. M. de la Grange, being informed of this circumstance, hastened to obtain their discharge, which he effected, and they returned together to their station.

During this interval, the first group, led by Count Thibault de Montmorency, had retraced its steps to the place Louis XV without its numbers having been increased; but here several ladies of distinction joined them; namely the Viscountess de Chateaubriand, Madame de Vauvieux, Madame de Semallé, the Countess de Choiseul, the Princess de Leon and others, who encouraged the young people in assuming the royal colours; they themselves distributing cockades and ribbons with impressive grace. Extolled and revered be the influence, exerted by the ladies of France at this happy termination of the longest and most horrible tragedy in our history! Was it, indeed, possible for them not to abhor a tyranny, which banished piety, affection, honour, knowledge, and politeness from their native land? They too had cherished a thousand secret wishes for the re-establishment of a monarchy, which had always con-

sidered them its ornament, and of which they alone, as it were, preserved the tradition. A spirit the most honorable, sentiments the most noble, and devotion the most elevated rendered the Parisian, females, on this immortal day, the interpreters and organs of the national will. With what solicitude and ardour did they distribute the emblems of royalty! When they no longer had any cockades, they tore in pieces several parts of their dress, which might serve to multiply the tokens of the restoration. It was nearly noon, and the royalists continually increased. Many of them, as they passed through the Place Louis XV, were suddenly oppressed with the recollection that this was the spot, on which Louis XVIth was sacrificed to popular fury, and shuddering at the cruel idea, burst into tears.

Napoleon, however, still had partisans. There were even some among them, who forgetful of their noble extraction, and the sacred principles of their ancestors, were not ashamed of going from group to group, and exclaiming: "Remove your cockades. Have we not an established order of things? Why not attach ourselves to it? We ought to have no wishes but for the Emperor." These cold remonstrances, however, these disgraceful exhortations were lost in the tumultuous shouts, which proceeded from several thousand persons. But the creatures of Napoleon did not confine their oppositions to harangues, inspired by malice; several royalists were actually insulted, and their

horses wounded by sabres. The restless emissaries traversed the suburb of Saint-Antoine, and flattered themselves, towards noon, that they had effected an anti-royal movement. The suburbs of Saint-Marceau and Saint-Jacques appeared dull, sombre, and in expectation of disagreeable consequences; but nothing could check the general impulse. An immense procession moved from the Place Louis XV, with a drum at its head; and was every where saluted by the acclamations of the multitude.

Since nine o'clock in the morning all the suburbs, through which the allied army was destined to march, when it entered Paris, were crowded to excess. A few patrols of the national guard were sufficient to maintain order among this large body of citizens, the majority of whom were animated by the same sentiment and spirit. The balconies and windows were filled with spectators, impatient to behold this foreign army, which restored peace and independence to the French, a sight unheard of in the history of the world.

The cavalry, under the command of the grand Duke Constantine, and the guards of all the allied armies, were formed in columns during the morning, on the road from Bondy to Paris. The Emperor of all the Russias with his staff, his generals, and suite, repaired to Pantin, where he was joined by the King of Prussia, with a similar equipage.

At that place, these two monarchs received the Mayor of Paris, whom Alexander addressed

in the following words. The promises, which they contain, have since been entirely realized.

“ The fortune of war has conducted me thus far. Your Emperor, who was my ally, has thrice deceived me. He has penetrated into the heart of my dominions, and inflicted evils, of which the traces will long remain. A just defence has brought me hither ; but I am far from wishing to avenge on France the injuries which I have received from the head of her government. The French are my friends, and I wish to prove that I know how to do good for evil. Napoleon is my only enemy. I promise my special protection to the city of Paris. I will guard and preserve all its public institutions. I will quarter there only a chosen body of troops. I will maintain your national guard, which is composed of your best citizens.

“ It rests with yourselves to secure your happiness for the future. You are in want of a government, which will give you repose, and give it likewise to all Europe. It rests with yourselves to declare your wishes, and you will find me ready to second your efforts.”

The two monarchs, surrounded by a crowd of princes and generals, at length proceeded through the barriers of Paris towards the suburbs of Saint-Martin, the cossacks of the guard forming the head of the procession. Count Sosthene de la Rochefoucault, wearing a white cockade, went to meet the allied Sovereigns, and offered himself as

a guide to the Emperor of Russia. Towards noon, the troops, which preceded and followed the imperial and royal retinue, made their entry to the sound of trumpets and martial music. They consisted of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, all in the best order and condition. The infantry marched with a front of thirty men, and the cavalry of fifteen.

On reaching the suburb, the crowd was so immense, and the acclamations so loud, that this military procession was for a long time delayed; and before the monarchs arrived at the gate of Saint-Martin, it became utterly impossible to follow them. All Paris appeared to be concentrated at a single point. Towards one o'clock the allied army of Europe, the army of friends to France, debouched on the *Boulevards*. On beholding this forest of spears, these firm battalions and brilliant squadrons, who could fancy that he beheld soldiers, just escaped from fatigues and hardships, the rigour of the season, and the hazards of warfare? Was this the wreck of an army, as described in the bulletins of Napoleon? At once fell the bandage, which cruel and perfidious hands had placed before the eyes of the public for so many years.

One might have imagined that an army of Titans and Centaurs appeared, when these legions from the borders of the Volga, the Spree, and the Danube, with this immense cavalry of Europe and Asia, burst on the view. The patriotic heart was oppressed, and tears rose into the eyes at such a

display of foreign pomp, and foreign victory ; but ere long the wish for peace, and a love of humanity triumphed over national pride. The astonished Parisians contemplated with admiration the spectacle, till now unknown, of an enormous army moving through six hundred thousand citizens in perfect security ; a nation mingling with ten other nations as if among its own brethren ; hostile troops received as if they were in their own country, and returning to the bosom of their families. They advanced as if defiling at a parade, and were accompanied by most unequivocal signs of greeting, on the part of the multitude. The difference of language was effaced by a similarity of sentiment, founded on a hatred of oppression, and an ardent desire to witness the re-establishment of legitimate authority. The natural curiosity of the Parisians, with respect to so many foreign nations, of different mien and different *costume*, and the interest, which such a grand scene altogether excited, gave place to a sort of ecstasy and exultation, when in the midst of a magnificent staff, composed of princes, generals, ministers of state, and ambassadors, all on horseback, appeared, in the full splendour of majesty, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and the Grand Duke Constantine, accompanied by the generalissimo Prince of Schwartzemberg, and the English ambassador, Lord Cathcart. The crowd instantly rushed towards the two monarchs, exclaiming : *Long live the Emperor Alexander ! Long live Frederick Wil-*

liom ! Every one wished to see them. The populace, mixed with persons of a superior rank in life, pressed forward to behold the Czar, and to touch his horse. They clasped his knees, and clothes, almost, as it were, devouring him, and shouting : “ *Long live our Deliverers !* ” Nor were these the only acclamations heard ; they were frequently intermingled with “ *Long live the King ! Long live Louis XVIII. ! Down with the Tyrant ! Long live the Bourbons !* ” To the tumultuous noise of the multitude were added the plaudits, which proceeded from every window in every street to the Champs-Élysées. The balconies of the handsomest hotels were filled with distinguished persons, who waved white handkerchiefs, and clapped their hands. The passage of the troops was so incessantly impeded, that the mob was frequently blended with the ranks. The Parisians grasped the hands of the soldiers, offering them refreshments and *liqueurs* ; but not one of them would accept any without paying for them.

During the whole march of this imposing procession, which occupied several hours, the two sovereigns replied to the acclamations of an immense populace with unbounded affability, and the most encouraging assurances of the interest, which they felt in the happiness of France and the rest of Europe. The wondering nation beheld, for the first time during twenty years, kings, who were *men*, and invited them to approach. With what admiration did the conduct and ob-

servations of these illustrious potentates inspire all around them ! “ We come not as conquerors ; we are your allies,” repeated they incessantly. “ I carry the French in my heart,” said the Emperor Alexander. M. Charles de Rozoir having testified to this monarch his admiration of the affability with which he treated even the lowest citizen, Alexander answered : “ Is it not our duty, as sovereigns, to do this ?”

The royalists crowded round the Emperor, and continually implored of him the restoration of their legitimate monarch. Alexander, on his part, seemed, by gracious signs and a sort of tacit approbation, to say : “ If that be the wish of the Parisians, it shall be accomplished.”

The troops, or rather all this picked army, amounting to fifty thousand men, after having marched through the northern *Boulevards*, took a direction by the Rue Royale and the Place Louis XV, towards the Champs-Elysées, while other columns defiled by the exterior *Boulevards*, along the walls of the capital, in order to fix their cantonments in the environs.

The monarchs, surrounded by their numerous staffs, caused the troops to halt on the Champs-Elysées, and placed themselves on the right, towards the centre of the avenue. There the troops defiled before their Majesties, in admirable order, for several hours. An affecting scene took place here. Madame de Semallé, a lady who had distinguished herself by her activity and zeal in the

royal cause, threw herself at the feet of the Czar, and with a flood of tears claimed her good King. "You wish it," answered Alexander, "and the French nation wishes it. Enough—you shall be gratified." This almost divine goodness made a profound impression upon every heart, which vented itself in the most ardent testimonies of acknowledgment and respect.

All Paris knew in a moment that, perhaps for the first time, victory would be attended only with benefits, the precursors of universal peace; that the capital of France would be exempt from contributions and war charges; and that all the monuments of art would be respected.

The transport of the people resounded on every side. The annals of the world do not afford an example of enthusiasm so fervent and sincere. My pen can but feebly retrace the electric sentiment with which Paris was seized. This grand and sublime spectacle is still present to the eye of every one that beheld it. Those, who did not, can form no accurate idea of it.

The attention was successively arrested by the most striking scenes. At one point was the national guard, armed and in uniform, clearing the avenues for the passage of the Allies, who approached in all the pomp of military parade, the day after an obstinate and sanguinary conflict. In another quarter, a foreign potentate was greeted like a father in the metropolis of a state, conquered and delivered by his arms, while with the most

unaffected modesty he received the homage tendered by an idolizing nation. At a further distance, this lately oppressed nation manifested its sudden and unanimous wish for peace, and for the destruction of tyranny; enjoying the sensation of its deliverance, and the spectacle now exhibited to view. To complete this picture, the populace, so lately trembling at the nod of the oppressor, was now seen throwing a cord round the neck of Napoleon's statue, on the column of victory, and trying to pull it from its place, with repeated cries of "*Down with the tyrant!*" The resentment of the Parisians, when left to themselves, no longer knew any bounds. The emblems of the government not only disappeared, to make way for those of royalty, but the Parisians, renewing the outrages, which had in ancient times distinguished the funeral obsequies of Nero, heaped merited opprobrium on the termination of Napoleon Buonaparte's tyranny.

The happiness of this ever-to-be-celebrated day was confirmed by the most positive assurances of the generous sentiments, which animated the Allied Monarchs, in favour of the French. The confidence was reciprocal, and so many nations, who were but the day before hostile to France, were at once considered in no other light than that of ancient allies.

This general feeling, however, could not be an unanimous one. The wicked are ever ready with their machinations, and the genius of evil continued to struggle against the good genius of

France. The friends of the restoration roused all the malicious fury of Napoleon's partisans. The sensations of wounded self-love and ruined interest, with all the terrors of the future, roused and rallied them. This day, on which eternal justice had broken the sceptre of usurpation, was marked by a monstrous alliance, in the bosom of the capital, between the vagabonds who were bent only upon pillage, and the infamous wretches, who for wealth and honours had delivered France over to an insensate despot. United by regret as to their losses on the one part, and infamy as to their designs on the other, these men, who were the scum of the populace, and a detestable court, endeavoured to poison the sources of truth, and to mislead the opinion of the public, by subtle statements and virulent accusations, tending to alarm the national pride, to light up hateful passions, to excite the soldier against the citizen and the citizen against the soldier. In the height of their rage they talked of treachery. "We have not been properly defended," said they. The greatest disorder presided over the military preparations. In one quarter the balls were not of the proper calibre; in another, the batteries were arranged with perfidious cunning. Were not arms refused when the people asked for them? Did not the national guard, instead of gunpowder, find ashes in their cartridges? Montmartre was neglected. The defence of the city was mere matter of form. All the generals have betrayed us. Paris has been bought and sold."

It was not difficult for the friends of truth to repel, by irresistible argument, these vague declamations, dictated by a spirit of hatred, vengeance, and malice. "What," said they, "we have not been defended, the balls were not of a proper size, and the cartridges contained nothing but ashes; yet eight thousand of our enemies have bitten the dust, and four thousand Frenchmen have perished in this unequal conflict! Which is the position that was not disputed with perseverance and courage? Montmartre you say; but King Joseph was there in person; and hence it was he, who, by a precipitate flight, betrayed the cause of Napoleon. Is there a single general, a single officer, or a single soldier, who has not, on this sanguinary day, pursued the path of honour and duty? Have not eighteen to twenty thousand troops resisted two immense armies for ten hours? How can any person suppose that Paris could be completely defended by such a handful of men, however courageous? Must it not inevitably submit to the generosity of the conquerors? What capital, during the long European wars, has opposed so honourable a resistance to the foe, when abandoned by its own government? Even Madrid itself, which the people so much wished to defend against the usurper, yielded to him more ingloriously. Nothing, therefore, has stained the lustre of the French name, or the honour of our flag. If any example of cowardice can be pointed out, it is among the courtiers and flatterers of Napoleon;

and the contrast only redounds the more to the credit of the French troops. It is true that Paris, to avoid ruin, has preferred a capitulation, under the auspices of magnanimity; which insures its safety, and lays a ground-work for the universal happiness of France. The country, you say, has not risen to defend Napoleon; but what nation, groaning under the yoke of bondage, ever yet took up arms with enthusiasm? What nation was ever yet attached to its government, when the word country was become obsolete, and every thing sacrificed for the interest of a solitary individual? Tyrants have no other defenders among the citizens than their own creatures; they never can influence, in their behalf, the people whom they oppress. Such are the causes of Napoleon's fall. In vain has he for six months urged the nation, by cunning, fraud and violence, to support his throne. In vain has he raised and embodied more than five hundred thousand men. In vain has he lately received every day ten thousand recruits, while his armies at Lyons and Bayonne have been supplied in the same proportion. Scarcely were these men, after having been dragged from their families and homes, placed in the line, when, availing themselves of the first march, or the first encounter, they dispersed in the woods and plains. Hence has this great potentate, lately towering in colossal greatness, been reduced to defend Paris with twenty thousand troops against two hundred thousand; Lyons with fifteen thousand against sixty thousand,

and the Adour with twenty-five thousand against forty-five thousand. What an example of human vicissitudes! Napoleon himself, in the very heart of his empire, and only a few leagues from his capital, is only able to collect round his person thirty or forty thousand men. What can more manifestly prove that the whole nation abandons him, and will henceforth look for happiness only under the tutelary ægis of its legitimate monarchs? By what total perversion of ideas can treachery be seen in this moral defection, provoked as much by the abuses and evils of war, as by the extravagance and crimes of the usurper? If Napoleon has been betrayed, it is by himself alone."

But who could flatter himself that, amidst such passions and resentments, the voice of reason and truth would be heard, or be able to silence so many clamours and complaints, principally arising from national pride? The wounds were too severe and too recent—time alone could cicatrise them.

No species of opposition, however, could prevent the accomplishment of the great events, decreed by Providence. The wish of the royalists was about to be otherwise expressed, than by tumultuous acclamations. One of the most faithful subjects to his legitimate prince, M. Lepelletier de Morfontaine, with the assistance of his friends, made an appeal to the true partisans of Louis XVIII, on the Champs-Élysées, inviting them to assemble at his hotel. His proposal was crowned with every success. Above six hundred persons,

all of most respectable birth, and among whom were observed as many young people as ancient servants of our Kings, hastened to this rendezvous of loyalty and honour, though there was still so much danger in avowing an attachment to the sacred cause. The assembly was unanimous in the sentiments of love and respect, which it manifested towards the august family of the Bourbons. Count Ferrand took the word, and spoke with genuine eloquence. It was agreed, on his proposition, that a deputation should be sent to the Emperor Alexander, requesting him for ever to emancipate France from the yoke of Buonaparte, and to restore our excellent King. The following address was drawn up by the orator, and unanimously voted.

“ To their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.

“ SIREs,

“ Paris is occupied by your triumphant armies. Receive the homage, which is the most flattering to generous conquerors, that sweetest and rarest reward of victory—the benedictions of the vanquished.

“ The vanquished ! Ah ! this epithet, though it does not exclude every idea of glory, belongs not to us. Our wishes called you hither ; they seconded your holy crusade against the scourge of nations—against *the monster—the stranger to our country*, who, after having been placed by good

fortune, of which he was unworthy, at the helm of a state torn by factions, perverted the energy of a generous people, and abused that energy by infamously declaring war against the liberty of the world—the monster, whose eminence of talent consisted in depopulating and destroying; who, from the Baltic to the Pyrenees, tore children from their parents, to make them the instruments or victims of his *devouring tyranny*; and forced parents to put up prayers against the success of their sons in arms.

“ Those prayers have been heard by Providence, and realized by your brave armies. You are triumphant, Sires, but we are not conquered; we are delivered, and your triumph will be the eternal object of our gratitude.

“ Deign, liberators of our unfortunate country, to complete the work of your beneficence. France cannot find repose, or re-obtain her rank among the nations of Europe—she cannot, we frankly state, obtain confidence as to her treaties, except under the tutelary shelter of legitimate authority.

“ Amidst our long and culpable errors, this justice will at least be rendered to us, that *no Frenchman dared to seat himself upon the throne of Louis XVI.* The brother of that unfortunate and sainted monarch, his legitimate successor, the descendant of the good Henry, and the sovereign of the French, is not yet among us.

“ Grant, Sires, that, under your auspices, a deputation of faithful Frenchmen may hasten to

throw themselves at his feet, to offer their expiatory homage, and to supplicate his return, that he may arrange with your majesties, in his purified capital, the unalterable basis of the tranquillity of Europe. Long live the King!"

The deputation immediately carried this address to the Emperor of all the Russias, who was thereby more than ever convinced of the sentiments which animated the enlightened part of the nation. Count de Nesselrode lost no time in stating to the royal deputies, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, that this monarch would never treat with Napoleon, nor with any member of his family; and that on the following day, an authentic declaration would be published to the same effect. Thus ended the 31st of March. History delights in recording all the circumstances of this memorable epoch. It was the rock, on which the power of Napoleon split—it was the dawning of happiness to all mankind.

This man, whom fortune had raised to so elevated a pitch of grandeur, was in fact no more than a simple soldier. He assisted, as it were, at the funeral rites of his own monstrous power, and this was not the least singularity of his political life. It has been seen that he stopped at the distance of four leagues from Paris, during the night of the 30th to the 31st of March, and that he alone tranquilly slept, when two hundred thousand foreign troops and six hundred thousand citizens

were making dispositions to deprive him of the crown. The generals and aides-de-camp of his suite were restless and agitated, but dared not disturb his slumbers, attributing this species of lethargy as much to security as lassitude. Before day-break Napoleon awoke, full of impatience and uneasiness as to the events at Paris, from which place he had not yet received positive information. He threw himself into a post chaise and four, in order to meet his aid-de-camp, or any other person who could satisfy him as to the real situation of the capital. He took the road towards it, without any escort ; and followed only by three other carriages, which contained his friends and servants, and which kept exact pace with him. On arriving at the place where the road branches to the castle of Morangies, they met an officer coming from Paris. Napoleon precipitately alighted from the carriage, as did several persons of his suite, amongst whom were General Bertrand and M. de Caulincourt. Napoleon now turned back, and went on foot towards the Cour-de-France, followed by the carriages. During this short walk, he learnt that Paris no longer appertained to him, and that no effort could prevent the capitulation. On reaching the Cour-de-France, he held a sort of council with the officers who surrounded him. He had no army, the heads of his columns not having yet reached Fontainebleau ; but several wandering soldiers had been seen in the neighbourhood, employed in lighting fires, and apparently in a very

deplorable condition. At this conference it was debated, whether it was desirable to attempt the formation of an army, with the remnants of corps which were retreating towards Paris, and scattered over the whole road. It was in vain to deny that the troops were dreadfully discouraged, and completely exhausted; indeed, they were constantly expecting an order to march on Orleans, for the purpose of being there re-organized. Napoleon remained nearly three hours in conference with the officers of his suite. Day-light had now appeared, and it was to be feared that the light horse of the enemy might arrive in this direction. It was finally fixed that he should repair to Fontainebleau, and there rally his army. At the close of this conference M. de Caulaincourt repaired to the capital, with full powers to coincide in such conditions as the Allied Monarchs pleased to dictate. Without waiting the result of this decisive but useless step Napoleon stepped again into the carriage, and drove to Fontainebleau; at the moment that the Allies, by taking possession of his capital, left him no alternative but either to die with glory, or to sink with ignominy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Situation of Paris after the Allies had entered it—The Emperor Alexander refuses to treat with Napoleon—The municipal council of Paris expresses its wish for the re-establishment of the Bourbon monarchy—Its Declaration—The Emperor of Russia's declaration—An extraordinary sitting of the Senate is convoked, and establishes a provisional government—The Royal cause continues to make its way in Paris—Representation at the Opera—The Emperor Alexander releases all the French Prisoners in Russia—Napoleon is dethroned—Napoleon collects his army at Fontainebleau, and wishes to march on Paris—The Marshals force from him his abdication—The Regency at Blois—Critical situation of France—Conference respecting the Regency—Intervention of Prince Talleyrand—The Regency is rejected—Napoleon consents to retire to the Isle of Elba—Attack and pillage of Pithiviers—Third attack of Sens, and capture of that place—Preliminary convention, which establishes a line of demarkation between the Allied Armies, and the French troops.

THE general feeling of the public, mingled with the transports of gratitude, was so evidently manifested, that the allied monarchs considered it useless to establish measures of severe police in Paris. General Baron Sacken undertook the military government of the city, and this choice was soon justified by the good order and tranquility, which prevailed in all quarters. Business resumed its natural course, and circulation was no longer shackled. The barriers, the shops and the magazines were opened, and a sensation of general security prevailed in a city, occupied, by foreign troops, though the emissaries of Napoleon endeavoured to fill it with alarm.

It was soon known that the allied monarchs

had rejected the mission of M. de Caulaincourt, and that Napoleon, in his distress, had sent to negotiate a peace on any terms, consenting to every sacrifice which might be required of him. This energetic resolution, on the part of the Allies, secured the safety of France and Europe. Peace could not take place with Napoleon, but on conditions as dishonorable to him, as they would be burdensome to France herself; for she would be obliged to pay enormous contributions, and to cede the fortified places on his frontiers, in order to guarantee his treaties. Humiliated as to his arrogance and deceived as to the calculations of his unbridled ambition, he had directed all his fury against exhausted and desolated France, covering the face of the country with proscriptions and mourning. Whole towns had been condemned; and twenty days before his downfall, he had said to his soldiers, for the purpose of exciting their courage at the battle of Craonne: "I will divide among you the lands of those, who are enemies to the state." These enemies were all, who abhorred his tyranny. He wished that a civil war should have still further aggravated the misfortunes attendant on a foreign one, and that a sanguinary ferocious despotism should have reigned over the ruins of France for ever.—What do I say?—This revolutionary demon, though fettered for a moment by reverses, on finding new sources of strength, would have availed himself of the first war, which arose in Europe, to break his chains, and to transport

himself beyond the Rhine and the Pyrenees with more than his former fury.

This melancholy prospect, however, disappeared to make way for more auspicious certainty. The Allied Monarchs evinced so much wisdom in their counsels and conduct, that they disarmed the French nation by their justice ; for the subjection of France can never be achieved either by artifice, or force—she may be invaded, but she cannot be overpowered.

Under these favorable auspices dawned the 1st of April. It now afforded a spectacle the most animated and cheerful. An immense multitude filled the streets, the quays, and other public places, while satisfaction glowed on every countenance.

The left bank of the Seine, between the Pont Royal, and the Pont Louis XVI, had a curious and picturesque effect. The horsemen of different regiments and different nations fixed their *bivouac* in that quarter ; and all the ground, belonging to the barracks of Napoleon, now called the *hotel des gardes-du-corps* was covered with artillery, arms, and equipage. The people walked, without uneasiness and with evident curiosity, in the midst of soldiers who had come from the *Steppes* of Asia, and whose peaceable demeanour breathed nothing but concord. The populace moved in a long line towards the Pont Louis XVI, and the Champs-Elysees, which were converted into a real camp of cavalry. Provisions and merchandize were an-

nounced for sale by signs ; and the most perfect harmony reigned between the inhabitants of Paris and these hyperborean warriors, who had been represented as stupid and ferocious.

Still the marvellous events of the 31st had only been the preludes to the restoration ; and other circumstances were wanting to complete the overthrow of tyranny. It is true that the veil, which had so long concealed the hideous and livid features of the idol, was withdrawn, so that he appeared to the French nation in all his native deformity. The yoke having been suddenly burst asunder, the thoughts and words, which had for so many years been buried in the heart, rushed forth without constraint. Writers suddenly resumed their pens ; and the press, which had degenerated into one of the chief political instruments to deceive the people, teemed at once in favour of truth and justice. The literary fabric of Napoleon fell in pieces, and no prop could longer preserve it. He had previously thought that the authors, who wrote in the public journals, were not sufficiently energetic, and, by a decree dated at Troyes, he had appointed a special commission to examine and digest the articles, over which presided Count Boulai de la Meurthe, a counsellor of state. This grand regulator of public spirit enjoyed a salary of twenty-four thousand francs per annum, and his coadjutors had twelve thousand francs each. Never was imposition so richly rewarded. From this vast labo-

ratary proceeded so many incendiary productions, and all the defamatory falsehoods, which were so disgraceful to an enlightened nation.

Struck with stupor and astonishment at the acclamations of *Vive la Roi!* the inquisitors of public opinion had dispersed and disappeared, so that the journals found themselves released from their oppressive bondage. The original proprietors of a justly celebrated newspaper, called *Le Journal des Debats*, had long been victims to the most iniquitous spoliation; but on the 31st of March they resumed their literary functions and property, under the very eye of Napoleon's satellites. The indignation of the Parisians soon manifested itself in thundering accents against the scourge of nations; and the streets resounded with mingled cries of joy and vengeance. This feeling communicated itself to the mass of the populace, and large assemblies of women poured forth their benedictions on the Allies as the deliverers of their country, while they manifested their execration of the tyrant, who had desolated it.

The white flag was displayed in all parts, and the young people ostentatiously displayed the emblem of legitimate government, hastening to sign their names on the list, which had been suddenly prepared for the purpose of forming a royal guard.

Still, however, the opinion of the public had not yet been expressed in a legal manner. The legislative corps, from its popular construction,

should have been the real organ of national sentiment; but having been dispersed, by a state-blow, ever since the the 31st of December, it could not be soon enough collected, to any extent, and consequently could not take a leading part in the regenerating movement.

The senate was the only body, which possessed any authority; but all France appeared to condemn it, as having been the most docile instrument of the tyrant's caprice. Several of its members too had quitted Paris on the 28th of March, though a majority remained till the 30th; but on hearing the cannon, nearly the whole had attempted to escape. Having been stopped at the barriers, they were forced to re-enter the city, and had ever since been concealed; fearing the effects of resentment on the part of the Parisians, or some political reaction. During this interval of uncertainty and fluctuation, a less elevated authority, but one more approaching to the people, became the first interpreter of the national will.

The Municipal Council of Paris assembled at the Hotel-de-Ville, and were the first, who dared formally to renounce all obedience towards Napoleon, ardently expressing their wishes that the monarchical government might be re-established, in the person of Louis XVIII. and his legitimate successors. The Municipal Council explained their motives in a proclamation, addressed to the Parisians, of which the principal *traits* deserve a place in the history of the restoration.

“ Inhabitants of Paris,

“ Your magistrates would be traitors towards you and the country if, by vile personal considerations, they longer suppressed the voice of conscience. You owe the evils under which you groan, to one solitary man. It is he, who has every year decimated your families by conscription—it is he, who, instead of four hundred millions, which France paid while she enjoyed liberty, happiness, and tranquillity under our good and ancient kings, has surcharged us with more than seventeen hundred millions, threatening still to add additional imposts—it is he, who has shut from us the seas of the two worlds, who has dried up all the sources of national industry, who has torn the cultivators from our fields, and the workmen from our manufactories.

“ Of all the people we ought to feel the greatest hatred towards him; for we were, without deserving it, far more the unfortunate victims than the sad instruments of his rage. Has he not also, with his usual abhorrence of truth, outrageously driven our legislators from their post, in the face of Europe, because they did their duty?

“ There is not one among us, who does not, in his heart, detest the tyrant as a public enemy—there is not one, who, in his confidential intercourse, has not expressed a wish to witness the termination of such useless cruelties.

“ We should be deserters of the public cause, if we hesitated to express the desire of our hearts

and of your's. *Europe in arms* demands this of us, as a benefit conferred on human nature—as a guarantee of an universal and durable peace. Parisians, *Europe in arms* could not obtain from your magistrates this declaration, unless it was conformable to their duty; but it is a duty the most sacred to abjure all obedience towards the usurper, and return to our legitimate master.

“ If there be danger in following this impulse of our hearts and consciences, we meet that danger resolutely. History and the gratitude of the French will enrol our names, and consign them to the esteem of posterity.”

Yes, courageous magistrates, not only posterity, but your cotemporaries give you full credit for having set this honourable example. Revered be the Municipal Council! Paris and all France ought eternally to recognize its energetic loyalty.

A final measure, nevertheless, remained to be adopted, namely, the co-operation of the first bodies of the state, the senate, and the legislative corps. But what was to be hoped of the senate? For ten years it had held France, and the principal part of Europe, in chains, at the feet of the usurper; it had more afflicted the earth, and more dishonoured the human heart, than the senate of Tiberius, or Nero. Such, at least, was the public opinion, unanimously entertained as to this first organ of the imperial government. It was, however, acknowledged that there were several estimable mem-

bers of this body, who owed their elevation solely to their talents, to their high character in society, or to the signal services, which they had rendered in behalf of their country—some in the career of arms, some in the public administration, and others in foreign negotiations. It was less the individuals, therefore, who excited this aversion, than the institution itself. Modelled and subjugated by the oppressor, it was become in some degree anti-national; but how many senators had sighed in secret—how many senators had been wounded to the soul by the obligations, which an almost inevitable despotism had imposed upon them! The colossus being once overturned, it might be expected that the senate would yield to the wishes of the public, with as much facility as it had shewn in submitting to the imperious pleasure of Napoleon.

This body thought itself crushed beneath the ruins of the usurper's throne, when the following declaration, on the part of the Russian Emperor, gave it a new existence.

“ The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France, and the sovereigns gladly meet the wishes of the French nation. They declare that though the conditions of peace must have been protected by the strongest guarantees, while it was their object to fetter the ambition of Buonaparte, these conditions may be more favourable when France herself, returning to a sage system of government, offers the assurance of re-

pose. The Sovereigns, consequently, declare that they will no further treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any member of his family; that they respect the integrity of ancient France, such as it existed under her legitimate Kings, and that they may even do more, because they lay it down as a principle that, for the happiness of the people, it is necessary France should be great and strong; that they will acknowledge and guarantee the constitution, which the French nation shall choose for itself, and that they consequently invite the Senate to appoint without delay, a provisional government, which is capable of providing for the wants of administration, and preparing a constitution suitable to the French.

“The intentions, which I thus avow, are entertained by me, in common with all the Allied Powers.”

“ALEXANDER.”

Thus the monarch, who had been too long menaced by the arms of France, sought no revenge; but offered peace, independence, and the choice of a legitimate government. The senate of Napoleon itself was called upon to repair the evils of Europe, and to participate in the grand work of political regeneration.

What was the surprise of the senators, when, after being stripped, as it were, of their functions by so decisive and peaceable a revolution, they found themselves suddenly convoked by Prince Talley-

rand de Perigord, in his quality of Vice-Grand-Elector. His name and the reputation of his talents were so powerful, that they could not fail to influence the most considerable members of the state, both civil and military, who had with regret been the instruments of Napoleon's violence. No sooner were the senators convoked, than the greater part of them repaired, in full costume, to the extraordinary sitting. They were pale and discomposed, but polite and affable, saluting the public as if they could not thoroughly rely upon the generosity of the conquerors. Scarcely had Prince Talleyrand communicated to them the subject of the convocation; scarcely were they informed that they were called upon to succour a forsaken nation, and to save their country, when hope reappeared upon their countenances, and nobleness in their demeanour, as well as in their words. They at once perceived that, under the protection of two hundred thousand bayonets, they could erect themselves into an emancipating authority, and thus indemnify themselves for the disgraceful bondage, in which they had been held by Napoleon.

Sixty-five senators, thus assembled, threw off the imperial yoke, by their first decree, and created a provisional government, or committee, charged with the office of re-establishing the action and administration of the state. The persons unanimously fixed upon were Prince Talleyrand, the senator Count Beurnonville, the senator Count de Jaucourt, the counsellor of state Duke of Dalberg,

and the Abbé de Montesquieu, an ancient member of the constituent assembly. This choice, which was inspired by moderation and wisdom, announced that the restoration tended towards public liberty, and that France would not have to deplore any disastrous re-action. The provisional government signalized its installation by an address to the French armies: "You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon," said this head of the state. "The senate and all France releases you from your oath."

The day was crowned by a glorious scene, which displayed to the least penetrating eye the irresistible progress of the Royal cause. In the course of the morning the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia rode on horseback through the best part of the city, and, during their whole progress, the different classes of society had been allowed to approach, and hear their observations. Far from satisfying the public curiosity, this excessive affability, of which the French nation seemed almost to have lost the recollection, this affecting popularity, which exalts and adorns the great, doubled the general pressure of the multitude. A report had been spread that the two sovereigns would go, in the evening, to the opera, and an immense crowd filled all the avenues to that theatre. This vast building displayed at the time of representation, the *unique* spectacle of several thousand spectators assembled from all the different points of Europe, speaking different languages, and animated

with only one sentiment, only one wish—the peace of the world and the welfare of the human race.

The appearance of the Emperor Alexander and Frederick William in the box prepared for their reception, excited unanimous transports, and a burst of acclamations, which I should in vain endeavour to describe. These were not the disgraceful shouts of infamous hirelings, when their titled paymaster appears, and when all but themselves preserve a sullen silence. The present shouts of gratulation and greeting proceeded from every heart. The two monarchs repeatedly testified, in the most impressive manner, how deeply they felt the force of this reception, on the part of a generous nation, which had preserved the distinguishing *traits* of its character, in spite of the oppression, under which it had laboured for twenty years. “*Long live Alexander! Long live the King of Prussia! Long live Louis XVIII! Long live the Bourbons!*” re-echoed through the theatre; and on uttering the two last of these exclamations, all eyes were directed as by an electric impulse, towards the bust of that adorable prince, who was the trunk, from which sprung the illustrious reigning branch. The orchestra became the interpreter of this religious inspiration, and played the truly national air of *Vive Henry IV!* This produced a new enthusiasm. The ladies of distinguished beauty and elegance, who occupied the boxes, waved their handkerchiefs, and threw white cockades to the men in the pit.

The representation was The Vestal, in which several allusions to existing circumstances were eagerly caught at, and loudly applauded. This great theatrical and political meeting enjoyed also another transport. The odious emblem of Corsican tyranny was a painful sight to all good Frenchmen, and to their Allies. A general cry of indignation burst forth against it, and the eagle with his bloody talons disappeared, making way for the ancient banner of France, the *fleurs-de-lis*, which adorned the arms of Saint Louis, Philip Augustus, and Henry IV.

On leaving the opéra-house, a person of the highest consideration asked the Emperor Alexander whether he was satisfied with the Parisians. "I should in vain attempt, by words," said the Czar, "to describe the emotion I have experienced. If I could ever have conceived the idea of loading Paris, with the burthen of war, the reception, which I have experienced from the inhabitants, would have banished it from my mind."

On the following day, several processions decorated with the white cockade, and preceded by the white flag, traversed the city, and were welcomed in all quarters. The windows were filled with company, waving their handkerchiefs. A spontaneous movement collected an immense concourse of people near the statue of Henry IV in the Rue de la Ferrouerie. Every hat was taken off, and the air resounded with acclamations. All eyes were directed towards the royal image, and

all hearts were devoted to the Prince, who was soon to bestow happiness on his people. "No more war, no more conscription!" was vociferated on every side; and mothers appeared to look at their children with additional tenderness. "Henry IV and Louis XVIII for ever!" exclaimed the assembly. "He returns—our good King returns!"

The following declaration of his Majesty, dated at Hartwell, his residence in England on the 1st of January 1814, was circulated in Paris, and inspired every one with confidence.

"The moment is at length arrived, when divine Providence appears ready to destroy the instrument of his wrath. The usurper of the throne of Saint-Louis, the devastator of Europe, is experiencing reverses in his turn. Will France submit to aggravated evils, and will she not dare to overturn an odious power; no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prevention, or what fear can make her now hesitate as to throwing herself into the arms of her King, and recognizing, in the re-establishment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?"

The King being neither willing nor able, except by their efforts, to occupy the throne, which his rights and their affection can alone secure to him, what Frenchman's wish can be contrary to

those, which he unceasingly forms? What doubt can exist as to his paternal intentions?

“The King has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their authority; that he will secure their places to those, who now occupy them, and are willing to take the oath of fidelity; that the tribunals, as the depositary of the laws, shall interdict all prosecutions relative to those unfortunate times, which will be for ever consigned to oblivion by his Majesty’s return; and finally, that the code, sullied with the name of Napoleon, but which nevertheless, comprehends, in a great degree, the ancient ordinances and customs of the kingdom, shall remain in force, excepting such articles as are contrary to the tenets of religion, which has been long subjected, like the liberty of the people, to the caprices of the tyrant.

“Can the Senate, in which sit men, whose talents justly entitle them to that distinction, and whose services render them illustrious in the eyes of France, as they will be in those of posterity—can this body, the utility and importance of which will not be properly estimated till after the restoration, fail to perceive the glorious destiny, by which it is called upon to become the first instrument in conferring the greatest benefit on the country, and in securing at the same time its own existence and prerogatives?

“With regard to property, the King, who

has before announced his intention of employing the most proper means to conciliate the rights and interests of all, perceives that numerous transactions, which have taken place between the ancient and new proprietors, render this interference almost superfluous. He engages, however, to prohibit all proceedings against the said transactions, to encourage voluntary arrangements, and to afford, in himself and the members of his family, an example of every sacrifice, which can contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of the French.

“ The King has guaranteed to the army the preservation of the rank, employment, pay, and appointments, which it enjoys at present. He likewise promises to all generals, officers, and soldiers who shall distinguish themselves in favour of a cause, which is inseparable from the true interests of the French nation, more real rewards, and more honorable distinctions than those, which they could receive from an usurper, ever ready to forget or even to doubt their services. The King renews his engagements to abolish the hateful conscription, which destroys the happiness of families, and the hopes of the country.

“ Such have ever been, and such are still the intentions of the King. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors, will be for France a happy transition from the calamities of a war, perpetuated by tyranny, to the benefits of a solid peace ; for which foreign powers can find no gua-

rantee except in the word of the legitimate sovereign.

“LOUIS.”

Never had King, after such horrible disorders, announced himself to his subjects, under wiser and more paternal auspices. This lately abandoned exiled monarch wrote also the following letter to the emperor of Russia.

“The fate of arms has caused more than a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners to fall into the hands of your Imperial Majesty, and the greater part of them are Frenchmen. It matters little under whose colours they have served; they are unfortunate, and I behold in them only my children. I recommend them to the kindness of your Imperial Majesty. Deign to consider how much a large proportion of them has suffered, and graciously mitigate the rigour of their lot. May they learn that their conqueror is the friend of their father! Your Majesty cannot give me a more impressive proof of your sentiments towards me.”

Such noble ideas could only emanate from the heart of a legitimate Monarch, who wished to be established on the throne of his ancestors that he might give his people constant proofs of his paternal affection.

Every obstacle, however, was not yet removed. It was only on the 2d of April that the Senate, by its decree, which was made public on the 3rd, declared the Emperor, Napoleon, to have forfeited the throne, and released the people, as well as the army, from the oath of fidelity.

This act of reparation accorded exactly with public opinion, and in the eyes of impartial reflecting men, somewhat exculpated the Senate ; for it had been oppressed, like all the other departments of the state. The nation withdrew those reproaches, which the servile obedience of this body had drawn down upon it. In the place of Napoleon the Senate erected a regular and legal authority, to which all good citizens could attach themselves. It dissipated the illusion too, by which the army was still attached to Napoleon, and by separating it from him, preserved France from a civil war, while it secured the restoration of the Bourbons.

At the close of the sitting, the members proceeded in a body to the Emperor of Russia, who, after having received their homage, addressed them in these words :

“ A man, who called himself my ally, came as an unjust aggressor, into my dominions. It is against him, and not against France that I have carried on war. I am the friend of the French and you cause me to renew this declaration. It is just and wise that France should have strong and liberal institutions, commensurate with her present enlightened state. My allies and I are only come to protect the freedom of your decisions.”

Alexander paused after these words, and then proceeded with the most impressive emotion : “ As a proof of the durable alliance, which I wish to contract with your nation. I restore to you all the prisoners now in Russia. The provisional govern-

ment has already solicited this of me ; I grant it to the Senate, in consequence of the resolution which it has just taken."

Thus by a single word two hundred thousand French captives were about to return, from the extremities of Europe and Asia, to the bosom of their families. Alexander, perceiving the first body of the state to be determined on promoting the happiness of the French, was unwilling that any one of that nation should be a stranger to it, and doomed to sigh in a foreign land, while days of serenity were dawning on their country. This *trait*, which placed the magnanimous Czar by the side of Titus and Marcus Aurelius, exhibited to the eyes of the nation the attributes of sovereign authority, embellished with the charms of beneficence. The Senators departed from the presence of the Emperor, penetrated with gratitude and admiration.

The most powerful Monarch of the world had diffused joy through every circle. In the public places, and in private families, nothing was spoken of but the magnanimity of Alexander, and every one was eager to record the words, which had proceeded from the lips of this Prince. On passing the column in the Place Vendome, he looked up at the statue, and said to the gentlemen who surrounded him : " If I were placed so high, I should be afraid of becoming dizzy."

On the same day he made the following answer to some person, who assured him that his presence had long been expected and wished at

Paris ; " I meant to have come sooner. You must blame the valour of the French for my delay." This eulogium was as true, as it was delicate and honorable for the nation, which was the object of it.

Seventy-seven members of the legislative corps, who were all that still remained in Paris, assembled in the ordinary hall of their sittings, on the following day, and assented to the act of the Senate, which decreed that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne. The body of advocates, and the court of cassation, immediately followed this example, invoking the charter, which would henceforth confirm public liberty, and restore France to the descendants of Henry IV. From these proceedings it will evidently be seen that the revolution was advancing at a steady pace, and that all the authorities successively rallied round the senate, and the provisional government. The general officers could no longer delay to set the army an example of patriotic devotion. Those, who were at the time in Paris, declared themselves without hesitation. The general of division, Legrand, was the first, who sent in his adherence to the acts of the provisional government, and to all the measures adopted by the senate. The Marshal Duke of Belluno, who was also detained at Paris by a severe wound, which he had received at the battle of Craonne, avowed his fidelity to the interests of the nation, and equally assented to all that the provisional government might prescribe for the welfare and happiness of the state.

All eyes were now turned towards the army, and good citizens no longer despaired of seeing it restored to the bosom of the liberated nation. A great number of conscripts, who were marching to join Napoleon, had returned, and several regular soldiers had come to their homes again, decorated with white ribbons, and carrying branches of trees attached to their muskets, in token of peace. Several villages, in the neighbourhood of Paris, afforded the affecting spectacle of young men embracing their mothers, and mothers pressing to their hearts the sons, whom they thought dead. They crossed the paternal threshold with boughs in their hands, and made the air resound with, "Long live the King, and down with the tyrant!"

Meanwhile, Napoleon collected all his troops at Fontainebleau, amounting to sixty thousand men, and announced, with ferocious joy, that he was marching with this army on Paris, for the purpose of forcing his way into that city with fire and sword; France, as he and his partisans declared, being far from partaking in the revolt of the capital. These alarming reports were industriously circulated by the slaves of fallen power, who were emboldened by so pacific a revolution. The lists were opened on the 1st of April, and the wretches proceeded to direct attacks upon the royalists. Emissaries of the police and disguised soldiers declared war against the white cockade, and tore it from the hats of those who passed them, destroying also the royal placards and handbills. The

national guards continued to wear the tri-coloured cockade without any disturbance. In a few days, the public spirit was depressed, and consternation again prevailed among all classes of the community.

The sentence of Napoleon's deposition, passed by the senate, was hardly able to rouse the Parisians from this state of stupor and anxiety; but just at this time appeared, like a pilot among the rocks, a celebrated work, entitled, "*Of Buona-parte and the Bourbons*"—a work, inspired by two generous passions, a hatred of oppression, and a love of the legitimate house—a work, completed amidst the roar of cannon, and published on the breach. It entirely tore away the veil, which had concealed the odious tyranny of Napoleon, and caused the imperious want of a tutelary government to revive in the hearts of the French. The spirit of this brilliant philippic, in which the genius of Grecian and Roman eloquence occasionally re-appeared, does infinite credit to the honourable association, of whom M. de Chateaubriand was the organ. The danger, which the actual existence of such a work caused, was of so alarming a nature, that Madame de Chateaubriand had carried the manuscript in her bosom for nearly two months.

How many errors, how many false ideas, were dispelled and refuted by this vigorous comparison between tyranny and the beneficence of genuine power! Scarcely could ten thousand copies, which were sold in a fortnight, satisfy public curiosity. Bitterness and mistrust, however, held their reign

in the metropolis; and most unpleasant reports were in circulation, as to the disposition of the troops. It was known that the corps, which had been forced, on the 30th of March, from their position in front of Paris, had manifested, at the time of evacuation by the barrier d'Enfer, the most lamentable impressions; accusing the Parisians of having abandoned them. These troops, who were dejected without having been defeated, made no scruple of avowing, as they fell back, their desire and hope of vengeance. It was added, that Napoleon had found them at Corbeil, to the number of about fifteen thousand men; and that, after having passed them in review, he had promised them, as a recompense for the re-capture of Paris, that they should be allowed to plunder the city for eight-and-forty hours.

At the same time, the army of Champagne, and all the corps, to which orders could possibly be sent, approached Fontainebleau, for the purpose of effecting their concentration at that place. It was on the 31st of March that Napoleon had arrived from the Cour-de-France, with his aides-de-camp and suite. The heads of his columns did not yet appear; and scarcely could he collect a few scattered detachments, with some squadrons of the advanced guard. He had immediately occupied the palace; but he was gloomy, downcast and irresolute. On the succeeding day, authentic intelligence was obtained as to the proceedings in the capital; and it was established beyond dispute

that the Parisians had assumed the white cockade at the time they received the Allies, and had, with loud acclamations, expressed their wish for the return of the legitimate Sovereign.

M. de Caulaincourt arrived on the 2d of April; but before he spoke, it was manifest that every proposal had been rejected, and that the negotiations no longer afforded even a hope. Relying on the act of the senate, by which Napoleon was declared to have forfeited the throne, the Emperor of Russia had commissioned M. de Caulaincourt to propose, in the name of the Allied Powers, that Napoleon would choose, for himself and his family, a place of retreat, with a suitable establishment. This proposition was dictated by a desire of preventing further bloodshed, and by a conviction that, if it were adopted, the great work of general peace and interior repose would experience no further obstacles; but it is said that M. de Caulaincourt himself dared not make such an offer to his master. On the same day Count de Schuwalow, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander, arrived at Melun, and demanded a conference with Napoleon. M. de Flahaut immediately departed, to ascertain the object of the Russian general's mission. It was the same which M. de Caulaincourt had indirectly received; but these first negotiations have always been enveloped in impenetrable mystery. It was Sunday, and mass was celebrated before Buonaparte at the palace, according to the custom of the court. Several generals, who had recently arrived, assisted at it.

The army, after having passed Troyes, (the cavalry galloping, and the infantry marching in double quick time,) had taken a direction towards Fontainebleau, by the nearest road. The heads of the columns, composed of the cavalry and battalions of the veteran Imperial guard, arrived there on the 3d of April. After mass, Napoleon reviewed these troops; and then, having caused a circle of officers to be formed round him, addressed them in the following terms:

“Officers and soldiers of my body-guard, the enemy has gained a march of three days upon us, and has reached Paris before us. Some factious relics of the emigrants, whom I had pardoned, have surrounded the Emperor of Russia, and have assumed the white cockade, wishing also that we should adopt it. Ever since the revolution, France has been mistress of herself—often mistress of others, but always of herself. I have offered peace—I have proposed that France should remain within her ancient limits, renouncing all she had acquired, but this, like every thing else, has been refused. In a few days I will attack the enemy, and compel him to quit the capital. I have relied on you. Am I justified in so doing?”

“Yes, yes,” exclaimed several voices from the ranks.

“Our cockade is tri-coloured,” added Napoleon. “Rather than renounce it, we will perish on the spot.”

No sooner had he finished this short harangue,

which was uttered with precipitation, than he re-entered the palace, to concert destructive measures ; leaving all, who had heard him, in the greatest agitation. Several columns arrived in succession, and the soldiers, composing them, who had been discouraged by the capture of the metropolis, announced to them upon their march, found the corps which had preceded them, in a very disturbed state. Several regiments appointed deputies. The superior officers, the subalterns, and even the soldiers themselves held deliberations ; the most eloquent spoke, and the dear name of country was heard in the midst of an army, which had, for ten years, passively submitted to the yoke of despotism. The project of marching against Paris, lately so miraculously preserved, in order to make it a theatre of carnage, after having been unable previously to protect it, was revolting to every one whose mind had continued in a sane and proper state, amidst the delirium of ambition, and the fury of warfare. In addition to this feeling, the army itself began at length to perceive that the cause, for which its commanders claimed the support of the soldier, related in fact only to the interest of a single person. Could the French be so unnatural as to sacrifice their country for a despot so universally odious ? These ideas acquired, from one moment to another, more consistency in the minds of the officers, and well informed soldiers. The knowledge of events, which gradually reached the general ear, still further encouraged this favorable

disposition. The whole day was passed in agitation, but the talisman of passive obedience was already broken. A majority of the Marshals had refused to march against Paris, and a great number of other officers, as well as privates, had expressed their determination to the same effect. On the other hand, it could not be denied that the main body of the troops, accustomed as they were to blind submission, were ready to obey the voice of their leader, whatever might be his design. There was not a moment to be lost, if the horrors of a civil war were to be avoided. The Marshals and principal officers assembled at the quarters of Major-General Berthier, Prince of Wagram, to deliberate on the means of escaping from so critical a situation. These warriors, who had exerted themselves to the utmost in the career of glory, cast an eye of compassion on their native country, and probed her wounds. France was invaded from the Pyrenees to the Garonne, from the Alps to the Auvergne; from the Rhine to the Loire. Paris and its environs were occupied by two hundred thousand foreign troops, and the thirty-five to forty thousand brave men, whom Napoleon still had under him, might be almost considered as surrounded. Strong bodies of troops departed from the positions which the enemy had seized round Paris, in order to occupy the heights of Juvisy, Essone, and Corbeil, as well as the town of Melun; thus opposing an impenetrable front to all the attempts, which Napoleon might form. A Russian

corps attacked Fontainebleau by Versailles, and pushed its parties towards Pithiviers, and Orleans. Every thing was arranged to destroy the remains of the French army by superior forces, in case of aggression or resistance. Admitting even the possibility of prolonging the struggle, were not five hundred thousand Russians, Germans, and Prussians, in a second line on the other side of the Rhine, ready to support the efforts of their compatriots, by a new eruption, more threatening than the former, and likely to complete the desolation of France? Towards the south all Spain was preparing to pass the Pyrenees, and follow the footsteps of the combined English, Spanish, and Portuguese army. It was in vain that more than a million of Frenchmen had been summoned to the field of battle, in less than thirteen months. The nation, indignant at its oppressor, counteracted his repeated demands by the *vis inertiae*; being unwilling any longer to support so monstrous a system of destructive war, and frightful tyranny. The west and the south were on the point of taking up arms, and detaching themselves from the centre. What would then have been the deplorable situation of France! Invaded from without by eight hundred thousand foreigners, and convulsed within by a civil war, it would have become in a few months, only a heap of ruins and ashes. Such was the melancholy prospect, which presented itself to the softened observation of the general officers. Could they balance between such powerful interests and

the murderous appeals, which Napoleon still made to them? Pains had been taken at Paris to send the decree of the Senate, by which Buonaparte was dethroned, to Fontainebleau; and it began to be known by the principal leaders of the army. From this moment, they perceived that none but rebels could obstinately resist the will of the nation, legally expressed; and that the only means of avoiding the most disastrous consequences would be to displace the man, who formed the sole obstacle to the happiness of the world. After having considered all the chances of war, and the critical situation of the state, in every point of view, the generals agreed that the abdication of Napoleon was the only step, which could save France from total ruin; but how propose so delicate a question to a man of so violent a disposition, and one accustomed to consider every thing as subservient to his imperial pleasure? The Major-General Prince of Wagram, having at all times access to his person, adopted, in concert with the marshals, the bold resolution of pointing out to Napoleon this only prospect of escape. He repaired to the palace during the night, went to the apartment of the Emperor, and ventured to recommend the abdication, as the most salutary measure, but such was Buonaparte's fury on hearing this proposition, that the major-general retired, without being tempted to renew his effort, and the marshals agreed to meet again the succeeding day.

Napoleon so fully relied on the general dis-

position of his troops, that he persisted on marching towards the capital; and on the morning of the 4th of April, directed his army on Essone, where his advanced guard was stationed. He gave orders respecting his artillery, which formed a park of seven hundred pieces of ordnance, including three hundred which were come from the Champ-de-Mars. He demanded his horse, in order to put himself at the head of his troops, and began to harangue them, describing Paris as an easy prey. Several thousand Polish troops were the most eager to second him in this sinister design, and (historical truth demands the confession) such is the deplorable effect of military despotism, that Napoleon found even Frenchmen, who replied to this sacrilegious appeal. Cries of *Paris, Paris!* proceeded from the ranks. All would have been lost if the the army, accustomed as it was to obey the voice of Napoleon, had departed from Fontainebleau. In vain did Marshal Ney dare to pronounce in a loud voice, the word abdication; Napoleon pretended not to hear it, and continued to pass the troops in review, which he still affected to regard as his own. The Prince of the Moskwa, being determined to brave every thing for the good of his country, went into the palace after Napoleon, and followed him to his apartment. There the marshal asked him whether he was aware of the great révolution which had taken place at Paris; Napoleon answered, with as calm an air as he was able to assume, that he knew nothing to a certainty. Marshal Ney

then presented to him the Paris newspapers, and said : “ You are no longer the Emperor of France. You can no longer command the army, for it will not obey you. There is the decree of the Senate, by which you are dethroned.” Napoleon was surprised at this sudden apostrophe, and reddened with anger ; but the Prince of the Moskwa flatly told him that nothing except his abdication could save France. A long and warm discussion took place between them, during which Marshal Lefevre entered, and addressing Napoleon in a very animated tone, said : “ You are lost. You would not listen to the advice of your servants. You are dethroned.”

These words, and the evident understanding among his generals made such an impression upon him, that this man, who had hitherto been accustomed to consider himself above the reach of all laws, seeing himself subjected to those of necessity, burst into a flood of tears. It was in the very palace, where he had, for nineteen months, detained the venerable head of the church as a captive, that he received the decree of the Senate against himself ; as if God had ordained the theatre of his insolent triumph to become that of his humiliation and downfall.

At this period Marshals Oudinot and MacDonald also arrived. They had been with their respective corps, but hearing of the discussion at the palace of Fontainebleau, repaired thither without delay. They too declared to Napoleon that he

had lost every thing, and that they would not follow him against the law, against their country and honour; strongly maintaining the necessity of abdication. The Duke of Tarentum shewed a letter from the Senator Beurnonville, which represented the new revolution as irresistible.

After several hours of discussion and debate, the fallen Emperor seemed as if reconciled to his fate, not even attempting an appeal to force, which had always been his supreme law. He consented to lay down his power, and subscribe an act of abdication in favor of his son, as if he had been able to transfer what he no longer possessed. The generals, who had so long sacrificed themselves to his ambition, continued to serve their ancient companion in arms, though they ceased to obey the deposed Emperor, and did honour to themselves by the care, which they took, to stipulate for his safety, and personal interest. Marshals Ney and Macdonald consented to become, jointly with M. de Caulaincourt, the bearers of Buonaparte's proposition, that he would submit to the decision of the Senate and French nation, provided the crown was transferred to his son. They promised that they would treat with the Emperor of Russia decidedly in favor of Napoleon's family, rather than any other dynasty.

The absolute support of the Regency, however, was so far from being thought by the army to be a necessary condition, that the Marshals themselves, when they departed for the capital, agreed to pro-

mote the return of the Bourbons, if Napoleon's proposition was rejected ; but a great majority of the troops, led away by martial habits, and regretting, above every thing, the prospect of losing rapid promotion, preferred the regency to any other change of government.

Nothing could now prevent the entire demolition of the monstrous edifice, which had been erected by delirious ambition. On this same day (viz. the 4th of April) Napoleon was struck, as it were, by another thunderbolt ; for he learnt that the Marshal Duke of Ragusa had treated, respecting the submission of the sixth corps, under his command, with the provisional government, which had clothed him with an authority purely national. This corps had occupied a position near Essone, and consisted of about twelve thousand men. In the night of the 3d to the 4th it passed, with arms, baggage, and ammunition, into the line of the Allies, in order to take up cantonments at Versailles. It was in the name of the country, and to avoid a civil war, that the Duke of Ragusa had ranged himself under the authority of the Senate and the people, who had released him from his oath of fidelity. The same spirit, which animated his illustrious companions in arms, had induced him to stipulate, by a particular convention, that if the ulterior events of the war should cause the person of Napoleon to be in the power of the Allies, his life and liberty in an appropriate place should be secured to him. It was believed at

Fontainebleau that the Duke of Ragusa, after having been severely censured for not marching against Paris, had eagerly availed himself of a propitious opportunity to withdraw from the resentment of Napoleon.

Be this as it may, the latter was overpowered by his defection, and again shed a flood of tears; but soon afterwards, reproaching himself for his weakness, and resuming a greater degree of firmness, he appeared to repent his abdication. Scarcely had he official cognizance of the decree, which contained the motives for dethroning him, when he launched against the Senate a species of manifesto, which he entitled an *Order of the day*, because it was addressed to the army. It contained the following passages:

“The Emperor thanks the army for the attachment, which it testifies towards him, and principally *because it recognizes that France is in him*, and not in the people of the capital.

“The soldier follows the good or bad fortune of his commander, his honour, and his religion.

“The Senate has taken upon itself to dispose of the French government, forgetting that it owes to the Emperor the very power, which it now abuses; forgetting that it was he, who saved part of its members from the storms of the revolution, while he drew the other part from obscurity, and protected it from the hatred of the nation.

“The Senate grounds its proceedings upon the articles of the constitution, and unblushingly

reproaches the Emperor, without considering that, as the first body of the state, it has taken a part in every proceeding. It has gone so far as openly and daringly to accuse the Emperor of having altered its decrees when publishing them, in other words of having committed forgery. The whole world knows that he had no need of such artifices; for a hint on his part was to the Senate a command, and it always did more than he required of it."

On the same evening, Napoleon assembled his principal commanding officers round him, for the purpose of sounding their dispositions, provided the abdication in favor of his son should be rejected. They were more than forty in number, and caused a ray of hope still to shine round their ancient leader. Napoleon seemed less to fear the abandonment of fortune than the loss of life. This is at least the natural inference to be drawn from the following words, which he addressed to his generals: "When a man has passed twenty years of glory, and has made the universe tremble, he can hardly expect that he has a long time to live."

The spirit of indecision, which led him at one time to negotiate, and at another to attempt the resumption of arms, manifested itself particularly on the 5th of April. At eleven o'clock in the day, he formed a plan, which consisted in marching, with the twenty-five thousand men still remaining under him, towards Italy, in order to join Prince Eugene. "If I arrive," said he, "I am sure of being acknowledged by all Italy." Several generals, being

informed of this new project, pressed the Duke of Bassano, who was secretary of state, and almost constantly with Napoleon, to recommend his absence from parade ; but he would appear there, in spite of every representation, and even obstinately insisted on reviewing the corps of Marshal Oudinot. His visage was pale and altered ; while his convulsive motions, which he in vain tried to suppress, plainly attested the sufferings of his soul. He hurried over the review and might judge, from the dead silence of his soldiers, how little they were disposed to make new sacrifices for the re-establishment of his power.

On returning to the palace, he sent for Marshal Oudinot, and asked whether the troops would follow him. "No, sire," replied the Marshal, "you have abdicated."

"True," said Buonaparte, "but only on certain certain conditions."

"The soldiers," answered the Duke of Reggio, "do not comprehend such nice distinctions. They are of opinion that you cannot command them."

"Then all is over in that quarter," returned Napoleon. "Let us wait for news from Paris."

The whole of the 5th was passed in a state of cruel suspense and agitation. The arrival of Marshals Ney and Macdonald was most impatiently looked for, they being considered the representatives of the army. It was much to be feared that Napoleon, after having repented his first resolution, might induce his veteran troops to follow him on

some desperate and furious enterprize. Most of the regiments, however, were in a state of complete disorganisation, and during the nights of the 5th to the 6th, whole corps quitted their positions. More than eight thousand men dispersed themselves, some towards Paris, but the greatest number on the roads to Orleans and the Loire. They were assisted in their flight by the peasantry, who pointing to the roads, recently broken up, said: "You are safe now."

The movement, in favour of the restoration, was, it must be confessed, as yet confined to Paris. The rest of France, particularly Normandy, and the provinces, watered by the Loire, were in a dreadful state of anxiety. From Orleans to Nantes, all the towns supposed themselves on the eve of being, at the same time, the theatre of a foreign and civil war. Troops, baggage, and artillery quite encumbered Orleans, and the bridge over the Loire, at that place, was undermined.

On quitting Paris, the Empress and the King of Rome had taken the road to Tours by Rambouillet and Chartres. The ministers and principal dignitaries had arrived in the capital of Touraine which was fixed upon to be the residence of Maria Louisa. This princess was on her way thither, when she received at Vendome, on the 1st of April, dispatches from Napoleon, fixing upon Blois to be the seat of Regency. Blois had also received orders to prepare the necessary accommodation for the court, the ministers, the mother and three bro-

thers of Napoleon, and eighteen hundred troops. On the same day the first detachments of cavalry appeared at this place, followed by a large quantity of baggage, and fifteen waggons, containing the Imperial treasure. Couriers succeeded each other every hour. Before the close of day, the Empress Louisa and the King of Rome entered the town through an immense crowd, which preserved the most profound silence. An expression of sadness was depicted on the countenance of Maria Louisa. The ministers, who had proceeded to Tours, hastened back to Blois, and there held frequent councils, but without any apparent result. It was vaguely known in all the towns, upon the borders of the Loire, that Paris was in the possession of the Allies, but no details had yet made their way; all the communications being intercepted or interrupted by the express order of the ministers and dignitaries, who composed the Council of Regency. They were powerfully seconded in the execution of this perfidious system by the anti-national zeal, which was displayed by most of the prefects, and principal functionaries, servilely devoted to expiring despotism.

Thus, while the first steps towards the restoration were distinguished by pacific and tutelary acts, a sort of conspiracy, formed by three or four ministers, and supported by some prefects, every where suppressed the national feeling, which was, consequently, incapable of extending beyond Paris and Bourdeaux. The rest of France was kept in com-

plete ignorance as to what was passing in the army, or the capital, from which neither letters, journals, nor travellers arrived.

Paris enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity, though false bulletins, published to mislead public opinion, represented this city as a prey to destruction and pillage. At Nantes it was currently believed that nothing was to be seen at Paris but fire and blood. The bulletin of Rouen assured the public that Napoleon, after having gained a great victory, and made six thousand prisoners, had re-entered Paris, and delivered it up to pillage. Several prefectures, especially those of the Maine and Loire, yielding to the impulse of Bonaparte's ministers, and animated with the same spirit, caused the following statement to be officially circulated.

“ The Emperor, having moved his headquarters to Troyes on the 29th took a direction by forced marches, through Sens, towards the capital, which he knew to be seriously menaced. His Majesty was on the 31st at Fontainebleau; but he there learnt, that the Allies had arrived four-and-twenty hours before the French army, and had occupied Paris, after experiencing a vigorous resistance, which cost them many men.

“ The corps under the command of the Marshal Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, and that of General Compans, after having hastened to the defence of Paris, fell back between that city and

Essonne, where the Emperor had taken a position with all the army from Troyes.

“ The occupation of the capital by the enemy is a misfortune, which deeply afflicts his Majesty’s heart, but it is an event, which will not be long lamented. The enemy cannot maintain so populous a city, and his situation will be most critical. The appearance of the Emperor and his army, at the gates, will soon enforce the evacuation of the place. The efforts of the Allies will then be confined, at the utmost, to the annoyance of the neighbouring departments, by sending a few light troops thither.

The Emperor is in good health, and watches for the welfare of all. The Empress and the King of Rome are in safety. The royal brothers of the Emperor, the grand dignitaries, the ministers, the Senate and the council of state, have removed to the banks of the Loire, where the centre of government is provisionally established.

“ Thus the action of government will be in no degree paralyzed. Good citizens and true Frenchmen may be afflicted at the occupation of the metropolis ; but they must not give way to too much alarm, on account of this circumstance. Let them rely upon the activity of the Emperor, upon his genius, and his anxiety for our deliverance ; but let them remember that, in great and important situations, national honor and our own interest, properly understood, more than ever command us to rally round our sovereign. Let us support his

efforts, and regret no sacrifice to terminate this dreadful contest against enemies, who, not content with opposing our armies, are come to wound every citizen in what is dearest to him, and to ravage this beautiful country, the glory and prosperity of which have ever been the object of their jealous hatred.

“ In spite of the success, obtained by the allied army, which it will not long have to boast, the theatre of war is still far from you ; but if any stragglers, attracted by the hope of pillage, should dare to enter your plains, they will find you armed to defend your wives, your children, and your property.”

Thus the same system of fraud and imposition, which had tended to desolate France when she was on the verge of ruin, was still audaciously practised by Napoleon, and the principal persons in his pay.

All the ministers and brothers of Napoleon were determined to maintain one government against another, and had assembled at Blois, which was now become the seat of the regency. The war-office was established at that place, and four hundred commissioners were employed, day and night, in trying to force new levies from this unfortunate country, expecting that it would become the theatre of civil war.

To forward the execution of these sinister projects the ephemeral regency of Blois issued the following proclamation, which was dated on the

3d of April, signed by Maria Louisa, and most industriously propagated.

“ Frenchmen,

“ The events of war have put the capital into the power of foreigners; but the Emperor has hastened to its protection at the head of his armies, so frequently victorious. They are in the presence of the enemy under the walls of Paris.

“ It is from the residence I have chosen, and from the ministers of the Emperor that the only orders will proceed, which you can acknowledge. Every place, which is in the possession of the enemy, ceases to be free. Every direction, which emanates from it, is the language of a stranger, or such as it suits his hostile views to adopt.

“ You will be faithful to your oath of allegiance. You will listen to the voice of a princess, who was consigned to your good faith, who glories in being a French woman, and in having associated her destiny with that of the sovereign, whom you freely chose for yourselves. My son was less sure of your affection during your prosperity than at the present moment. His rights and his person are under your safe-guard.

“ MARIA LOUISA, Empress-Regent.

“ MONTALIVET, exercising the function of Secretary to the Regency.”

From the above document it is clear that it was not the army, which promoted civil discord,

but the ministers of a tyrannical power, who were obstinately bent on sacrificing the country, in order to preserve their wealth and rank.

It was amidst these melancholy prospects that the negociators from Fontainebleau, who came to defend the dynasty of the Emperor Napoleon, were introduced during the night of the 4th to the 5th of April, into the presence of the Emperor Alexander. Marshals Ney and Macdonald were faithful to their promise, and proceeded to the execution of it with scrupulous exactness. What could they allege in favor of their application? The wish of the army? But this wish had only been expressed by a fraction of it, and was, therefore, partial. Besides, when did an armed force, during the system of modern governments, arrogate to itself the right of deliberating on the fate of empires, and interfering with the transfer of crowns? An armed force ought never to deliberate, but to obey the laws. Was it not to be hoped then that the generals themselves would drop their swords before the national will, thus affording the most noble example of self-denial and patriotism? To deliver France over to the passions of the soldiery would have been to renew the tumults, which she had heretofore too often witnessed; it would have placed the whole population of France under the influence of military tyranny, than which no species of government is more to be dreaded.

The weightiest political and moral considerations were debated at this celebrated conference by

Prince Talleyrand, General Pozzo di Borgo, and according to some, by General Dessoles ; all of whom supported, with energetic talent, the imperishable rights of the Bourbon dynasty. It is universally known that Prince Talleyrand made, on this occasion, a most brilliant, vigorous, and decisive speech, which is, however, too recent for me to have obtained more than its general tenor ; it will one day become a most honorable monument of our restoration. It was not merely from political motives that this enlightened statesman was become the defender of the sacred object, and the supporter of the descendants of Saint-Louis. For a long time he had been devoted to the interests of this august family ; and when the crisis arrived, after having been the first to recognize Monsieur the Count d'Artois as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, after having taken the lead in the Senate and provisional government, he gave an impulse to the cause, which reflected the highest honour upon him, and accomplished this memorable revolution without check, without re-action, without disorder, of any kind. General Pozzo di Borgo, the compatriot of Buonaparte, is also considered as one of the men, who by firmness, courage, and talent, most contributed to the re-establishment of the French monarchy.

Every thing, therefore, was doubtless decided in favour of the people, the wants of the country, and the future safety of Europe, when this great negotiation was begun. Besides, it was founded on

a false and destructive principle; for what claims could Napoleon make in favour of his *dynasty*? It was nothing but base adulation, which had ever used this term when designating the execrable race, lately seated on the throne of Clovis. There can be no dynasty, except when the reigning family is able to reckon a long list of ancestors; hence Napoleon had not even laid the foundations of regular family right. He never had the suffrages of the nation in his favor; he never was the object of its voluntary choice. As consul he usurped the supreme authority; and the subsequent elections, which first secured the power to him during his life, and then conferred on him the title of Emperor, were (according to the expression of that noble writer, Viscount de Chateaubriand, before quoted in this work) mere juggling tricks, played off under the influence of the bayonet. To acquiesce is not to make a choice, besides which, Buonaparte broke the contract he had sworn to abide by.

Admitting even the revolutionary right, to which he owed his throne, he had evidently deserved to be dethroned, by the most horrible abuse of power. This power was founded only on the sword, and the great reverses, which he had lately sustained, released the people, who were only attached to him by force. Napoleon had no other title to the supreme authority; consequently he had not, and could not have a dynasty in his family. The property of the throne ought doubtless to be res-

pected, like that of the plough; but this is when kings acquire by birth an hereditary right to the crown, transmitted by their ancestors. It is time alone which consolidates the rights of a sceptre; such being the difference between a race of legitimate sovereigns, and the family of an ephemeral ruler. Where is the inheritance, when the father has dissipated it? The son of the Emperor Napoleon could no longer have any right but to the succession of Buonaparte, who had fallen back into the ordinary class of mankind. From this moment the French had resumed their national privileges, and enjoyed the full power of re-establishing on the throne the august family of the Bourbons, who constituted the princes of the ancient royal dynasty; who, for eight hundred years, had governed France with glory, and promoted general happiness; who in a long succession of sovereigns, had only produced one tyrant; who seated fidelity and honour on the throne of France, and whose noble blood had not only animated heroes, but flowed in the veins of honest men.

Thus the pretensions of Buonaparte and his family were overturned; and for these reasons his conditional abdication, in favour of his son, was rejected. It must be owned that it would be presumption to attribute the great result, which spread joy throughout Europe, to any man or class of men. This sacred cause triumphed, because it was in conformity to the immutable principles of justice and truth. The great events of

1814 would have been incomplete, if they had not been terminated by the re-establishment of the ancient family. When the descendants of Saint Louis again mounted the throne, they destroyed in France that spirit of conquest and spoliation, which had been originally created by the revolution, and constantly inflamed by Buonaparte. They secured to France the greatest benefits, by restoring to her a social character, and by replacing her in the station which she had formerly occupied among nations.

Marshals Ney and Macdonald took the road back to Fontainebleau, where they arrived on the 5th of April, at eleven o'clock at night. The Prince of the Moskwa was the first who entered the apartments of the palace. "Have you succeeded?" said Napoleon, when he perceived him.

"In part, Sire, but not with regard to the Regency—it was too late for that. Revolutions never give way. This has taken its course, and the senate will to-morrow recognize the Bourbons."

Who would not have expected Napoleon to have instantly broken off the negotiations, and again tried his fortunes? His principal officers fully believed that such would have been the case. What then was their surprise, when they heard him exclaim: "Where can I live with my family?"

"Where your majesty pleases," replied Marshal Ney, "for instance, in the Isle of Elba, with six millions."

“Six millions! That is a large stipend for one who is no more than a soldier. I am well aware that it is necessary to resign, and bid adieu to all my companions in arms.”

The inconceivable facility with which the haughtiest of men, after having had notice that he was dethroned, now received that of his exile, astonished the generals and small number of persons who were initiated into the mysteries of this strange negotiation. The love of life can only explain the ignominious *denouement* of this great drama, the hero of which had openly aspired to universal monarchy. “He is in every situation a most extraordinary man,” said his admirers, “The world or a desert is the same to him.”

The army, which was uneasy and alarmed as to his fate, would have followed him beyond the Loire. There, changing the seat of hostilities, he might have rallied round his person the army of Italy, and that of the south, as well as all the troops which he had uselessly left in the fortified places; and thus reinforced, he might have again raised his fallen fortunes, or at least, have ended his career with glory. But this man, after having affected a hypocritical disinterestedness, made a regular sort of bargain for his life, and a pension. In a word, he assented to the entire abdication of all his pretended rights, provided a treaty was guaranteed by the allied monarchs, which secured to him and his family a retreat in the Island of

Elba, and the six millions proposed through Marshal Ney.

In consequence of this agreement, he announced his abdication in the following terms:—

“The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interest of France.”

This public act, which was officially published in the London Gazette Extraordinary on the 9th of April, was not known at Paris 'till the 12th, the day after the signature of the secret treaty between the confederated Sovereigns and Napoleon.

Such was the cowardly close of Buonaparte's career, and memorable as cowardly. This last act of his political life was distinguished by the same hypocrisy, which he had so often summoned to his aid. Deposed as he was by his own senate, pointed out as an object of universal execration, abandoned by his soldiers, who now deserted by thousands, and surrounded by a formidable body of troops, which was approaching to crush him, if he persisted in refusing the generous pardon offered to him, what did he do? Still playing the

deceitful charlatan, he converted a forced submission into a voluntary sacrifice, affecting to be influenced by a feeling of public spirit, or religious veneration for his oath. In a word, he still concealed himself under the veil of imposition, pretending to be guided by the dictates of honor and virtue.

On the succeeding day, however, he was indecisive, and hesitated as to remitting the authentic act of his abdication; but being informed that the principal part of his generals were ready to obey the appeal of the provisional government, and seeing himself thus left without protection, in a country, where but a few days before he had disposed of every inhabitant's life according to his pleasure, he entered into a formal engagement to ratify his abdication, at the moment that he received, in exchange, the treaty which he solicited from the generosity of the Allied Monarchs.

The Marshal Prince of the Moskwa, being thus left at liberty to support by his assent the change about to take place, declared, in a letter to the provisional government, that, to avoid the evils of civil war, no course remained for the French, but to recal their ancient kings. During these negotiations, a truce was established between the French troops under Napoleon, and the army of the Allies.

Buonaparte appeared several times to repent the step he had taken; but being more suspicious than ever of those around him, he dared not adopt

any great and vigorous resolutions. He trembled at the idea of the whole truth being divulged, and took every imaginary precaution that nothing might transpire in his army.

The great events at Paris were scarcely known at Fontainebleau. Nothing but vague and confused reports being circulated at the latter place, every one there was in a state of agitation and anxiety. The soldiers of the advanced posts deserted, as soon as they knew that Napoleon was dethroned. The officers passed their time in play, for the purpose of driving away disagreeable sensations; and every moment expected the total defection of that mutilated army, against which the allies were unwilling to employ force. Napoleon shut himself in a remote apartment of the palace, communicating but little with any one beyond the Duke of Bassano, and General Bertrand, who were always near his person, and seemed to possess his entire confidence. When he attended a review, he galloped down the ranks, as if wishing to conceal from the eyes of the soldiers his depression, and the alteration of his looks. He distributed, however, decorations and promotions in a most profuse manner.

Having on the 7th of April received intelligence from Maria Louisa, he immediately caused a report to be spread that the Emperor of Austria was on the point of confiding to him an hundred and fifty thousand men, that he might support his rights. These tidings, though they gained no great extent of credit, reanimated the spirits of

some, while they caused great uneasiness to others, for every one had before this time avowed his opinions. The army received orders, on the same day, to hold itself in readiness for marching on Orleans; and Napoleon appeared to be determined on considering, as null and void, all the arrangements, to which he had previously acceded. He seemed firmly bent on retiring beyond the Loire, with those who would follow him; but on the same evening the troops received counter-orders, and there was no further question as to departure, or any other attempt. This hesitation and uncertainty could not but prolong the evils of France.

While Paris was celebrating its happiness, with every token of gratitude for its deliverance, the towns of Sens and Pethiviers, the one situated at the distance of thirty and the other only of nineteen leagues from the capital, were still a prey to all the horrors of war.

On the 5th of April the allied troops had entered Pithiviers by main force. A hundred *chasseurs* had opposed a fruitless though honorable resistance to two thousand men, and the place being taken, it was delivered over to pillage, as an expiation for the death of an officer, who had been killed by an agent of the *Droits-Reunis*.

Some of the fortunate circumstances, which had occurred at Paris, were known at Sens on the 7th, but the intelligence found its way but slowly, and no one publicly manifested his joy, the place being still under military authority. On the same

day, fifteen hundred Austrians presented themselves before the walls, with thirty pieces of cannon, and several howitzers. An officer demanded the surrender of the garrison; but a fatal planet at this moment conducted General Alix thither. The alarm was general; for the officer was dismissed, with an answer that the town would be defended to the last extremity. The fire immediately began, though it was impossible to maintain a siege, there being scarcely three hundred men in the garrison. The Austrian General resolved, if possible, to spare the effusion of human blood, and sent a second Officer, but the inexorable Alix answered again that, sooner than yield, he would bury himself under the ruins of the place, and that such was also the determination of its inhabitants. He knew, like them, the events, which had occurred at Paris, but he had caused these to be denied by proclamations full of imposition, and threatening with his anger all, who propagated reports of a contrary nature. Every thing was prepared for the assault, when a lady of Sens, wishing to devote herself for the general good, descended the wall without being perceived, repaired to the camp of the allies, and assured them that the inhabitants had no share in the barbarous resolution of General Alix. The Austrians immediately ceased their fire, and it was not long before the truth of this statement was confirmed by the appearance of the whole population, who fled from the town to the country, and covered the neighbouring hills. Indignant at the imposi-

tion of General Alix, the Austrian commander again summoned him; declaring that, if the officer returned with another refusal, he would put the whole garrison to the sword, and begin with Alix himself. This threat, which was supported by formidable preparations, intimidated the general, and he at last capitulated; but several private houses and some public edifices had already become a prey to the flames. Alix, on leaving Sens, was universally execrated, and will for ever remain so; he having thrice exposed that unfortunate place to all the horrors of fire, pillage and destruction.

It was not till the 7th of April that M. de Caulaincourt, and Marshals Ney and Macdonald concluded, with the Generalissimo Prince of Schwartzemberg, a convention, fixing the lines of demarkation which were to be observed between the allied and French armies.

On leaving the mouth of the Seine, the Allies were to occupy the right bank of this river, as well as the southern limits of the departments of the Lower Seine, the Oise, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, the Yonne, the Cote-d'Or, the Saone and Loire, the Rhone, and the Isere, as far as Mount Cenis.

It was decided, respecting the South, that the line of demarkation should be fixed according to the land occupied by the army of Lord Wellington, and by that of Marshal Soult, at the moment that the couriers should arrive, who were to be immediately dispatched to both.

But the odious system of the ephemeral regency at Blois prevented the penetration of truth into this animated quarter, and gave rise to the sanguinary battle of Toulouse, which will be an eternal stain of blood upon our records, and for ever disgrace the vile Ministers of Napoleon in the eyes of posterity.

CHAPTER XIX.

Lord Wellington suspends his march—Situation of Bourdeaux—Battle of Etauliers—Resistance of Fort de Blaye—Plan of the Royalists with respect to Rochefort and Rochelle—Movement in La Vendée—Lord Wellington advances—Battle at the Gates of Tarbes—Marshal Soult retires under the walls of Toulouse—Description of this place and its positions—System of defence adopted by the Duke of Dalmatia—Arrival of Lord Wellington in front of the French army—Culpable arrest of Colonel Saint-Simon at Montauban—Battle of Toulouse—Marshal Soult's army throws itself into the city—Dreadful situation of the inhabitants—The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia retreats into Lower Languedoc—Triumphant entry of Lord Wellington into Toulouse—This place declares itself for the Bourbons—Glorious return of Marshal Suchet into France—Condition of his army—Suspension of hostilities throughout the South of France.

ALMOST twenty days had elapsed since the battle of Orthes had opened all the roads of the South to Lord Wellington; and, during this interval, the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia's army had rallied at Conches, where it still covered the town of Tarbes, and the road to Toulouse; but it was not without difficulty that the commanders of the French troops had succeeded in re-organizing the corps; for the soldiers were dispersed in all directions, and the *gendarmes* were occupied, during a whole fortnight, in collecting the fugitives on the roads to Auch, Montauban, Saint-Gaudens and Toulouse.

The allied army seemed, however, to be content with having obtained possession of the Adour, invested Bayonne, as well as Saint-Jean-Pied-de-

Port, and occupied Bourdeaux, from which they derived immense advantages. The sagacious slowness of Lord Wellington was founded on the imperious necessity of distributing his forces, so as to attain the great objects which he had in view. The whole of his left wing besieged Bayonne; and Marshal Beresford's corps, which formed the centre, after having advanced on Bourdeaux, was thirty leagues from the principal point of operations. Lord Wellington was at Aires on the Adour, and having only a third part of his troops at his disposal, hesitated as to venturing in front of the French army, which appeared still formidable, though discouraged and dispersed. It was for the purpose of striking a more decisive blow, that the noble Lord for a moment suspended his march; besides which, the state of the war in the North of France presaged events likely to terminate the effusion of blood. Being informed, however, that the operations were pushed, in that quarter, with additional vigour, and being, moreover, convinced that peace could only be obtained by still greater sacrifices, he ordered Marshal Beresford to leave a garrison at Bourdeaux, and join the army, which ardently desired to resume the offensive. The Marshal left about four thousand men at Bourdeaux, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, and fell back on the Adour. By his devotion to the cause of the Bourbons, and by the exact discipline which he maintained in so important a city, Lord Dal-

housie soon obtained the respect and regard of the inhabitants. Their enthusiastic affection for the august Prince, who had thrown himself into their arms, became every day stronger, amidst the uncertainties of war. They had spontaneously levied a tax among themselves, to defray the expenses of his Royal Highness. The artisans, and even the poor people of the city, had sued for and obtained the honour of forming a guard for the Prince. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein was charged with the office of organizing them; and in the twinkling of an eye this sacred battalion amounted to six hundred men, all clothed and equipped. For several days Bourdeaux had been illuminated, and these marks of rejoicing had not even ceased, when it was known that a French division was approaching, with hostile intentions, by the Perigueux road. Bourdeaux was not only menaced on the east, by the corps under the command of General Decaen, but also on the north, by the division of General Lhuillier. In another quarter, the resistance of Fort de Blaye prevented the freedom of navigation on the Garonne; and Bourdeaux was, in some degree, separated from the rest of France. Ships of burden not being able to sail up the river, except at the very height of flood tide, Admiral Penrose seized this favorable opportunity of engaging a man of war, which protected the flotilla; but his object was frustrated by the batteries of Blaye. It was perceived that it would not be possible to reduce this fortress, except an assault was

made with a determination to carry it by main force. Lord Dalhousie had passed the Gironde, and driven the French troops beyond the Dordogne. The English general, being unacquainted with the theatre of war, had taken the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, as his aide-de-camp, and soon passed the Dordogne, near Saint-André-de-Cubzac, with an intention of summoning Fort de Blaye. On reaching the plain of Etauliers, he found Generals Lhuillier and Des Barreaux posted near the village of that name. A serious combat took place, and, after a short resistance, the French, who were inferior as to numbers, fell back, fighting as they retreated, and leaving three hundred prisoners in the hands of the British commander. The detachment of the Allies immediately approached Fort de Blaye; and the inhabitants of the place, having been unsuccessful in their endeavours to effect a capitulation on the part of the garrison, abandoned their houses, with their respectable mayor, M. Du-luc, who, having declared for the King, went to the Earl of Dalhousie, at Etauliers. Admiral Penrose had forced the entrance of the Gironde, and destroyed the flotilla; he now bombarded Fort de Blaye, which obstinately refused to surrender. His Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême had an exact plan of it; but nothing short of a regular siege, could overpower this fortress; and Lord Dalhousie returned, therefore, to Bourdeaux, for the purpose of preparing an attack on the land-side. This city excited his solicitude, and he wished to

render it secure against any enterprize, on the part of the French troops, who were advancing by Périgueux, in order to effect their junction with the column of General Lhuillier.

No resistance, however, could arrest the progress of the restoration. M. de Mauleon and M. Malet de Roquefort had, at the peril of their lives, caused a corps of national guards, which they commanded at Teste, to mount the white cockade. The movements in La Vendée corresponded also with those at Bourdeaux. M. de Mesnard, who lived in the neighbourhood of Lucan, having formed a project of causing Rochefort and Rochelle to declare in favour of the legitimate dynasty, proceeded to Bourdeaux, in order to obtain letters from Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême, which might have the effect of inducing the military commanders to support the royal cause.

This plan became publicly known on the Monday, from Paques to Rochelle. Twelve hundred conscripts, who had concealed themselves, were to join a party in the city: and all were ready to open the gates, as soon as the royalists approached, under M. de Saint-Marceaux. The insurrection of Poitou was also combined with these attempts. M. de Baschu, an officer of dragoons, had concerted measures with the Count de Suzanet, in the environs of Nantes, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, to implore that his Royal Highness would put himself at the head of the royalists in the West, after having caused the Marquis de la

Rochejaquelein to precede him. La Vendée applied for fifteen thousand muskets and a quantity of ammunition. Three hundred artillery men, who were stationed to guard the coast, had formed the bold resolution of arresting their officers, on the day fixed for general insurrection, and hoisting the white flag, at the moment that Count de Suzanet in Lower Poitou, and Count Charles d'Antichamp in Anjou, caused the tocsin to be sounded amidst cries of *Vive le Roi!* There came also from La Vendée a miller, called Pierre Cochet, a most intrepid man, who had participated in three civil wars. The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein employed him to rouse the neighbourhood of Montagne.

Bordeaux was, nevertheless, only protected by the detachment of Lord Dalhousie; but the English regiments of militia solicited, as a favour, that they might hasten to defend the capital of Guienne. The Marquis of Buckingham had embarked for the mouth of the Gironde with four thousand men; but contrary winds having delayed the expedition, his Lordship did not arrive till all France shared in the deliverance of Bordeaux.

While this city and La Vendée became the focus of the royal insurrection, Lord Wellington, pursuing his success, marched to the conquest of Languedoc. His different detachments, and the reserves of cavalry and artillery coming from Spain, did not join him till the 17th of March.

In the mean time, the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, not thinking his position very secure had retired to Lambege, in the direction of Tarbes, leaving his advanced posts near Conches.

The army of Lord Wellington put itself in motion on the 18th, and Lieutenant-General Hill drove in the French posts, which, under cover of the night, fell back on Vic-Bigorre. Lieutenant-General Clinton manœuvred on the rear guard of Marshal Soult, and drove it from the vineyards, as well as from Vic-Bigorre. The allied army immediately collected in the latter town, and at Rabastens. During the night, the Duke of Dalmatia retreated towards Tarbes, taking a position on the heights, near the windmill at Oleac, with his centre and left on the hills near Angos.

Few places has so agreeable an appearance as Tarbes. It is situated on a cheerful plain, upon the left bank of the Adour, over which is a handsome bridge. It is also the seat of a prefecture, and was an essential conquest for Lord Wellington. Marshal Soult had sent thither before him the General of Division, Baron Maransin, whom he ordered to promote the *levy en masse* in the department of the Higher Pyrennees; but there, as in every other part of France, the people indignantly refused to take up arms, in favour of a tyrannical government—there, as every where else, secret wishes were entertained for the emancipation of the French.

Lord Wellington's army marched from Vic and Rabastens, in two columns of attack. Lieutenant-General Clinton was to turn the right wing of the French army, while Lieutenant-General Hill was to attack Tarbes, by the road from Vic-Bigorre. This combined movement was completely successful. At the moment that the light division dislodged the troops of the advanced guard from the heights above Oleix, Lieutenant-General Hill passed through the town of Tarbes, and arranged his columns, so as to surround the army of Marshal Soult, which only owed its safety to a hasty retreat by Pinasse, leaving the field of battle covered with dead and wounded, and falling back in disorder towards Saint-Gaudens.

The allied army encamped, the same night, on the Larret de Larroz, having, at a distance on its right, the troops of Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton and Lieutenant-General Clinton, with the sixth division and several brigades of cavalry, detached in pursuit of Marshal Soult. It was to be feared that his army had not fallen back to Saint-Gaudens, and that its retreat to Toulouse would be cut off; but the rain fell in torrents, and the bad state of the roads still more retarded the conquerors than the conquered.

Throughout their march, the French general-officers interrogated the mayors, as to the disposition of the inhabitants, and the progress of the Allies. The dispersed columns formed their junction at Villeneuve, having been preceded by three

general officers, wrapt in oil-cloth mantles, who were supposed to be the Duke of Dalmatia himself, accompanied by Generals Clauzel and Villatte. The Mayor having been summoned into their presence, and knowing that the English army was in the neighbourhood, exclaimed, without recognising them: "*Long live the King! Long live the English! Long live Wellington!*" The officers had the good sense to attribute these acclamations to fear, and pursued their way towards Saint-Gaudens.

In the mean time, Lord Wellington had surprised all the resources of Marshal Soult at Tarbes, and from that moment the French army was in want of every thing; so that its commander, thinking himself no where secure, sought refuge, with his troops, under the walls of Toulouse.

Wherever Wellington directed his steps the country declared for the King, or organised itself in the royal cause. The town of Pau boisted the white flag; and the captain of the *gendarmerie*, who commanded there, passed with his followers to the side of the Allies. Lord Wellington, at all times persevering in his system of circumspection, did not enter Pau, in order that he might do no injury to a place, which he regarded as sacred; this town having given birth to Marshal Bernadotte, formerly Prince of Ponte Corvo, and now Crown Prince of Sweden. All the inhabitants of Bearn, which was the cradle of Henry IV. were treated with lenity, and not burdened with the expenses of the war.

Lord Wellington appears to have had an intention of cutting off Marshal Soult's retreat to Toulouse. Two roads lead from Tarbes to that city, the one by Saint-Gaudens, the other by Auch. The Duke of Dalmatia, having rallied his army at Saint-Gaudens, took the cross road, which leads from the latter place to Auch: and gaining, by his masterly retreat, three days on his formidable adversary, arrived with incredible celerity and unmolested under the walls of Toulouse. It might easily be foreseen that the capital of Languedoc would be defended, and disputed, with all the determination of French valour.

Toulouse, one of the most ancient and most celebrated cities of France, is surrounded with fertile plains, abounding in corn, and intersected with rivulets; on the banks of which are numerous and beautiful meadows. It extends along the right bank of the Garonne, about a quarter of a league above its confluence with the famous canal of Languedoc; thus forming a communication between two seas, and being nearly at equal distances from each. Its form is circular, comprehending within its boundaries (which are a league in circumference) the suburb Saint-Cyprien, separated from the city by a magnificent bridge over the Garonne. The walls of Toulouse, which are flanked with round turrets placed at regular distances, form a rampart without the city. The entrance is through eight gates. Most of the streets are narrow and crooked; and most of the houses are built of wood. There

are, however, several hotels and some handsome edifices ; among the latter the one known by the name of the *capitol*. The population, which is not at present proportionate to the extent of the city, consisted twenty years ago of eighty thousand souls, which are now reduced to fifty-five thousand. Such is the effect of a disastrous revolution and a cruel system of war.

The citizens of Toulouse have rather a turn for the sciences, and literature, than for industry, and commerce ; and their noble, liberal ideas made them detest the oppressive government of Napoleon. It was in vain that his commissary, Count Caffarelli, by a proclamation dated the 29th of March, declared that the whole department of the Higher Garonne was besieged. “ It is necessary,” said he, “ that every citizen should become a soldier, and that every functionary, without exception, should set the example. *Napoleon, our country, and our honour!* should be the rallying cry of the French to the last moment of their lives.”

This devotion, however, to the despotism of the Corsican, and his confidential ministers, no longer existed in Toulouse. The confederation of the royalists had easily established its influence there, and this city aspired to the proud distinction of imitating Bourdeaux, and preceding Paris. The *traits*, which marked the great event about to be described, do honour to Toulouse, where urbanity

was allied with patriotism, and humanity with courage.

Scarcely had the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia found, under the walls of this city, a point at which he could obtain support, than he adopted the brave resolution of defending himself by all the resources of military art. His force amounted to four thousand horse, eighteen thousand regular infantry, and six thousand conscripts, of whom four thousand were so ill accoutred, that they were not in a state to join in battle. He took a position between the roads to Auch and Saint-Gaudens, his left resting on the road to Muret, and his right on the left bank of the Garonne, scarcely a league below Toulouse. Thus it will appear that his army formed the shape of a horse-shoe. The inhabitants of the city were a prey to the most lively alarm, on seeing an army apparently determined rather to bury itself under the ruins of the place than yield it to the Allies, who were considered as liberators. In fact, at this important crisis, the people of Toulouse dreaded their countrymen more than the enemy. Such was the moral disposition of a nation, groaning under the yoke of tyranny.

The Duke of Dalmatia, being left to his own means, (for he doubted much whether he should obtain the co-operation of the city guard,) immediately arranged his means of defence. He caused a vast body of works to be constructed, as if by enchantment, round the place, which excited the

admiration of the inhabitants, and the astonishment of the enemy. Of this Toulouse was susceptible, being bounded on three sides by the canal of Languedoc, and the Garonne. Marshal Soult formed a good *tête-de-pont* on the left of this river, and erected, round the suburb of Saint-Cyprien, strong bulwarks, in front of the ancient ramparts. He also formed a *tête-de-pont* at each of the canal bridges, which were, like the other, defended by artillery. But even these fortifications were only the advanced points of a grand system of defence, which the Marshal had conceived. Beyond the canal, towards the east, and thence to the river Ers, Toulouse is protected by a chain of hills, which stretch to Montaudran, and cross all the roads leading towards the canal and the city. Independent of the *têtes-de-pont*, Marshal Soult caused these eminences to be fortified, by constructing five redoubts, which were united to each other with intrenched lines, and were completed with extraordinary ardor. The citizens of Toulouse were employed in this undertaking by main force, though they harboured secret wishes for a different order of things. Unwillingly they took up the spade and pick-axe, and in thrice twenty-four hours created this master-piece of art, a monument of the vivacity by which their character is distinguished. These defensive preparations being finished, the Duke of Dalmatia caused all the bridges on the Ers to be broken, it being possible that the enemy

might avail himself of them to attack the right of the Marshal's position.

The outskirts of Toulouse, therefore, were covered with works when Lord Wellington, three days after the arrival of Soult, appeared with his whole army, which consisted of ten to twelve thousand cavalry, and forty to fifty thousand infantry. He immediately formed his lines in the shape of a cross, at the distance of three quarters of a league from the formidable position occupied by the French army.

It was the intention of Lord Wellington to have made an attack on the succeeding day; but he deferred it, in consequence of receiving intimation that a body of partisans, who had formed themselves into volunteer companies, were endeavouring to annoy the rear of his army, and to intercept his convoys. In fact, a considerable number of cattle, which were on their way to his Lordship, had already been taken. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, sent large parties of English cavalry to scour the country in his rear, and in three days order was restored; the country people every where favouring the operations of the Allies, and declaring themselves against the banditti, who, under a pretext of arming to defend the cause of Napoleon, were only bent upon pillage and depredation.

Provisions, ammunition, and every requisite arrived in abundance at the camp of Lord Wellington.

ton, who paid its full value for each article; while the Duke of Dalmatia's army was in a destitute state, and procured nothing but by forced requisitions. The camp of the Allies was free and open, so that every one went in or out as he pleased; while, on the contrary, no one, who entered the French line, was allowed to depart again.

Lord Wellington felt some hesitation as to attacking Toulouse from the west, not wishing to sacrifice the suburb of Saint-Cyprien. He, therefore detached fifteen thousand men on the Foix road, and threw a flying bridge over the river at Pinsoguel, hoping that his troops would thereby gain the bridge of Saint-Garbelle, and besiege the city by the suburb of Saint-Michel, which could oppose no means of defence. This operation, however, was rendered abortive by the bad state of the roads, on which there was such an accumulation of tenacious clay, that no military resources could surmount the obstacle. Having then ascertained that the roads from Arriege to Toulouse were impassable for cavalry, artillery, and almost even for infantry, Lord Wellington thought that no alternative remained, but to attack the Duke of Dalmatia in his intrenched camp.

The Marshal now concentrated his forces, in order to form a less extended line, and to have more disposable troops for the redoubts. His left was stationed behind the walls of the churchyard in the suburb Saint-Cyprien, stretching in a circular direction over the beautiful walks formed in

that quarter: and his right rested on the mouth of the Languedoc canal.

Lord Wellington, in like manner, compressed his line, and made arrangements for a general attack. Till now the operations of defensive labour, and a few musket-shots, exchanged between the advanced posts, had alone announced the presence of two rival armies; but, during the night of the 7th to the 8th of April, the British commander, without the knowledge of Marshal Soult, caused a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Garonne, at the village of Beauselle, below the superb castle of Blagnac. In the course of the same night, the staff, the Spanish corps, and the Portuguese artillery, forming fifteen thousand men, under the immediate orders of Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, passed the Garonne, and advanced towards the city by the plain of Minimes. The eighteenth regiment of English hussars, commanded by Colonel Vivian, charged a corps of cavalry, drove it beyond the village of Croix-d'Orade, and took about a hundred prisoners. During this charge the Colonel received a wound, which obliged him to quit the field. This first success put Lord Wellington into possession of an important bridge on the river Ers, over which it was necessary that he should pass, to attack the position of the French army.

Toulouse wavered between hope and fear; but the whole body of the inhabitants had only one wish—that of being delivered from the troops of

their own country. The national guards, commanded by M. Dubarry, Count d'Argincourt, and M. de Cambon, amounted to two thousand men, properly armed and equipped; but on several occasions they refused to take any part in actions beyond the walls of the city.

Every thing now indicated that two armies, which felt a mutual respect for each other, on account of the valour they had equally displayed, were about to measure their strength at the very gates of Toulouse. Every thing predicted another and an useless effusion of blood, which would have been spared, but for the criminal conduct of the tyrant's supporters, who intercepted the orders and dispatches of the provisional government.

Every prudential measure had been adopted to promote the object, so ardently desired by this part of the country in common with the North; and to insure the benefits of peace, after so long a continuation of horrid carnage. On the 7th of April, Colonel Cooke had left Paris, for the express purpose of acquainting Lord Wellington with the new revolution, which so happily changed the aspect of public affairs throughout the world. This officer was accompanied by Colonel Saint Simon, who was employed by the provisional government to give Marshals Soult and Suchet information of the same event. Their mission was sacred, and was every where respected on the banks of the Loire, in spite of the pernicious influence exercised by the regency at Blois; but it was afterwards

shamefully infringed upon, by the culpable arrest of the two officers. Had not this ever to be lamented step been taken, they would have reached Toulouse on the 9th of April, in time enough to prevent the battle of the 10th, and would have preserved the lives of ten to twelve thousand brave men. How afflicting is the idea that these heroes were thus sacrificed by the perfidious cruelty of Buonaparte's agents ! It is the province of History to arraign such miscreants at the tribunal of impartial posterity.

The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia having received no official account of the events which restored peace to France in common with all Europe, made his dispositions to receive the attack ; and the cypress was again about to be interwoven with the laurel.

Lord Wellington, wishing to facilitate the communication between the Spanish corps, posted on the right bank of the Garonne, and the corps under the command of Lieutenant-General Hill, which remained on the left bank, caused the bridge thrown over that river to be removed. His plan of attack was arranged. It consisted in ordering the Ers to be passed over the bridge of Croix-d'Orade by Marshal Beresford's corps, which was to seize the village of Montblanc, then to march up the Ers again, and thus to turn the right of Marshal Soult's position ; while Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Frere, with the Spanish corps under his orders, and supported by the English cavalry, at-

tacked the front of the intrenchments. Towards the lower part of the Languedoc canal, the onset was to be commenced by the light division under General Picton, and the German legion, in order to draw the attention of the French army to this point, while Lieutenant-General Hill practised the same manœuvre against the troops, which defended the suburbs of Saint Cyprien. The greatest efforts, therefore, and the most decisive attack were about to take place on the right bank.

All the corps of the combined army put themselves in motion on the 10th of April, while the French troops, ranged in battle array, prepared to make the most vigorous resistance. The action began at seven o'clock in the morning, near the warehouses at the mouth of the canal, and soon became very spirited. The French brigade being repulsed, set fire to some houses, for the purpose of stopping the progress of the enemy, and fell back towards the *tête-de-pont*, formed where the two canals of Brienne and Languedoc unite, from which all the efforts of the Allies could not dislodge them.

The attack soon spread along the whole line. Marshal Beresford crossed the Ers, and forming his corps in three columns at Croix-d'Orade, immediately seized the village of Montblanc, as previously arranged, and re-ascended the river over difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the position of Marshal Soult. On reaching its extremity, he lost no time in proceeding to the at-

tack. At the same moment the Spanish corps, under the command of Don Manuel Freyre, marched along the left of the Ers, till it was in front of Croix-d'Orade, where he formed his troops in two lines, with a reserve on the heights, before the left of the French position. At this point the Portuguese artillery was planted. As soon as Don Manuel perceived that Marshal Beresford's corps had reached its ground, he advanced to attack the French intrenchments, in concert with that commander. It was Marshal Soult's intention to receive the combined army with a tremendous cannonade, and to avail himself of this favorable moment for attacking it unawares, hoping to break its line by a bold and decisive charge. Every thing seemed at first to presage success; his army stood firmly in its line, and saw without being intimidated, the approach of the Spanish troops, which marched in good order, under a brisk fire of musketry and artillery, with their general and his staff at their head. They established their line in the fosses themselves, and under the fire of the intrenchments, while the reserve, the Portuguese artillery, and the English cavalry, continued on the heights, where the assailants had formed. Such was the courageous conduct of the French brigades, that all Don Manuel's troops, on the right of the line, were repulsed with loss, when he moved round on the left flank of the position. The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia immediately ordered a charge to be made, and his troops darted

from their line. They at once turned the right wing of the Spanish corps, on both sides of the high road from Toulouse to Croix-d'Orade, causing great carnage among them, and compelling them to fall back in disorder, though their officers made several ineffectual attempts to rally them. In this sanguinary conflict, Lieutenant-General Mandizabel, General Espeletta, several officers of the staff, and some commanders of corps were wounded. Thus the first attack was repelled, and the French army, fired with its success, faced the numerous enemies, who made dispositions to renew the assault on every side.

Lord Wellington, indeed, redoubled his efforts. The fourth and sixth divisions, led by Marshal Beresford in person, carried part of the heights, after two successive attacks, and obtained possession of the first redoubt, which covered and protected the flank of the position. The Anglo-Portuguese troops immediately lodged themselves on these heights, though the French army still remained in possession of four redoubts, the intrenchments, and several fortified buildings. This first advantage was not obtained without much bloodshed, and the French troops having plainly shewn that they were resolved to defend, inch by inch, every intrenchment and redoubt, it was evident that no position could be carried without very great sacrifices.

The attack was suspended till Marshal Beresford's artillery, which had been delayed by the bad

state of the roads, could reach him, and till the Spanish corps returned to the charge. These dispositions being completed, Marshal Beresford continued his offensive movements along the heights, and successively attacked the other redoubts, with General Pack's brigade, and the sixth division. The Spaniards and Portuguese failed in several attempts; but Lord Wellington, without being discouraged by the heroic resistance of the French troops, and the heavy losses resulting from his determined attempts, caused the assault to be renewed by a considerable number of Scotch troops, who, towards noon, succeeded in carrying the two redoubts of the centre, and the intrenchments, which constituted the principal force of the position. Lieutenant-Colonel Coghlan was killed, and Colonel Douglas lost a leg; Major-General Pack was also wounded, but would not quit the field of battle.

Victory appeared to be evidently inclining towards the Allies, and the success of the day to be almost certain on their part; but on approaching the castle of Guery, towards the canal, they had to sustain a desperate attack on the part of a French division, which rushed from a place of ambush to retake the heights. General Tanpin, by whom it was commanded, might have divided the combined army, by separating the right wing under General Hill from the main body; but abandoning himself to indiscreet valour, he issued too soon from his place of ambuscade, and being instantly surrounded

by the enemy, paid the forfeit of his impetuous ardour with his life. His division retired with great loss, and the sixth English division having continued to march along the summit of the hill, while the Spanish troops made a corresponding movement on their front, the French army was at length also dislodged from the two redoubts and intrenchments on the left. Lord Wellington's victorious troops now easily obtained possession of the Montaudron road, which leads to Lauraguais, thus turning the Duke of Dalmatia's army, and closing all the outlets upon him.

While these great operations were taking place on the left of the combined army beyond the Garonne, Lieutenant-General Hill, with the right wing, dislodged all the left of Marshal Soult from the exterior works of the Saint-Cyprien suburb. Lieutenant-General Picton also renewed his attacks, and drove the French troops from the *tête-de-pont* at the canal, near the Garonne; but his division, upon attempting to seize it, had been repulsed with loss. Major-General Brisbane was severely wounded upon the occasion.

The allied army, being victorious at almost every point, and particularly on its left, was established on three sides of Toulouse; and after having turned the French army, compelled it to seek refuge in the city itself. The ground not being favourable for the operations of cavalry, it had not been brought into action on either side; but no sooner did Lord Wellington perceive that the

day was decided in his favour, than he instantly detached his light-horse, to cut off Marshal Soult's retreat by the road to Montpellier. The battle had raged twelve hours, from seven in the morning to seven at night. All the positions were covered with dead bodies, and the city was filled with the wounded. Several French officers of consequence had been carried thither during the action; among them the Generals of Division, Harispe and Bouret, the Generals of Brigade, Berlier and Gasquet, the Colonel of the tenth regiment of infantry, the Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery, Marlincourt, who directed the batteries; and a great number of other officers, more or less severely wounded. All had supported, with equal intrepidity and perseverance, the vigorous dispositions made by the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia.

To this day of carnage succeeded one of alarm for the inhabitants of Toulouse. Few of them had witnessed the conflict. The sanguinary battle, which had been fought under their walls, was only known to them by continual discharges of artillery, and by a feeling of compassion for the great number of their wounded countrymen, who were incessantly brought from the field of battle into the city. But when an army of twenty-two thousand men, driven from every quarter, rushed pell-mell into the place, took military possession, and committed all the disorders inseparable from a route—when this army began all the preparations for a destructive and obstinate defence—the unfortunate in-

habitants of Toulouse saw, in perspective, the frightful abyss, which was on the morrow to be opened under their feet.

About nine o'clock at night, Lord Wellington summoned the city to surrender. Marshal Soult replied, that he and his army were determined to bury themselves under its ruins. Such were the preludes to the 11th of April. On that day, the inhabitants of Toulouse saw the French troops fortify themselves by embattling the houses, and taking their station within the walls, for the purpose of defending the city to the utmost. They saw the combined army occupying all the exterior positions, planting batteries and mortars, preparing inflammable missiles, and resolved on making a final effort, for the purpose of carrying the city by main force. They called to mind the disasters of a place taken by assault, the horrors of Saragossa and Tarragona. Every one dreaded the most lamentable reprisals, and this day was much more trying and difficult to be supported than the preceding one, which had caused more surprise than alarm. The summons was renewed, but the Duke of Dalmatia persisted in his resolution rather to perish than surrender. It was well known that every arrangement was made in Lord Wellington's camp for a general attack. The silence of terror, which is the forerunner of the greatest calamities, mournfully presaged those which menaced the city. Towards nine o'clock at night, Marshal Soult assembled a military council, at which several depu-

tations of the city were introduced. They all united in supplicating the Marshal to spare Toulouse the misfortunes with which it was threatened. These petitions obtained, ere long, the support of several Generals; and the intrepid Marshal was subdued by the voice of humanity and reason. He yielded to forces superior in number to his own, but in courage no more than equal to them; and having silently made all his preparations, abandoned the city during the night.

Impartiality here demands a tribute of praise to the British conqueror. He might have closed every outlet to the vanquished army; he might have completed its destruction; for had he taken the city by assault, or forced it to capitulate from want of subsistence, what must have been the situation of the troops—what must have been the situation of the inhabitants? But the illustrious Wellington no longer carried on war against the French nation, and performed, with scrupulous exactness, the promise which he had pledged to his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême. That august Prince had conjured his Lordship to spare the good city of Toulouse, and the magnanimous General's chief care was to protect the lives and property of its peaceable inhabitants. He not only forbade the artillery to be directed against the city, but allowed all the troops of Marshal Soult to defile under the cannon of the English army without firing a single ball. The Marshal withdrew by the only road, which was still open to him,

preceded by his artillery and baggage; directing his retreat towards Lower Languedoc, and leaving in Toulouse nearly two thousand wounded.

At sun-rise, the inhabitants, astonished at hearing no military commotion, left their houses, and traversed the streets, which were now deserted. Confidence returned, and the report was soon confirmed that the army had not been able to defend Toulouse, and had evacuated it. The eyes of all wandered in search of the conquerors, till, urged by curiosity to the boundaries of the city, the inhabitants perceived, near each of the gates, divisions of the combined army, ranged in the most regular order, and observing the most profound silence, as if unwilling to disturb the repose of the city. Their calm and friendly demeanour excited universal confidence, and they were considered only as protectors. The crowd increased—the entire population of the city went out to meet them as friends, and invited them, by word, look and gesture, to enter the place. The Allies, however, remained immovable until the hour appointed by their commanders. At eight o'clock, a formidable division, especially as to cavalry, entered by the gate of Saint-Cyprien, passed through Toulouse amidst the acclamations of innumerable spectators, and went out by the suburb of Saint-Michel. Other divisions encamped in the neighbouring villages, or marched in pursuit of Marshal Soult.

Toulouse, which had been forsaken by all the authorities, and appalled for a long time by the

proclamations of the imperial commissary, Cafarelli—Toulouse, abandoned to herself, was led away by her genuine feelings. The iron yoke, under which she had groaned for so many years, was broken, and the inhabitants soon perceived that the empire of Napoleon was decaying in all its parts. Whole generations had been swept away; forced requisitions had been made; every revolting extortion had been practised; and the country was at length evidently exhausted. The people recovered their rights, and could now, without hindrance, compare the happy times of the ancient monarchy with the calamities of the usurper's reign. The people of Toulouse ardently wished to prostrate themselves before the august Prince, whose name already flew from mouth to mouth. Groups of royalists were formed; a sort of sympathetic union rallied all classes; the city guard partook of the general sentiment; and a spontaneous feeling seized every citizen. The white cockade was mounted, while in the streets and squares were heard unanimous cries of "*Long live the King!—Long live the Bourbons!—Long live the descendants of Henry IV!—Long live Louis XVIII!*" Every where the people manifested firmness of decision, and at length the municipal corps, yielding to the general will, returned to its ancient master, and adopted the emblems of the restoration. The magistrates, preceded by the white flag, and accompanied by the entire population of Toulouse, went to meet Lord Wellington, and to claim his protection in favour of the sacred cause.

About ten o'clock, the British commander in chief appeared with his staff, and entered the city by the bridge of the Saint-Cyprien suburb. Forty thousand persons of both sexes ran to meet him, not knowing how to express their joy, and the sincerity of their enthusiasm. Lord Wellington is simple in his dress, and unaffected in his manner; these circumstances made him appear still greater in the eyes of the immense multitude, by which he was now surrounded. Loud shouts of "*Long live the King! Long live Wellington!*" resounded on every side, and alarmed the prudence of his Lordship, who was still in complete ignorance as to the occurrences at Paris. He scrupled not to express his opinion, and endeavoured to restrain an enthusiasm, which might endanger an interesting city; but nothing could check the ardour and determination of the multitude.

The noble Lord entered the court of the capitol on horseback, followed by his suite. He was immediately lifted from his charger, carried by the people through all the apartments, and several times exhibited at the balcony to the assembled crowd, who seemed, as it were, led away by the intoxication of delight.

At length the illustrious Wellington took his place, and received the Municipal Council. M. Launeluc, the principal member of that body, addressed him in a short but luminous harangue. As the organ of his fellow-citizens, he implored his Lordship's protection in favour of a city, which,

by his magnanimity, had been for ever rendered friendly to the British nation, and which had adopted the courageous resolution of supporting its legitimate Sovereign's imperishable rights. The orator was instantly supported by repeated shouts of "*The King and the Bourbons for ever!*"

"Brave inhabitants of Toulouse," replied Lord Wellington with equal simplicity and kindness, "it would grieve me if Frenchmen, so devoted to the cause of their King, should be the victims of too eager, though praise-worthy zeal. I must not conceal from you that negociations are still proceeding at Chatillon, and that a peace with Buonaparte is regarded as possible. I will, nevertheless, support you as far as lies in my power; but perhaps the time is not yet come for expressing your sentiments with all this energy."

On hearing these words the multitude appeared to consult together, and after a few minutes the universal sensation exploded in redoubled cries of "*Long live the King, the Bourbons, and Lord Wellington!*" These shouts reverberated through all the apartments, and were answered with new transport from the streets. Moved, even to tears, by such a display of genuine feeling, Lord Wellington cast a look of satisfaction and interest towards the inhabitants of Toulouse, and exclaimed with a smile of benignity: "It is well—you wish it—*Long live the King!*" In a moment the acclamations of delight were repeated from thousands on thousands of voices, and were heard from the

capitol to the utmost extremity of the city. The cockade was universally adopted; while the *fleurs-de-lis* and the white flag succeeded the triple colour in every quarter. Every one was immediately occupied in destroying the emblems of despotism, and breaking to pieces the image of the tyrant. Directly afterwards, by a momentary impulse, which evinced generosity, while it inspired confidence, the English mounted the white cockade, and the inhabitants of Toulouse gratefully united the black one with the colours of the restoration.

These scenes of public rejoicing were neither troubled with reflection nor fear. The calculations of prudence were stifled by the impulse of the heart, and a consciousness that each had done his duty. The good city of Toulouse was soon destined to obtain its recompense. The reciprocal congratulations, on the happy issue of so generous an enterprise, were universal—every heart was devoid of care—every countenance was lighted up, when on the same day, towards five o'clock in the afternoon, arrived Colonel Cooke and Colonel Saint Simon, whom the creatures of Napoleon had at length released. They brought the dispatches from Paris; and the inhabitants of Toulouse soon heard, from the lips of Lord Wellington, these unexpected and memorable words: "The Conservative Senate has decreed that Napoleon Buonaparte is dethroned. The supreme Councils of Paris rally round the throne of Louis XVIII. The capital and the army reject the usurper and his family."

The enthusiasm of the people then manifested

itself in all its energy, and the day was concluded in ecstacy. Glory to the city of Toulouse! Liberal in its views and wishes, it gave its legitimate Sovereign the bold and noble testimony of devotion to his cause, without having had the least indication that God and mankind had declared in this Sovereign's favour.

The inhabitants of Toulouse have also further titles to public gratitude. Nothing was ever more praise-worthy and affecting than the humanity, displayed by the city guard and the females of this place, in favour of the wounded, belonging to both armies, who were attended with marked and almost religious solicitude.

The public now consoled itself with the idea that the blessings of peace were about to succeed so many scenes of carnage. Colonel Saint Simon, who had been dispatched by the provisional government, made no stay in Toulouse, but proceeded towards Marshals Soult and Suchet, with the decrees of the Senate, and the assent of the Allied Powers. The Duke of Dalmatia did not, at first, consider this information as sufficiently authentic to justify him in laying down his arms. He therefore proposed a suspension of hostilities to Lord Wellington, in order that he might have time to verify the facts. The noble Lord did not think proper to acquiesce in this; and caused two divisions of his army to march in pursuit of Marshal Soult, towards Castelnaudary, in Lower Languedoc.

At the same time, Marshal Suchet, Duke of Albufera, re-entered France, leaving recollections full of glory in the Peninsula, the wounds of which he had healed, by having himself restored to the Spanish nation its legitimate King—an honorable office, which he faithfully and nobly executed—a happy prelude to the re-establishment of the three august Bourbon branches, on the thrones of their ancestors.

Thus ended the brilliant campaigns, which immortalize the conqueror of Maria, Saguntum, Lerida, Mequinenza, Tortosa, Tarragona, and Valencia, whom the Spaniards themselves deem the most valiant and fortunate commander of his nation; who, when left with a handful of soldiers, and surrounded by numerous armies, maintained himself though all was lost, and France invaded. Equally a warrior and a statesman, he had honoured the Spanish character, had re-introduced discipline, and had governed with wisdom. Adored by his soldiers, to whom he was a father, esteemed and respected even by the people who were conquered by his arms, he now brought back to his native land an army of veteran warriors, whose glorious achievements had not been obscured by any reverse, during this calamitous war. This army was become almost the only one, upon which the south of France founded its hopes. It had furnished a detachment of twenty-two thousand men to that of the Rhone and Isere, and it had left in

the conquered places eighteen thousand troops, who were in a state of excellent discipline, and animated with the best spirit. The garrisons, thus alluded to, were Saguntum, Pensacola, Tortosa, Barcelona, Hostalrick, and Figuières. All these troops afterwards re-entered France with arms and baggage. When thus reduced, the Duke of Albufera's troops were reduced to four thousand men, who repassed the Pyrennees with their illustrious commander, on the 12th of April, two days after the battle of Toulouse. For three months the attention of the public had been directed towards this valiant army, as being the only one likely, from the talents of its leader, to arrest the progress of Lord Wellington. Whenever a defeat took place, it was announced that Marshal Suchet's army was about to effect a junction with that of Marshal Soult ; but these reports never had any real foundation. The system, by which it was requisite to defend the south of France, enforced the separation of the two armies. That of Marshal Soult was to cover the roads to the ocean, and the whole of Higher Languedoc. That of Marshal Suchet was to protect the roads to the Mediterranean, which cover Lower Languedoc and Provence. If he had abandoned the positions of Perpignan and Narbonne, and hastened to the aid of Toulouse by forced marches, a second army of forty thousand Anglo-Spaniards would have penetrated through the Pyrennees, at that point which separates Tou-

louse from Narbonne, and the canal of Languedoc, as well as the town of Montpellier, would have been delivered over to an invading enemy.

On receiving the first intelligence of the happy events, which had put a period to the misfortunes of France, the Duke of Albufera sent Colonel Richard of his staff to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington for the purpose of treating as to a suspension of hostilities with the army, which was under his immediate command.

At the same time, the General of division Gazan also arrived at Toulouse, on the part of Marshal Soult, to inform Lord Wellington that the Marshal recognised the provisional government, and that he solicited an immediate suspension of hostilities.

A convention, founded upon the same basis as that of Paris, was entered into without delay, between the combined army, and French armies, commanded by the Marshal Dukes of Dalmatia and Albufera, by which the respective lines of demarkation were fixed where they existed at the moment of the armistice. The Garonne and the Tarn served as the limits to Lord Wellington.

Bordeaux, however, had been much agitated, believing for several days that the country was on the eve of a civil war. In fact, towards the end of March, Napoleon had given positive orders for sixteen thousand men, with besieging artillery, to march against that place. The head of the column, consisting of six thousand men, arrived by the Peri-

guenx road, and the city prepared itself for a vigorous resistance, expecting that a formidable diversion would take place in La Vendée. The Earl of Dalhousie and Admiral Penrose assisted the views of the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, by supplying him with arms and ammunition, and the vessels necessary for conveying them to Poitou. A Messenger was also sent to Jersey, where his Royal Highness the Duke de Berry had disembarked, and was expected with the most lively impatience by the Royalists of Brittany. But on the 10th of April, which was Easter-day, when the citizens were prostrate in the Churches, and supplicating the aid of divine Providence, Bourdeaux received notice that Buonaparte was dethroned, and the Bourbons recalled. This happy intelligence flew, in a moment, through every temple, where the population of both sexes was assembled. *Te Deum* was immediately chaunted, and after having returned thanks to God, the citizens traversed the streets and public places, giving way to every species of public rejoicing. Embraces and congratulations were interchanged, bonfires were made, and the city was spontaneously illuminated. Monseigneur the Duke d'Angouleme, on receiving the happy tidings of this change in the fortune of his family, was only able to utter these admirable words: "The blood of the French shall flow no more." The presence of his Royal Highness increased the enthusiastic delight of the people.

The corps under the command of General

Decaen, which menaced Bourdeaux, could not at first give credit to so sudden a revolution, and hesitated for a moment to partake in the general joy; but the general having repaired to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of offering his submission, the troops ceased to threaten Bourdeaux, and partook of the general satisfaction. The line of demarkation was likewise settled with this corps, and all the south was tranquil.

France was now entirely left at liberty to follow the impulse and example of the capitol, which was about to celebrate one of the happiest events, connected with the restoration—the public entry of Monsieur, Count d'Artois, Lieutenant General of the kingdom.

CHAPTER XX.

His Royal Highness the Count d'Artois makes his public entry as Lieutenant General of the kingdom—Secret treaty between Napoleon and the allied Powers—Dissolution of the Imperial Government, and the Regency at Blois—Napoleon's Farewell to his Guard—His Departure for the Island of Elba—Progress of the Restoration—It is unanimously assented to—Administration of Monsieur—Louis XVIII arrives at Calais—First Declaration of the King—*Louis-le-Désiré* enters Paris—Reunion of the Royal Family—Situation of the Kingdom—General Pacification—Departure of the Allies—Royal Charter—Conclusion.

THE name of Bourbon was heard in every quarter of France. Every one wished for the return of this august family—every one ardently desired to see public liberty again flourish, under the shelter of the laws, and to witness the renewal of that prosperity, which during so many ages rendered Frenchmen happy under the sons of Saint-Louis. Never had the people felt a greater veneration for this illustrious house, than at the present moment.

It was indeed evident that conduct directly opposite to tyranny might naturally be expected of the Bourbons, for it was upon this rock that the unfortunate Louis XVI perished, and with him the happiness of France. All circumstances, however, now indicated that the skilful pilot, whom Providence had reserved for the nation, would safely steer into port the vessel of the state, which had been so miraculously saved from shipwreck. Had not this truly French King made the *belles lettres*

the dearest objects of his recreation, as well during his most prosperous days, as when labouring under misfortune? Furnished with a vast store of instruction, gifted with an uncommon memory, and armed with extraordinary penetration, he had studied every part of political economy in its minutest details. It was such a Sovereign, whom the King of Kings sent to France, that, by uniting energy with parental kindness, he might wean the people from their own errors, and preserve them from such disorders as they had previously fallen into. The only way, in which he could conciliate every party, was by himself offering to the French nation, not a constitution hastily fabricated like that of the Senate, but a grand charter, the result of the most profound reflection, and of that exalted wisdom, which a long period of misfortune and political convulsions suggested to a superior mind.

A moderate power was soon about to snatch from the wicked every pretext for discord, proclaiming that celestial clemency, hitherto unknown, by which all parties throughout the land were to be united, like members of a single family. The desolated country, so lately on the abyss of ruin, implored the enlightened assistance of his Majesty. It was soon announced that he was to be preceded by his august brother Monsieur, as Lieutenant General of the kingdom, whose presence was the more desirable because Paris still continued to be in a state of agitation. The first pledge and proof of the happy restoration was anxiously looked for,

though no doubt was entertained on the subject; but with the exception of the municipal council, the authorities, most nearly connected with the people, preserved an obstinate silence, publishing neither a single proclamation, nor any other public act, which acknowledged the dynasty of the Bourbons. Even the emblems of the ancient monarchy were not permitted by legal sanction. Will it be credited? The white cockade and flag were constitutionally proscribed. The provisional police, formed from the remains of that, which had been established by Napoleon, rejected them. The public journals, though now guided by a new censorship, did not venture to speak out as to the white emblems. The functionaries, who were either lukewarm or perfidious, declined the discussion, asserting it to be by no means impossible that the King himself might chuse to adopt the tri-coloured cockade; as if, when recalled by the voice of the nation, the King was not the descendant of Saint-Louis and Henry IV, and consequently sure to adopt the colours by which his ancient and illustrious family had always been distinguished. After several days of uncertainty and discussion, the importunities of the royalists prevailed, and an order was issued that the national guards were to appear with the white cockade in their hats. The species of civil war, therefore, which had been fomented in Paris during the first days of the restoration, was now at an end; and the partisans of the royal cause were at full liberty to wear the re-

vered colours, which, till the last moment, the satellites of Buonaparte had opposed with manifest persecution.

It was on the 12th of April that His Royal Highness the Count d'Artois made his public entry into Paris. On the preceding day he had reached the castle of Livry, and no sooner was this known in Paris than a great number of persons repaired thither, as if to be the precursors of public rejoicing. All were delighted with the kind, gracious, and condescending reception which they experienced. On perceiving no escort of guards round his carriage, some surprise was manifested. "I have had no occasion for guards," observed Monsieur, "for I have travelled through rows of white cockades on the whole road from Vesoul. I arrive at Paris with the more satisfaction because I am the bearer of a general peace. The cockade, which you see in my hat, was sent to me by the Emperor of Austria." A noble affability breathed in the very manner of this august prince. The arrival of a numerous detachment of national guards from Paris, afforded an impressive and animated scene. His Royal Highness addressed them in the most condescending manner. "I like your uniform" said he, "and will enter Paris in no other. My children, your misfortunes are at an end. Our only care shall be to make you forget them." At these words, a degree of enthusiastic emotion was displayed by the national guards. The Prince caused a quantity of white ribbon to be

brought, of which he cut a small portion, and fastened it to his button hole. "My children," said he to the grenadiers who surrounded him, "we have all the same sentiments; let us all wear the same colour, which is that of our king." In a moment all the grenadiers imitated the Prince.

On the following morning, his Royal Highness, dressed in the uniform of the national guards, and mounted on a white charger, proceeded towards Paris. An immense crowd ran from every side to meet him, and never ceased to testify, by loud shouts, its veneration and regard for a Prince, who had so long been the sport of Fortune.

Monsieur approached the barriers with several officers and other friends, when a group of the French marshals was seen advancing to meet him. In this illustrious train were combined the descendants of our ancient heroes, and the commanders who have shed a lustre on our present times. The brave Marshal Ney and the conqueror of Valmy were united in one common sentiment with the posterity of Montmorency and La Tremouille.

"Monseigneur," said the Prince of Moskwa, taking the word for himself and his brethren in arms, "we have zealously served a government which commanded in the name of France. Your Royal Highness and his Majesty will see with what fidelity and devotion we shall serve our legitimate king."

"Gentlemen," replied the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom "you have rendered the French

arms illustrious. You have carried into the most distant countries the glory of the French name. The king duly estimates all your exploits, and has never been ignorant of what you were doing for France."

On his arrival at the barrier of Bondy, the Prince was received by the members of the provisional government, preceded and followed by the municipal corps, and by numerous detachments of the national guard. Prince Talleyrand, as the organ of government, approached his Royal Highness, and addressed him in the following terms:

"Monseigneur, the happiness which we receive on this day of regeneration, will be complete, if you receive, with that celestial goodness which distinguishes your august house, the homage of our entire devotion.

"Gentlemen, members of the provisional government," answered Monsieur, "I thank you for all you have done in behalf of our country. I experience an emotion which deprives me of the power to express all I feel. No more divisions! Peace and France! I behold my native land again, and nothing is changed, except that it contains one Frenchman more." At these words, shouts of "*Long live the King, Monsieur, and the Bourbons,*" resounded from all parts. The Prince also manifested the liveliest emotion in his address to the municipal corps, and replied to the prefect of the Seine with the most impressive affability. The procession entered from the barrier of Bondy, by

the suburb of Saint-Denis. On passing under the triumphal arch, Monsieur was so much agitated, that he let the reins fall on the neck of his horse, and joining his hands, seemed to say; "I again behold the memorial of my ancestor's glory. I am again in the bosom of the dear country for which I have so long wept."

He advanced with his suite, by the Rue Saint Denis, towards the metropolitan church. The enthusiastic rejoicing of the populace vented itself in the loudest transports. The French recognized in the prince the representative of their king; and the illusion of his presence seemed entirely to restore the monarchy so much desired. The acclamations of the public were mingled with the tenderest sensibility, and a great number of spectators could not refrain from tears. The progress of his Royal Highness was incessantly retarded by the pressure of the crowd. Not only were all the streets, through which the procession moved, choaked up by the multitude, but the windows, balconies, and roofs of every house were filled with persons of both sexes, who waved white handkerchiefs, and repeatedly exclaimed: *Vive Le Roi, Vive Monsieur!* These acclamations were mingled with the sound of military music, which played, during the whole procession, the air of *Vive Henry IV!* Monsieur replied to the public rejoicings by the most affectionate salutations; every moment raising his hat, which was decorated with a plume of white feathers. The condescen-

sion and kindness of the Prince, in combination with the delight and confidence of the Parisians, formed a most affecting picture. It was by simple expressions, but profound in their simplicity, that the people expressed their happiness. "How like Henry IV he is," said one, "it is our good king Henry himself." "How pleased," said another, "he seems to be at finding himself again among us—he smiles!" Thus happy were the people at again beholding their princes, after the misfortunes of five-and-twenty years. They seemed to say: "Yes, we shall have French kings;" confounding all their ideas and sensations in this one sentiment. A great number of officers, belonging to the allied army, joined the procession, or mixed among the people; re-uniting their acclamations with those of the French troops, and of all the spectators, as if to celebrate, at one and the same time, the restoration of legitimacy, social order, and universal peace.

At the moment that the Prince was approaching Notre Dame, three pigeons flew round his august person, and suddenly settled on his head—a circumstance which added to the public emotion. Three hours had elapsed, and the procession had not yet reached the metropolitan church. The shouts of the multitude, however, now announced the prince's arrival, and were answered by the crowd of assistants who filled the porch, the nave, and aisles of this immense structure. The cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, with the clergy of

the metropolis and environs, were assembled in the sanctuary. In the choir and nave were the principal bodies of the state, and a great number of general officers, both of the French and Allied armies. All had been awaiting the prince with the greatest impatience. The canons received his Royal Highness under a canopy, at the grand portal of the church. His entrance was marked by prolonged and unanimous acclamations. To the address of the clergy the prince returned this answer. "It is the mercy of God which has put an end to the misfortunes of the French—let us return thanks to him. The king cannot be happy but in his people being so." While his Royal Highness passed through the nave and choir, the vaulted roof reverberated with the cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive Monsieur!* The Prince sunk upon his knees, and poured forth his gratitude to the Almighty. The angelic expression of his dignified features announced the sentiments of gratitude and devotion, with which his great soul was filled. The enthusiasm, which animated the French, rapidly communicated itself to the Russian, Austrian, English, Prussian, Spanish, and Portuguese officers, who were in the choir of the cathedral. It seemed as if all Europe was represented by her choicest warriors, and thus proclaimed that the wounds of war were about to be healed by the balm of concord.

The *Te Deum*, having been chaunted by the whole body of choristers, they proceeded to repeat

the *Domine, saluum fac regem*; and the ceremony being finished, his Royal Highness was re-conducted from the place, under the canopy and amidst a loud repetition of congratulations. Persons of all ranks and conditions were intermixed, the ecclesiastics of the metropolis, the military, the magistrates, the women and children appeared as if they all belonged to one family, embracing and congratulating each other, while they exclaimed: "What a delightful day!"

The Prince was accompanied by the rejoicing populace to the palace of the Tuileries. No sooner did he enter it than the white flag was hoisted on the principal pavillion, amidst the transports of a countless multitude, which filled the garden, courts and avenues.

Monsieur had retired to his apartment, in order to escape the crowd. "Your Royal Highness must be much fatigued," said an officer of his suite.—"How can I be fatigued on such a day as this!" answered he. "It is the first happy day, which I have known for five-and-twenty years." — When asked, towards evening, what measures he thought necessary to insure the safety of his person. "None," replied he, "have I not been every where received like the son of a family returning to his home?" — Happy words, which tended still further to make the Bourbons dear to us! In fact the people of the capital had never before given way to such an intoxication of delight. Never

had a prince been the object of such genuine affections.

At night, most of the public edifices and private houses were spontaneously illuminated, and decorated with ingenious emblematic transparencies.

Thus the French nation, after having broken the ties, by which it had been attached, during so many years, to its customs, manners, and government,—the nation, which had been induced, by defamation and violence, to misinterpret the views of its legitimate princes, and what is worse, almost to forget them, at once listened to the dictates of conscience, and felt again that fullness of loyalty, which is the source of public happiness. On the 12th of April it awoke from its disgraceful lethargy, and redeemed the French character. By liberal and universal assent it deposited, in the hands of a legitimate monarch, a power limited by the laws. The approach and the very name of Louis XVIII, who was preceded by his august brother, had raised, in a new generation, the sentiments of emotion and transport, which children, by a sort of instinct, had acquired from their fathers.

The cause of Napoleon was, therefore, entirely lost. The feelings, which had been stifled, more and more manifested themselves—they were sympathetic, and flew from one to another. The tyrant's insolent abdication might be overlooked, while rejoicing that he had ceased to reign. His

army was disorganized and decomposed; he saw even a portion of his own guard secede from him, and return to the bosom of its country. Between the 7th and 9th of April more than four thousand grenadiers and *chasseurs* had dispersed towards Orleans, and applied to the mayor of Montargis for orders of route, which would enable them to regain their homes. Napoleon, thus abandoned by half his army, while he saw the other half melting away, testified his resentment with all the bitterness of mortified ambition.

“The army has dishonoured itself,” said this ungrateful man,” and is no longer worthy of my command.”

“Sire,” replied General Dulauloy with firmness, “this army has fought for you to its latest breath, and having lost every thing else, let it at least retain its honour. The generals, now present with me, demand this of you. Have not all the officers, and all the soldiers, every where rivalled each other in devotion to you? Have not thousands fallen, who were equally obedient?”

But the man, who by a stroke of his pen had dishonoured whole provinces, and cast unfounded aspersions upon his bravest officers, was incapable of retracting his calumnies. He finished his career by gross reflections on those very troops, who had recognized no other cause than his; who, forgetful of public duty, had thought only of his interest, and who, even after his military errors

and reverses, had still greeted him with acclamations.

The remains of this army were in a state of the most painful anxiety, while impatiently expecting the return of Marshals Ney and Macdonald, who were vested with powers to treat between the Allied Sovereigns and Napoleon. Delays arose from the very nature of the negociation, and so much disquieted the troops, that a more enterprising and courageous leader might have skillfully availed himself of their general disposition to light up a civil war. This most disagreeable state of suspense continued till the 12th of April, when the ratifications were exchanged on both sides, and from them resulted a secret treaty of one-and-twenty articles, an extraordinary monument of an astonishing revolution. In virtue of this treaty, Napoleon renounced, for himself and his successors, all the rights of sovereignty over the Empire of France and kingdom of Italy, as well as every other country in the world; excepting, as a residence during the term of his life, the island of Elba with an annual revenue of six million francs, to be divided among the members of his family.

Thus the man, who made Europe tremble, and pretended to be the successor of Charlemagne, consented to live on alms in a small island of the Mediterranean, as long as a conscience, surcharged with the crimes of ambition, would allow him so to do.

This generous refuge he owed to the personal feelings of a sovereign, to whom the ephemeral grandeur of his destiny had attached him by the ties of blood. He owed it also to the recommendation of the Emperor Alexander, whose firmness and prudence, combined with an heroic simplicity which resembled that of ancient times, procured incalculable benefits for Europe. By the advice of these illustrious monarchs, Buonaparte was to enjoy in Elba a rank conformable to that of the unfortunate Archduchess, his consort. It was evident that this Princess, though unable to secure a throne to him, became at least the palladium of his person. These considerations imparted to the despot's fall a character of generosity and philanthropy, which will cause the last act of this European tragedy to be admired and respected by posterity.

While the Archduchess Maria Louisa was thus instrumental to the safety of her exiled husband she was exposed at Blois to acts of violence on the part of her brothers-in-law Joseph and Jerome Buonaparte. During the first days of April, the Regency, astonished at the rapid progress of the restoration, and disconcerted by the irresolution of Napoleon, had deliberated as to a retreat from Blois, at one time to Tours, at another to Rennes, and at a third to Berry. Maria Louisa appeared not to relish these projects, but Joseph and Jerome, alleging that her safety and that of the state required the measure, would have constrained her to accompany them beyond the Loire. The Empress

answered that her fate appeared to be decided, and that she had nothing to fear, as to her person, whether she fell into the hands of the Russians or Germans. The two Buonapartes however insisted upon her withdrawing, and a carriage was in readiness to convey her from Blois; but she opposed this act of violence, and summoned the prefect of the palace as well as the commander of the guard, who, in the presence of Napoleon's brothers, declared that they would only obey the orders of the princess, and that they would resist every proceeding, which was contrary to her will. A warm discussion took place, at the close of which, the two dethroned kings took their departure without their sister-in-law. On the following day Count de Schuwalow arrived at Blois, having been appointed by the Allied Sovereigns to conduct Maria Louisa to her august father. The mission of this Russian general announced the last sigh of the imperial government, and no member of the regency ventured to oppose his authority. The general consternation was now manifest. Overpowered by the intelligence of Buonaparte's abdication, the ministers and dignitaries hastened to solicit safe conduct, and letters of recommendation from the Muscovite Envoy. Most of them instantly sent their submission and assent to the provisional government, in hopes of thereby securing to themselves the peaceable enjoyment of their riches; but before they separated, they opened the public treasure, and took the arrears of their respective

offices. The ministers, grand dignitaries, officers of the palace, courtiers of all descriptions, spies and myrmidons, helped themselves to money, and repaired with all speed to Paris, where the remains of Napoleon's power finally sunk. The Empress and the King of Rome quitted Blois with their military escort, and took the road to Orleans.

After having seen their gates barricaded, their bridge undermined, and their walls armed with cannon, the inhabitants of this city were suddenly encumbered with the wreck of the imperial court army, and government. Troops of every description arrived without commanders, and commanders without troops. Orleans, though no longer dreading a siege, was by no means without apprehensions respecting the disorders, to which a disbanded army might give way. Till the 12th of April this city was in a state of interregnum, not acknowledging the imperial government, to which it dared no longer apply, nor the royal government, which it dared not yet proclaim.

At length Prince Esterhazy arrived, having been sent by the Emperor of Austria to the Archduchess Maria Louisa. This Princess immediately departed for Rambouillet; and after remaining some months in Switzerland and Savoy, returned to the bosom of her august family, for which she had, four years before, devoted herself by a sacrifice the most astonishing. At the fatal crisis, which I have described, she perhaps twice saved France from the horrors of a civil war; first, by

leaving Paris on the 28th of March, where her presence would have occasioned a destructive resistance, and afterwards, by courageously opposing the attempts of her brothers-in-law at Blois. The latter, whose fall, of course, accompanied that of Napoleon, by whom they had been so suddenly elevated, wandered at first about the neighbourhood of Orleans, and then took refuge in Switzerland, being at liberty to chuse an asylum in any part of emancipated Europe, though legitimate sovereigns had lately not been able to find one upon the continent.

Napoleon, who, during the days of his prosperity, had commanded five hundred thousand men in arms, now found himself at Fontainebleau with no troops but his guard, and these reduced to two or three thousand men; but they were determined to shed the last drop of their blood for him. At this time, from the effect of his sudden overthrow, or some other cause, he was attacked by catalepsy, a disorder to which he was subject, and he at once fell motionless and speechless to the ground. His physician, Corvisarte, was immediately summoned to his assistance, and his departure for the Island of Elba was deferred.

Though ill, his curiosity was so much excited by the Paris journals, that he read them every day, holding them in his trembling hand while with a disturbed look he rapidly ran through them. Instead of those extravagant eulogiums of which he had been the object during fifteen years, he

now found nothing but tardy and lamentable truths. His fury was raised, and he vented it in menaces, forgetting that he had finished the part he lately played. On coming to himself, and recollecting that he was no longer the formidable Napoleon, he sorrowfully exclaimed : If any one had told me three years ago, a hundredth part of the truths I hear to-day, I should still have been upon the throne." What a severe reflection on the dastardly flatterers, the infamous functionaries, the mercenary writers, and all the other wretches, who had surrounded him ! During his misfortunes, Napoleon still preserved his adventurous character, and prepared himself for the last scene of his expiring power. He had deferred his departure, under different pretexts ; but all at once assembling his two or three thousand guards, he passed them in review. Terrible lines were visible in his altered features, and tears flowed down his cheeks. The guards awaited his orders in the most profound silence—not a cry of *Vive l'Empereur* was heard. These veteran warriors preserved the appearance of respect, but their souls seemed to be oppressed with sadness. After riding a few paces, Napoleon thus addressed them :

" Generals, officers and soldiers of my guard, I bid you farewell. I am satisfied with you. For twenty years I have always found you on the path of glory. The allied powers have armed all Europe against me ; part of the troops have betrayed their duty, and France herself wishes for another dy-

nasty. With you, and the other brave men, who have remained faithful to me, I could maintain a civil war for three years ; but this would be a misfortune to France, and, as such, is contrary to the object I have ever had in view. Be faithful to the new King, which France has chosen for herself ; and do not abandon this dear country, which has been too long unhappy. Lament not my fate ; I shall be always happy when I know that you are so. I might have died—nothing would have been easier to me ; but I will continue in the path of honour. I will describe in writing all that we have done. I cannot embrace you all ; but I embrace your General. Bring me the eagle.”

He embraced this also, and proceeded : “ Dear eagle ! may these kisses resound in the hearts of all my brave soldiers. Adieu, my children ! ”

Such was the last theatrical representation of this stage hero. On the 20th, at noon, he took his departure, accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouaut, who retired with him to Elba. They were escorted by four superior officers, acting as commissaries to the allied powers, viz. the English Colonel Campbell, the Russian General Schuwalow, the Austrian General De Koller, and the Prussian General Valdeburgh-Truchsels, together with an hundred and fifty to two hundred foreign troops, protected by detachments, at distances from each other. As Napoleon passed through the southern provinces, he was loaded with maledictions from every class of inhabitants, and would

have been sacrificed to their vengeance, if precautions had not been adopted to withdraw him from their fury.

Thus was the tyrant expelled from France, and she respired ; passing from the most oppressive despotism to a paternal government. The restoration was acknowledged from one extremity of the land to the other. All the superior officers, and commanders by sea and land, successively transmitted their adhesion to the new state of affairs, and individually signed a promise of fidelity. The Marshals in every quarter ordered the white cockade to be assumed, and issued proclamations, by which they informed the troops that their country absolved them from their oath to Napoleon.

By a decree, dated the 14th of April, the provisional government, on ceasing its functions, confided the direction of the kingdom to Monsieur, till his Majesty should arrive. The decree was presented to his Royal Highness by the senate in a body, and Prince Talleyrand addressed him in an oration analogous to the circumstance. In his reply, the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom stated that he had taken cognizance of the constitution, but that he had not received from the King, his brother, authority to accept it ; that, nevertheless, being perfectly acquainted with the sentiments and principles of the King, he could assure the senate his Majesty would admit all the bases.

The illustrious Count d'Artois conciliated every mind by his amiable character and distin-

guished talents. All his acts were marked with wisdom; all his answers to the addresses, which he received, breathed a spirit of candour and dignity truly royal.

To accomplish the great work of general peace, the Allied Sovereigns met at Paris. The Emperor of Austria made his entry in great state, on the 15th of April, after having been received, at the barrier of Trone, by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois. All the Sovereigns, with Lord Castlereagh, minister of his Britannic Majesty, concerted the means of arriving at a prompt and solid pacification. Never did a more august assemblage preside over the destinies of Europe!

On the 23rd of April, a preliminary convention was ratified by Monsieur, tending to re-establish the ancient amity between France and the Allied Powers. This provisional treaty also confirmed the suspension of hostilities on the part of all.

His Majesty, Louis XVIII, entered London on the 20th of April, with all the ceremony due to his high rank. From that city he pursued his way to Dover, where he found several vessels prepared for his reception, with a degree of magnificence, worthy of the British nation, and worthy of the Bourbons. On the 23d of April, his Majesty embarked on board the Royal Sovereign, and quitted the hospitable shores of England, in the presence of such a multitude as Dover had never witnessed,

since the day that Charles II disembarked from Holland to reascend his throne. At the moment that the squadron set sail, accompanied by the Jason frigate under the command of the Admiral of the British fleet, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, shouts of joy and repeated discharges of artillery were interchanged by land and sea.

Heaven was propitious to this short passage. Before the squadron left the port of Dover, the shore at Calais, the ramparts of the town, and all the elevated points, were covered by an immense crowd. At length, on the 25th of April, cannon were heard, and eight ships of the line, with several other vessels, discovered in the horizon, advancing with rapidity under a favourable wind. The authorities, as well as the general officers and their staffs, repaired to the pier, which was the place intended for his Majesty's disembarkment. The fleet approached amidst shouts from the shore of "*Look, it is he, it is the King! Long live the King! Long live Madame! May the Bourbons live for ever!*" The discharges of cannon from all the forts, and airs by a great variety of musical instruments, were mingled with these cries, the whole appearing almost to rend the air. The King was soon perceived, amidst the royal family, and his faithful servants. He alone took off his hat, and placing his right hand upon his heart, addressed his thanksgiving to the King of Kings. The persons on shore partook of this religious feeling; and the monarch, on beholding them, stretched

forth his paternal arms towards them. The shouts and gestures of the crowd answered this mark of tenderness. Every eye was filled with tears, and on every side sobs were heard.

After gazing on the King, public attention was directed towards the Duchess d'Angoulême, the august princess, whom his Majesty had adopted as his daughter, and who may truly be considered as the accomplished model of every virtue; on the valiant Prince of Condé, and his illustrious son, the Duke of Bourbon. Acclamations were now heard of "*Long live Madame the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the Princes!*" The King quitted the vessel, and set his foot on the soil of France, amidst the transports of his subjects. A carriage, escorted by national guards and troops of the line, conveyed the Royal Family towards the city, where they were met by the clergy. "Gentlemen," said the King to them, "Heaven, after an absence of twenty years, this day restores my children to me. Let us go, and return thanks to the Almighty in his temple."

On leaving the church, and repairing to the palace, which was ready for the reception of the monarch, the civil and military authorities were admitted into his presence, and received the most affecting proofs of his Majesty's affability and goodness.

On the 26th, the royal party left Calais, amidst the benedictions of the inhabitants, and proceeded towards the capital. Throughout their journey,

the population of the towns and villages lined the roads, which were strewed with flowers and boughs of trees; while white flags were displayed at the windows of all the principal houses. It had been announced that his Majesty would reach the castle of Compeigne on the 29th of April, and many persons were continually arriving there from Paris, anxiously wishing to behold their Sovereign. At length he arrived in a carriage, which was preceded by the Marshals of France. The King returned the congratulations of the crowd in the most affable manner, and on entering, with the Duchess d'Angoulême, the apartments prepared for them, he said to the Marshals and Generals of France: "Gentlemen, I am happy to find myself among you." All were delighted; they clasped each other's hands, and exclaimed: "No more factions! No more parties! All for Louis XVIII!"

Such was still the force of legitimate sovereignty, such the magic attached to the name of King. His Majesty arrived from exile alone, stripped of every thing, without any suite, without any guard, without any wealth. He had nothing to give, and almost nothing to promise. He alighted from his carriage, supported by the daughter of the sainted Louis; he showed himself to those commanders, who had never seen him, and to the soldiers, who hardly knew his name; but it was the King who appeared, and the army, the nobility, the people—all fell at his feet.

From Compiegne the royal travellers pursued

their way to the Castle of Saint Ouen, near Paris, where they stopped. On the 2d of May, the King admitted the members of the provisional council of state to an audience, as well as the commissaries of the military department, the marshals and generals, and deputations from the different bodies of the state. The senate having been presented by the master of the ceremonies, Prince Talleyrand, at the head of this body, addressed the King as follows:

“ Sire, the return of your Majesty restores to France her natural government, and every guarantee necessary for her repose, as well as that of Europe. All hearts feel that this benefit could only be conferred by you, and all hearts eagerly meet you on your journey towards the metropolis. There are joys, which cannot be dissembled. The shouts of transport, which greet you, are truly national. The senate, deeply moved by this affecting spectacle, and happy in uniting its sentiments with those of the people, deposits at the foot of the throne, the testimonies of its respect and affection.

“ Sire, evils without number have desolated the kingdom of your ancestors. Our glory took refuge in the camp, and our armies have preserved the honour of France. On re-ascending the throne, you succeed to twenty years of ruin and misfortune. This is an inheritance, which would alarm a common mind: To repair such great disorders will demand superior courage—prodigies will be requi-

site to heal the wounds of the country; but we are your children, and prodigies are reserved for your paternal care.

“ The more difficult the state of circumstances, the more powerful and revered ought to be the royal authority. While appealing to the imagination, with all the force of ancient recollections, we should likewise conciliate all the wishes of modern reason, by borrowing and adopting the wisest political maxims.

“ A constitutional charter will connect every interest with that of the throne, and fortify the will of the highest by the concurrent will of all. You know better than we do, Sire, that such institutions have been well tried in a neighbouring country, and that they are supports, not obstacles, to those monarchs, who are friends to the laws, and fathers to the people.

“ Yes, Sire, the nation and the senate, full of confidence in the enlightened mind and magnanimous sentiments of your Majesty, wish that France may be free, in order that her King may be powerful.”

His Majesty testified that he was sensible of the senate's good intentions, and received its homage with satisfaction: which assurance he repeated to the legislative body.

On the same day the following declaration appeared :

“ Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all whom these presents shall concern, health !

“ Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, and guided as to our conduct by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first idea is to invoke that mutual confidence, so necessary to our repose, and the happiness of France.

“ After having attentively read the plan of constitution proposed by the Senate at its sitting of the 6th of April last, we are convinced that the bases of it are good, but that a great number of articles, bearing the stamp of the precipitation, with which they have been framed, cannot, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state.

“ Being resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, wishing that it may be sagely combined, and not being able to accept one, which it is indispensable to rectify, we convoke, for the 10th of June in the present year, the Senate and Legislative Corps engaging that we will then submit to them the result of our labours with a committee chosen from the members of these two bodies, and that the constitution shall be founded on the following bases.

“ The representative government shall be maintained as it exists at this day, and shall be divided into two bodies, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies from the Departments.

“ The taxes shall be freely assented to.

“ Public and individual liberty shall be secured.

“ The liberty of the press shall be respected, subject to such precautions as are necessary to ensure public tranquillity.

“ Religious liberty shall be guaranteed.

“ Property shall be sacred and inviolable ; the sale of national effects shall be irrevocable.

“ The ministers, who shall be responsible for the measures of government, may be arraigned by one legislative chamber, and judged by the other.

“ The judges shall hold their offices for life ; and their judicial power shall be independent.

“ The public debt shall be guaranteed.

“ The pensions, degrees, and military honours shall be preserved, as well as the ancient and new nobility.

“ The Legion of Honour shall be retained, and we will fix the decoration of it.

“ Every Frenchman shall be admissible to civil and military employments.

“ No individual shall be disturbed for his opinions and votes.

“ Given at Saint Ouen, the 2d of May, 1814.

“ LOUIS.”

Thus the brother of Louis XVI presented himself with the clemency which promised pardon, and the good faith which insures the execution of

promises. Royalty and liberty were about to be indissolubly united by the hands of Louis XVIII.

Accompanied by unanimous acclamations from the frontiers of the kingdom to the gates of his capital, the impatiently expected monarch was about to make his solemn entry. The 4th of May had been fixed upon for the purpose. The sun rose without a cloud, and never did a finer day dawn on a finer spectacle. Throughout the whole city of Paris, and the adjoining country, business and pursuits of every description were suspended. Every one was interested in the same sole object—an object of curiosity, reverence, and regard. The arrival of the Sovereign seemed to unite all hearts, and efface the recollection of civil discord. Early in the morning, garlands, crowns, and precious tapestry, displaying ingenious emblems, appeared at the windows and doors of most houses. The national guards were under arms, and the roar of cannon mingled with the merry peal of bells. The priests, assembled in their churches, as at the most solemn festivals, raised their hands to heaven, and thanked God, who had restored happiness to France.

The Parisian families, men, women, and children, flew to meet the King. An immense crowd made its way through the barriers of the north, on the road to Saint Ouen; which was soon lined with six rows of spectators, as closely pressed together as if they had been in the streets of the capitol.

Any person who witnessed this immense concourse of people, would have imagined that the city was deserted; while the city itself was so filled with the curious, that no one could suppose there was a crowd without the barriers. It was now eleven o'clock, and all eyes were in search of his Majesty. At length the procession appeared. It was headed by the marshals of France, the generals of the army, and all the officers of the court. The national guards, both horse and foot, as well as the royal guards, and detachments of the regular troops, marched in regular order. The King, dressed in a general's blue uniform, appeared in an open carriage of the richest and most elegant description, drawn by eight beautiful white horses. On his Majesty's left was the august daughter of Louis XVI. Opposite them were the Prince of Condé, and his son the Duke of Bourbon, both inheritors of the great Condé's glory. Monsieur, and his son the Duke of Berry, were on horseback on the right and left of the royal carriage. Every voice exclaimed: "*Long live the King! Long live Madame! long live the Bourbons!*" The procession moved slowly towards the barrier of Saint Denis, where his Majesty was received by the prefect of the department of the Seine, with whom were twelve mayors and all the municipal council. The King replied to the address of these magistrates in the following terms: "I rejoice in being again among my children. I touch the keys of my good city of Paris, but I return them to you, as I

cannot leave them in better hands, or confide them to magistrates more worthy of guarding them." The joy and emotion of the spectators were now at their height. The procession entered the city, amidst reiterated shouts of the populace, and peals of artillery. All the windows, up to the very garrets, were filled with persons, who waved white handkerchiefs. The moment that the royal carriage appeared, all eyes were rivetted upon it with respectful admiration. The King saluted the crowd with the most gracious condescension, and the daughter of the ever-to-be-lamented Louis XVI. excited a feeling of general affection. The features of this august princess were shaded by a soft expression of melancholy amidst the public rejoicing, in spite of her own triumph, as well as that of all her surviving relatives.

They entered the Place Notre Dame amidst a loud flourish of trumpets, and the thousand times repeated cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" The King alighted at the gate of the cathedral, received the holy water and incense, and was addressed by the Vicar-General in the name of the Chapter. "On entering my good city of Paris," answered the King, "my first object was to thank God and his blessed Mother, the almighty protectress of France, for the miracles, which have terminated my misfortunes. I am a son of Saint Louis, and will imitate his virtues."

On reaching the choir, his Majesty sunk upon his knees, surrounded by the exalted personages of

the state, and accompanied by the amiable duchess d'Angoulême, who humbly prostrated herself with eyes full of tears, and appeared like an angel stationed between heaven and earth reconciling the divinity to France. All the blessings of God seemed, as it were, to hover above this illustrious princess, this lovely victim of revolutionary persecution; and beholding her, every sorrow, every animosity was forgotten.

The *Te Deum*, and *Domine, salvum fac regem* having been chaunted, and the ceremony closed, the King repaired from Notre Dame to the palace of the Thuilleries, where two hundred of the most distinguished ladies awaited the arrival of the Duchess. They were dressed in white; and lilies formed their only ornament. After having offered their homage, four and twenty of them were admitted into the interior apartment, where a child, six years of age, encouraged by the amiable affability of the Princess, addressed to her some verses in her praise. The Duchess was much moved, and could not refrain from tears; when all the ladies, as if seized by a sacred veneration for her character, fell at her feet, and implored her blessing. Madame was unable to repress her sobs, and precipitately retired, exclaiming: "It is too much—it is too much for my heart."

Towards eight o'clock, the King presented himself to the countless multitude, assembled under the windows of the palace. He laid one hand on his heart, and raised the other towards Heaven,

as if to express, by a single gesture and a single thought, that all the acknowledgments, which he owed to the King of Kings, he would render by his love for his people. What an affecting and sublime picture did he form ! “ This is the good king,” said every one,” so long abandoned by us, *and for whom ?*”

Monsieur now approached the King, and wished to kiss his hand, but the monarch clasped him with fraternal feeling in his arms, and soon after the Duchess d'Angoulême appeared between them to complete the group.

Such was the festival of the restoration. It was that of France—it was that of the world. It consecrated the welfare of kings and nations. The triumph of legitimate royalty was the triumph of virtue. The chains of the nation were broken, and France received with her monarch, all those children, who had been so long separated from her, and who had bound themselves to the fortunes of their sovereign, without a hope of returning to the land which gave them birth. All Frenchmen became again members of the body politic, and all united to defend the throne.

Society, however, had undergone great changes. Rank, property, and distinctions of every kind had been altered and transferred. How many fortunes had been overturned with that of the usurper ! How many families had been robbed of every thing they possessed, and left to weep over the ruins of their houses, or the tombs of their fathers and chil-

dren! How many people were without employment, and without resources! How many warriors were stopped in the career of glory and ambition! How many fears were to be calmed, how many hopes to be fulfilled! Some accused the late oppressor, others the whole revolution; some trembled for their riches, others for their persons. The royalists were eager to take up arms in support of the restored monarch, while the satellites of the tyrant still exhibited all the fanaticism of slavery and baseness. They endeavoured to light the emblem of discord by exasperating the soldiery, and by creating alarm among the partizans of liberty. In a word, France was nourishing in her bosom the seeds of civil war, and the parties were in the presence of each other. These alarming circumstances were still further aggravated by the intervention of four hundred thousand strangers: by the dissatisfaction of troops, who were in a state of disorganization, and without pay; by the just pretensions of thirty thousand officers, who claimed a recompense for their services, and an allowance from government sufficient for their maintenance: by the distress of the public finances, which were charged with a debt of one thousand seven hundred million francs; and finally, by the embarrassment, resulting from the sudden return of four hundred thousand prisoners, who arrived almost naked.

In this situation of affairs, a king, who was unknown to his people, who had but a faint idea

of the country over which he reigned, or the character of the men, by whom the destinies of that country were influenced—a king thus situated was called upon to conciliate so many rival pretensions, and opposite interests, as well as to disarm the most violent passions. Never had any monarch of France been involved in such difficulties—neither Charles V, surnamed the Wise, nor Charles VII, nor Henry IV.

Amidst so much embarrassment and alarm, it appeared indispensable that his Majesty should have round him a foreign force, capable of causing the first acts of his royal authority to be respected. Such was the advice of several grave and prudent persons, who were alarmed at the deplorable state of affairs, and uneasy as to the future: but the King nobly rejected this proposition, not chusing to have any reliance but upon himself and the love of his people. Being impatient to effect the departure of the Allies, he hastened to negotiate and conclude a peace.

By the treaty, signed at Paris on the 30th of May, France not only took possession of the ancient territory, but obtained the best part of Savoy, and recovered Guiana, Martinique, and Gaudaloupe, as well as the Isle of Bourbon. Thus, after having had eight hundred thousand of her warriors destroyed, her whole territory ravaged, her capital invaded, and her navy destroyed, she obtained the conditions of 1763, which the Dutch proposed to Louis XIV, and which Napoleon ac-

cepted after the occupation of Paris on the 31st of March. An honourable peace caused the Allies to quit the kingdom without claiming any contributions, any fortified places, or any monuments of the arts, so many of which we had acquired by our conquests. All these advantages resulted from the high esteem, felt by the Allied Sovereigns for our's.

The departure of the combined armies restored to France all her political independence. The blockade of our strong places was raised, and a general evacuation ensued. The definitive treaty soon completed the emancipation of the whole country. The army of Lord Wellington abandoned Languedoc and Guienne. The Prussian army took a direction towards Belgium by the Northern provinces. The Russian troops, divided into five grand corps of forty to fifty thousand men, cavalry and infantry, put themselves in motion towards the Rhine, for the purpose of gaining the Oder by Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence, Mannheim, Stollhofen, and Carlsruhe. The four first corps were preceded by four columns of cossacks. The Austrian and minor German armies also marched towards the Rhine, in different corps, and soon effected their re-entrance into their respective countries; the Baden troops by the city of Spire; the Bavarians by Creuznach; and the five Austrian corps by the other roads, between Biberach and Philipsbourg. These movements took place in the course of June, at the same time that all the French

regiments were moving towards different garrisons and magazines, in order to be re-organized.

Thus four hundred thousand foreign troops, after having passed the Rhine as our enemies and occupied our territory, repassed that river as our acknowledged liberators and allies. They had remained some months among us; but had not our armies remained several years among them? It is true that they lived at our expense, but during how many years did we exhaust their countries? Did they obtain any restitution of the enormous contributions, which we levied on them? What did they take away, in return for the invaluable objects of arts, which we had seized in almost every part of Europe? The bronze head of the colossal statue of Napoleon. They overpowered us once, whereas we had several times conquered and overrun their realms during the previous twenty years. They entered Paris as liberators; we entered Madrid, Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow, as conquerors. It was the French army, which, by passing the Rhine to go in search of enemies, taught them to do the same, for the purpose of invading our territory.

If we were conquered, it was in moderation and generosity. The king alone disarmed vengeance, and arrested the course of reprisals. Being a stranger to all the complaints of the Allies, to all reproaches and recriminations, he alone had the right to dwell on his neutrality. His hands were undefiled with any of the blood, which had been

shed for two-and-twenty years; but the nation's vanity was wounded: it was baffled as to its interest, defeated in its hopes, and humiliated by the sacrifices which Napoleon had forced it to endure. It was not yet calm enough to admit the benefits of consolation; nay, such was the contortion of ideas, resulting from the events of twenty years, that the generation, which had now just reached manhood, hardly believed it possible for a nation to exist in a state of peace and regularity.

On the fourth of June, the Royal Sitting was opened in the saloon of the legislative corps. The king, followed by the princes of the blood and the marshals of France, with other distinguished officers, the ministers, and the most illustrious noblemen of the country, took his seat, and addressed the assembly in the following words, which will be eternally engraved in the hearts of all true Frenchmen.

"Gentlemen, surrounded as I am, for the first time, by the great officers of State, and the representatives of a nation, which unceasingly lavishes on me the most affecting marks of its regard, I congratulate myself on having become the dispenser of those benefits, which Providence has deigned to confer on my people.

"I have concluded a peace with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, in which all their allies are included, that is to say, all the princes of

Christendom. The war was universal; the peace will be equally so.

“The rank, which France has always held among nations, has been transferred to no other, and remains in her undivided possession. All that other states acquire as to security, tends equally to increase her's, and consequently increases her real power. That portion of her conquests, which she does not retain, should not be regarded as detracting from her real strength.

“The glory of the French armies has received no stain. The monuments of their valour exist, and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of art henceforth belong to us by more stable and more sacred rights than those of victory.

“The paths of commerce, which have so long been closed, are about to be re-opened. The markets of France will not only be open to the productions of her own soil and industry; but will also be supplied, from the possessions which she recovers, with such articles as custom has taught her to want, as well as those which are necessary for the arts she pursues. She will no longer be obliged to deprive herself of them, or to obtain them on ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to flourish again; our maritime towns are resuming their activity. Every thing promises that a long calm without, and durable felicity within will be the happy effects of peace.

“One sad recollection, however, will always

diminish my joy. I was born and hoped to have remained all my life the most faithful subject of the best of the kings; but to-day I occupy his place. Still he is not entirely dead; for he lives in the testament by which he meant to have instructed his august and unfortunate son, whose successor I became. With my eyes fixed on this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which it contains, and guided by the experienced counsel of several members of your body, I have framed the constitutional charter which will now be read to you, and which fixes the prosperity of the state upon a solid basis.

“My chancellor will make my paternal intentions known to you more in detail.”

Profound emotion and gratitude pervaded the assembly during this speech, which his Majesty delivered in a most impressive and dignified manner.

The Chancellor M. d'Ambray now explained, in a very luminous oration, the motives and authorities for the principal articles of the charter, which M. Ferrand, minister of state read. It was received with loud plaudits.

The Chancellor then read a list of the persons appointed by the King to compose the Chamber of Peers, and they immediately took the prescribed oath of fidelity to his Majesty. A similar proceeding ensued as to the deputies of the departments. The Peers then retired by royal command,

to the palace of Luxembourg, when they were to form their chamber; and the deputies remained in the saloon of the legislative corps for the same purpose.

The King returned to the Tuileries, accompanied by unanimous testimonials of gratitude for this charter, so worthy of being presented to the French by the most enlightened of Princes.

Two days after its promulgation, the Chamber of Deputies voted an address of thanks, which was presented to his Majesty on the 6th of June, and ended thus :

“ Yes, Sire, every interest, every right, and every hope are united under the protection of the crown. France will now contain none but true citizens, occupying themselves with the past only as far as it supplies useful lessons for the future, and disposed to make a sacrifice of their opposite pretensions, as well as their resentments. The French, equally attached to their country and their king, will never separate these feelings in their hearts; and the monarch whom Providence has restored to them, uniting the great maxims of ancient and modern policy, will conduct his free and reconciled subjects to the real glory, and happiness, for which they will be indebted to *Louis-le-Desiré*.”

“ I deeply feel the sentiments,” answered his Majesty, “ which the Chamber of Deputies testifies towards me. In all that you say respecting

the constitutional charter, I see a pledge of that good understanding between the chamber and me, which will insure the happiness of France. The last words of your address affect me much. Many names have been bestowed by enthusiasm; but in that which the French nation, ever distinguished by its love for its kings, assigns to me this day, through you its organ, and which I accept with all my heart, I recognize the expressions of feelings, which will unite it for ever to its king, and console me for the long period of my adversity."

Thus, after so many misfortunes, France at last obtained a monarch, powerful without being absolute, a constitution liberal without being anarchical, and that balance of the three powers, which constitutes the liberty and ensures the tranquillity of the people. These distinct powers, approaching each other without collision, and having their respective preponderance without causing or sustaining injury, secure to us that liberty, which served as a pretext for our disorders, and which we have purchased at the price of so much French blood.

The King guaranteed the debts of the state, as well as those of individuals. The brave army too, which had covered itself with glory, and which peace restored to its country, had almost all its arrears liquidated. Thousands of warriors, who could boast of honourable wounds, received from

the monarch every day marks of public gratitude. The national guard, which tends at all times to the security, and never to the disturbance of the realm, became a fundamental institution. Confidence revived, the manufactures resumed their labours, and every thing announced the prosperity of France.

END OF VOL. II.

INVASION OF FRANCE IN 1815.

THE sword of war was sheathed, and Europe appeared likely to enjoy the blessings of permanent tranquillity, after witnessing so many horrors, when suddenly, and almost as if by magic, the restless disturber of mankind re-appeared in France.

He had prohibited all access to Elba, on account of the misrepresentations which travellers were in the habit of publishing with regard to him. At the same time he had laid a strict embargo on all vessels in the ports of the island, and having completed his preparations, he assembled his guards, acquainted them with his intention, and enquired whether they would follow him. They all answered in the affirmative, and, to the number of eleven hundred, were immediately embarked with five pieces of cannon, on board of five vessels, which sailed on the 26th of February. On the 1st of March these vessels appeared in the bay of Juan, near Cannes, a town between Frejus and Antibes, where the troops and cannon were landed without opposition. A small detachment entered Cannes and ordered the mayor to provide rations, while another, proceeding to Antibes, and pretending to be deserters from Elba, were admitted into the town and disarmed. An officer next arrived, and summoned the place to surrender in the name of the Emperor ; but the governor, Baron Corsin, ordered him to be immediately secured. The adventurer, on landing, issued proclamations, justifying his ap-

peal to arms, on the ground that the treaty made with him by the Allies had been violated, and promising to restore the national honour, which he impudently stated to have been tarnished by the Bourbons. With the rapidity, by which his motions have always been characterized, he put his small army in march on the 2nd of March, passed the town of Grasse without attempting to enter it, and on the 4th bivouacked at Digne. In the course of the two following days he proceeded by Sisteron and Gap across the mountains to Grenoble, probably knowing that the garrison there was favorable to his cause. It surrendered on the 8th, without resistance. He next bent his course towards Lyons. On the first alarm reaching Paris, which was not till the 5th, Monsieur had been dispatched by the King, in order to assemble troops at Lyons, and assisted by Marshal Macdonald, to make a stand against the invaders. On examination, however, they found the place so deficient in military stores, that it was deemed advisable to fall back with the troops, and the second city of France was abandoned: Buonaparte entered it on the evening of the 10th, with a force estimated at nearly six thousand men. They were all so harrassed by fatigue that their leader was obliged to make a halt. On the 16th, however, he arrived with them at Autun, on the 17th at Auxerre, on the 18th at Joigny, on the 19th at Fontainebleau, and in the night of the 20th at the Tuileries.

It is not true that the entire population of the country received him with transports of joy, as his supporters asserted. Such was the triumph of Louis XVIII and such it was destined to be again; but it is too true that the French soldiery, instigated by the recollections of previous glory, and worked upon by adroit and perfidious emissaries, forgot the oath which they had solemnly taken. They no longer remembered their comrades, of whom countless

numbers had been the victims of mad ambition, and by a strange feeling, which defies investigation, the man who had four times deserted his army, and was about to abandon it again, was hailed as a liberator by those, to whom it was impossible that resistance could be opposed. The partisans of Buonaparte, belonging to the administration, and mingled among the citizens, joined the soldiery, and the sentiments of an immense majority were thereby overpowered. The reign of terror recommenced throughout France.

What was the nature of Buonaparte's entrance into Paris? Let his own partisans, if he still possesses any, declare whether the general stupor did not predominate over the acclamations, energetic as they were, though proceeding from only a small number of persons. Different bodies of troops advanced into the midst of groups, which manifested dissatisfaction. No one avoided these soldiers, for they were Frenchmen; and the country was indebted to them for her glory, but with what circumspection they were interrogated! The *Place de Caroussel* was filled with people at break of day, but every one examined his neighbour with a suspicious eye. Three distinct classes of people were assembled here—the warriors who, amidst their joy, betrayed a degree of haughtiness by no means congenial with the feelings of the citizens—men of the lowest class of the people, transported with the intoxicating idea of seeing the revolutionary storm renewed—and, perhaps, the greatest number consisting of persons who came to observe what occurred, and calculate, with trembling anxiety, how far the evil might extend; men of real courage, whose silence and dejected mien exposed them to considerable danger.

There was also a class of spectators on this occasion, whom I must not forget. I allude to the police gentry,

who affected to meet each other for the first time and quite by accident, who immediately joined in conversation audible by all around them, in which every thing sacred and august was calumniated, and expressions used which were equally absurd and atrocious.

It was then that, amidst the gloom of night, Buonaparte secretly entered the palace, from which he had driven the legitimate monarch—a monarch who, after so many years of sorrow, had closed a war of extermination by universal peace; who had bestowed upon us present security, and the well-founded hopes of a happy futurity. The entry of Napoleon will be allowed by every one not to have much resembled that of the king on the preceding 3rd of May.

The decrees, immediately issued by Buonaparte, may be reduced to this: “Every thing done since my departure is annulled.” The abolition of the two chambers astonished nobody; for they had been instituted as a consequence of the King’s Charter, and no small number of the members had merited the animadversion of the Corsican; but it was necessary to keep up the idea of these chambers; for though he had distinctly avowed that he exercised the dictatorship, such an avowal alone was not sufficient, nor was it of a nature to please that portion of the people, who already thought the *happy* days of 1793 were on the point of being renewed.

Buonaparte, therefore, convoked the electoral colleges, ordering them to appear at Paris, and form part of the extraordinary assembly of the *Champ-de-Mai*. And what was this assembly? Not one person in a thousand could answer the question, but the multitude learnt that another *Champ-de-Mars* was to take place—another extraordinary spectacle, with at least the external appearances of a national *fête*. The charlatanism of Buonaparte

caused this to be made public enough, and another grand object was announced on the occasion, viz:—the coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome.

The moment being arrived, at which the accomplices of Buonaparte felt secure as to the success of his invasion, he and they equally perceived that some great political imposition must be resorted to. After a solemn abdication, after promising to victorious Europe that humanity should respire, it was somewhat strange thus suddenly to re-usurp a throne, to which every pretension had been surrendered. However shallow the people might be thought, and however indifferent it might be supposed that they were to the cause of the Bourbons, it was still certain that they would look, with great uneasiness, to the conduct of the Allies, who were sure to notice this act of violence as an absolute insult to themselves. In order, therefore, to silence the voice of general enquiry, a report was spread in every quarter that Buonaparte had secured the concurrence of Austria, and had concluded a truce for twenty years with the other Powers. It was added that the authenticity of this statement would soon be proved by the arrival of the Empress and her Son. It was in vain that those, who consulted their reason, perceived in the very latest acts of the Congress, a decisive contradiction to this promise on the part of Buonaparte. It would have been dangerous to him had his partisans revoked the report; they contented themselves, therefore, with saying that the arrival of the Empress would settle every thing. Day passed after day, however, and her Majesty did not arrive.

In the mean time, the submission of the departments was effected. How could it be otherwise? The soldiers had found most of their commanders devoted to Buonaparte. The loyalty, which ought to distinguish the army still more particularly than any other class of the commu-

nity, appeared to be now an idle word. Illustrious warriors, generals who were celebrated throughout Europe, accepted the most important appointments from the King, only that they might the more easily betray him; but there were others, who still attached a meaning to the term *honour*, and preferred exile with their legitimate prince to all the favours which Buonaparte would have heaped upon them.

What a sight was that of the king's departure! How dreadful thus to quit the palace where his reign had been so short, the capital where he had received so many testimonies of affection, the country from which he had before suffered so long and painful an exile! But what other step could he take? Could he sacrifice, in unequal strife, the blood of his faithful subjects, who were for the most part unused to arms? The usurper was at hand—in a few hours he might be master of the royal family—and if the shade of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien had not warned a Bourbon that flight was his only resource, could he risk the welfare of France, and recal the triumphs of revolutionary guilt? No—the king listened to the counsels of his faithful servants, as well as to the dictates of his own wisdom, and departed.

Throughout his Majesty's journey he experienced the most unequivocal proofs of loyal affliction. Every where the citizens were drowned in tears, and implored Heaven that he might soon return; but every where also the military, misled by the contagion of example, declared for Buonaparte. On the king's arrival at Lisle, he was greeted most warmly by the inhabitants; but the troops displayed the tri-coloured flag and mounted the correspondent cockade. The king, therefore, withdrew to Ghent. A whole army pursued him, and general Excelmans, who had caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted at the Tuil-

leries a few hours after his majesty's departure, commanded its advanced guard. Among the persons, who accompanied the monarch, were the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé. Monsieur and the Duke of Berri took the route of Estaires, accompanied by the King's household troops (in number about two thousand) marshals Marmont and Victor, general Lauriston, and about twenty other superior officers. The Duke of Feltre, who had accepted the office of War-Minister in most critical and alarming times, was with the King, who no sooner reached the Netherlands than he publicly announced to his subjects, the events which had forced him to absent himself awhile from his capital. He had left France, but remained close to her frontiers, and found there the noblest hospitality. Doubtless England, or any other country of Europe would equally have offered him an asylum, but the interest of the monarchy and his subjects required that he should not appear to resign the hopes of a speedy return, by withdrawing too far.

The acts of Buonaparte daily contradicted his promises; events daily raised the veil, with which his designs had been ingeniously covered. His silence as to the arrival of the Empress, at first so industriously proclaimed as certain, now indicated what was to be expected. He had declared that the European powers would not arm, yet he could no longer conceal from the public the preparations which these very powers were making, nor the contempt, with which his propositions had been received. The excessive happiness we had been told to expect from his return, was reduced to the abolition of all intercourse with other countries, the destruction of maritime commerce, the misery of the industrious, and the general terror lest the future might be still more dreadful than the present. Buonaparte had guaranteed peace, and yet put his whole army on the

footing of war. He took the cannon and sailors from the navy, and by a despotic decree, converted every Frenchman, capable of bearing arms, into a soldier. He hastily fortified the strong places, and even simple towns—he fortified Paris too, still alarmed as its inhabitants were by the recollection of the blood which had, only a year before, been shed close to its walls.

Buonaparte had boasted that his return had not cost a single drop of blood. This was his favourite expression, and his agents of course adopted it. He deduced from it a conclusion that his return had been generally wished; as if the stupor of general astonishment and grief resembled joy. The real sentiments of the nation were, however, ascertained by the Duke d'Angoulême, who had rallied a sufficient number of true Frenchmen to try the result of a battle, and if he had not been betrayed, if he had been able to reach the second city of the kingdom, perhaps the fall of the usurper would have been effected without foreign aid. The south and west of France sufficiently proved that they did not balance between the Bourbons and Buonaparte. Marseilles maintained the genuine French colour, and the noble efforts made by this city, in favour of its legitimate sovereign, will constitute a most creditable part of its history. A princess, already celebrated by her virtues and misfortunes, became at once a heroine, and determined, if possible, to preserve Bourdeaux for her august uncle,—the place, at which the preceding pages have shewn that the great work of the restoration originated. The Duchess d'Angoulême was obliged, however, like the other members of her illustrious house, to bend to the law of necessity; but her efforts, and the general regret at her departure so far annoyed the oppressor that he unblushingly used the coarsest invectives against the daughter of a monarch who had been his benefactor while a youth.

Invincible Vendée and the no less generous province of Brittany again gave the signal to fight in the cause they had before espoused, and Buonaparte was attacked. His power was disavowed too in the very interior of France, while the united force of Europe was collecting to punish his perjury.

About this time a war, which may be termed episodic, afforded a sort of distraction from the sinister ideas, by which we had been pre-occupied. King Murat, the former aid-de-camp of Buonaparte, announced himself as the liberator of Italy. What an actor for such a character! This man, who had been insulted by Buonaparte after the disasters of the Russian campaign, had appeared to embrace the cause of the allied princes. He had subsequently exposed his assistance to public sale, yet, detested as he was, even in the country over which he pretended to reign, he absurdly proclaimed himself the Italian hero. After having, without opposition, invaded the Papal States, he advanced towards the duchy of Milan, every where proclaiming that the people rose at his summons, and that he would irrevocably emancipate the whole country from a foreign yoke. A small body of Austrians, however, opposed to him a vigorous resistance, and soon triumphed over the blind phrenzy of his adherents. The zeal of the latter sensibly abated—invasion and conquest were no longer thought of—retreat, if practicable, was the only idea now prevalent—and the most ignominious capitulations terminated the political career of this counterpart of Napoleon.

Meanwhile, the court of Ghent, which was become the object of Buonaparte's official attacks, attracted the eyes of Europe. The ambassadors of all the powers had quitted Paris after the King's departure, and it was to Ghent that they were afterwards ordered to repair. The

King of France was represented at the Congress, and his name was connected with that of the other sovereigns in all the acts, which announced to Buonaparte his impending fate. In spite of the inquisitorial vigilance of his agents, these acts were known in France as well as the proclamations of the King. The deepest regret was felt at the monarch's absence by his faithful subjects, while the people of Belgium, who were represented in the Paris papers as indifferent with respect to the fate of the Bourbons, if not even averse to their sway, testified to those princes, and especially to the King himself an attachment bordering on veneration.

Military preparations and popular elections occupied the public mind throughout France; and Buonaparte, who has always been most tyrannical when he had most to fear, multiplied his vexatious measures. He dispatched commissaries into the departments, who by their unlimited powers and shameless excesses, called back to the memory the infamous proconsuls of the National Convention. At first, he had induced the world to believe that no such rigorous measure would be the consequence of his return; for one of his proclamations promised that he would be ignorant of every thing which had occurred since his departure from Fontainebleau.

There were, however, many people not disposed to think that France was free under Buonaparte. He, therefore, allowed a proclamation, by the King, to appear in the journals, but it was not long before he repented this measure. The vigorous reasoning, which distinguished this important document, had such an effect on the public, that the tyrant perceived, when it was too late, what an enormous error he had committed by favouring its publication. Hence, he took care that this should be the only instance of free communication between the King and his

subjects, and immediately placed the journals under the influence of the police.

The delay, with regard to the ceremony of the *Champ-de-Mai*, had given rise to many conjectures, more or less favourable to the cause of the Ex-Emperor. At length, he fixed on the first of June for this festival, which was industriously announced as likely to equal the famous federation of 1790. The grand master of the ceremonies, M. de Segur, displayed all the profundity of his knowledge in the *programme*; but a majority of persons could not but think that the *Champ-de-Mai* held in the *Champ-de-Mars* during the month of June, was a mere farce.

Speeches and a distribution of eagles constituted the leading features of the day. Buonaparte took particular care to repeat what had been so often said since his arrival, that he was come as the liberator of an oppressed nation, but he took good care not to answer this question, which was repeatedly put in a low voice: "If the Emperor is come to deliver us, and avert our misfortunes, how happens it that he alone causes universal war to succeed universal peace?"

A great number of spectators were assembled to see the procession pass; for whenever a spectacle of this nature is to take place, the people are sure to be collected with a view to their amusement. Bands of music and fire-works are always attractive, but no general enthusiasm prevailed, as to the cause of this assembly.

The session of the two chambers now commenced—a session which, though short, will be for ever memorable in our annals. It is now generally known that the elections were almost universally conducted under the immediate influence of Buonaparte's agents, and that in several departments the number of electors was extremely limited; but as that of the deputies was altogether considerable,

the chamber was, after every effort in behalf of the tyrant, composed of very heterogeneous materials. About a third part of the members, composing the previous chamber to which the King had given existence, were re-elected. Most of these had evinced a disposition to fetter the regal authority. Among the new members were an immense number of lawyers, some of whom were men of honourable character; but in general unknown beyond their own neighbourhood. Besides these, the chamber consisted of two very remarkable classes of the community, viz: officers and ministers known by their unbounded devotion to Buonaparte, and members of the too well known Convention—men, whose names have been long consigned to infamy, as reminding us only of the most disastrous days to be found in our annals. In the Chamber of Peers sat the brothers of Buonaparte, Joseph, Jerome and Lucien, the last called prince of Canino.

La Vendée had assumed a formidable attitude, and blood had flowed in the southern provinces when Buonaparte felt the necessity of repairing to the North. The allies, after having renewed their compact, put innumerable legions in march towards the frontier of France. There was not a single European power, with the exception of the Ottoman Porte, that had not entered into the league, and as a compensation for this solitary exception, Russia supplied Asiatic troops. Every Frenchman was depressed by the thought that resistance to such an enormous force could only aggravate our disasters, and but one remedy offered itself—to recal our King, the father of his subjects, torn from them by violence and perfidy. All felt this, yet a factious minority, calling itself, with consummate impudence, the organ of the nation, resolved on sacrificing the remnant of the French army to maintain Buonaparte on the throne.

At length the minister for foreign affairs officially announced, by a report, what had long been no secret to the public. Through this his organ Buonaparte confessed that every attempt at conciliation, on his part, had been unsuccessful.

The minister of Police, who perhaps already foresaw part of what was soon to happen, also presented a report, from which it appeared palpable whatever attempts were made to extenuate matters, that the honour of possessing Buonaparte again was bought by France at the price of a foreign and intestine war. Nevertheless, this man might, by exercising some degree of prudence have prolonged our agony, but his ungovernable temper would not allow it. He fell with the rapidity and crash of a thunderbolt, but even when on the brink of the precipice, he again experienced one of fortune's favours ; or rather, the bravery of his warriors, who were prodigal of their blood in his service, enabled him once more to boast of victory.

The armies had, for some time, been receiving continual reinforcements, and were concentrating on the frontiers. The army of the North, which was the most numerous, occupied, at the beginning of June, very extensive cantonments in the departments of the North and the Aisne, where it was disposed in echelons. The head quarters were at Laon. The first corps occupied Valenciennes and the second Maubeuge. It communicated, by its right, with the armies of the Ardennes and Moselle ; its left rested on Lisle. It was principally composed of old soldiers, who had been lately restored to the ranks, and who were animated with a high degree of courage, and inflamed with immoderate enthusiasm in favor of Buonaparte. They lived in the best understanding with the inhabitants of the department, who appeared to regard the impending war as a national one, and who, from anxiety to prevent another

invasion, were zealously active in multiplying obstacles to arrest the enemy in his progress. On all sides towns were fortified, *têtes-de-pont* were constructed, and redoubts were formed on the roads as well as in the defiles.

The National Guards armed themselves with eagerness, and the whole population evinced the intention of rising *en masse* at the approach of the enemy. The same spirit manifested itself throughout those departments of France, which had been invaded in 1814, and then became the theatre of war, except that of the North, which loudly announced opposite sentiments, and exhibited much dissatisfaction at the presence of the troops. The National Guards, in this part of the country, refused to march.

The army, however, relied in general on the favorable disposition of the inhabitants ; and the inhabitants, who for the most part believed that the allies could not have invaded France a year before except by the aid of treachery, relied in like manner on the army. The commencement of hostilities was, therefore, anticipated with a feeling of perfect security, and the troops, peaceably reposing in cantonments, but impatient for the contest, complained only of the delay, on the part of the allies, in shewing themselves.

Such was the state of affairs when the guards left Paris, after the *Champ-de-Mai*, and proceeded by forced marches to Laon. A few days afterwards, Buonaparte followed them, and suddenly appeared on the frontiers. In fact, he arrived almost at the same time as his guards, and immediately put himself at the head of his army. He displayed his usual activity, passing the different corps in review, inspecting the fortifications of all the strong places, and omitting no opportunity of shewing himself to the troops.

On reaching Beaumont, the Army of the North formed

a junction with that of the Ardennes, commanded by Vandamme, whose head quarters were established at Fumay. The army of the Moselle, under General Gerard, had left Metz, and debouching by forced marches through Philippeville, placed itself in line at the same time as the rest. Thus the army of the North was composed of five infantry corps, commanded by Generals d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard and the Count de Lobau. The cavalry, of which Grouchy was commander-in-chief, was divided into four corps, under Generals Pajol, Excelmanns, Milhaud and Kellerman.

The Imperial Guard, consisting of twenty thousand men, which constituted the flower of this fine army, was followed by a considerable train of artillery, admirably appointed, and in the best condition, with a considerable quantity of bridge materials. Besides the batteries attached to each division, every corps had a park of reserve. The guards, in particular, had a magnificent display of artillery almost entirely new. The troops were all picked men, and perfectly well disposed; the artillery consisted of three hundred pieces.

Even in the bosom of their own country, however, these troops were defective in that discipline which constitutes the real strength of an army. Without any regard for their unfortunate fellow-countrymen, who zealously endeavoured to furnish all the means of subsistence in their power, the French soldiers treated them with excessive rigour, and considering pillage to be one of their incontestible rights, they made it a sort of merit to indulge in every excess, sanctioning it under the pretext of searching for provisions. It is afflicting to add, that the officers in general were far from opposing these shameless acts of plunder, which they certainly might have done to some extent, though it was impossible to prevent excesses alto-

gether. This state of disorder had always prevailed in the armies, commanded by Buonaparte, and was one of the most powerful means by which he conciliated the soldiery, attached them to himself, and inspired them with courage.

The country, through which the French troops passed, was in the highest state of fertility and cultivation, but wretched was the owner of the soil on which they were determined to encamp! It almost seemed as if the richest parts of the country were actually selected for this purpose. In a few moments every thing disappeared, being either trampled under foot, or cut for the consumption of horses and construction of barracks.

Since Buonaparte left his cantonments, he had proceeded rapidly. The weather was tolerable, and the roads sufficiently good to allow the progress of his artillery. His movements were characterized by a celerity bordering on precipitation. It was evident that he meant to surprise the enemy by his sudden appearance, and by rapid marches to invade Belgium. On the 14th the whole army was united on the extreme frontier of France, and the usurper issued a proclamation, which was read at the head of every regiment.

At break of day on the 15th the whole army was put in motion. The second corps attacked the Prussian advanced posts, and pursued them with vigour to Marchienne-au-Pont. The cavalry of this corps had an opportunity of charging several squares of infantry, which they drove in, making several hundred prisoners. The Prussians hastened to repass the Sambre, while the light cavalry of the French centre followed the movement of the second corps on the Charleroi road, and attacking the enemy furiously, on the left bank, drove the whole beyond the river. While the numerous riflemen defended the approach to the bridge, the Prussians were employed in

impassable, that they might retard our march, and have time to evacuate the town; but being vigorously assailed, they had not time to destroy it entirely and caused only some damage, which was easily repaired. The sappers and marines of the guard were directly employed, and soon removed every obstacle to the passage of the French. Towards noon, their labours being terminated, the light cavalry took possession of Charleroi.

The second corps, which had, in the mean time, effected its passage at Marchienne, advanced on Gosselies, a large town on the road to Brussels, with the intention of cutting off the possibility of retreat to the column which had been forced at Charleroi. The Prussians, surprised by this renewal of attack, and pursued by our light troops, retired in good order to Fleurus, where they concentrated their army.

They were repeatedly annoyed by our advanced guard, which did not allow them time to take up a position, but fell, with considerable impetuosity, on all the columns which were within their reach. The presence of Buonaparte electrified the French troops to such a degree that they rushed on the enemy without drawing a trigger, and charged so furiously that their first shock was irresistible.

After a sanguinary struggle, all the points were carried, at which the enemy had attempted to resist the French. Towards night, the latter ceased their pursuit, and Buonaparte, after having left the third corps on the road to Namur, and the second at Gosselies, returned with his staff to Charleroi. The rest of the army occupied the neighbouring towns.

The results of these engagements were a thousand prisoners, the passage of the Sambre, and the possession of Charleroi, where some magazines were found; but the greatest advantage was the confidence imparted to the

French troops by their first success. Buonaparte availed himself of this as usual, and materially exaggerated the number of prisoners.

The whole army was now on the Belgian territory, and amidst the new subjects of the King of the Netherlands, who, as we had been told, would receive us as liberators and rise to favour our cause. It is true that some peasants appeared at the entrance of the villages, through which Buonaparte passed, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* but there was no sincerity in their looks. To confess the truth, they had more the appearance of hirelings than people who were avowing their genuine sentiments.

On the 16th, at three o'clock in the morning, the columns of the French army advanced. The command of the left wing, which was composed of the two first infantry corps and four divisions of cavalry, was given to Marshal Ney, who received orders to march by Gosselies and Frasnes on the road to Brussels. The centre, which was formed of the third and fourth corps, took the road to Fleurus, accompanied by the sixth corps, the guards placed in reserve and a large body of cavalry. General Grouchy, with Pajol's cavalry and some battalions of infantry, manœuvred towards the village of Sombref, on the Namur road.

During the reign of Louis XIV, and at the beginning of the revolutionary wars, the plains of Fleurus had been the theatre of triumph to the French arms, and it was not far from this place that Buonaparte's troops came into contact with the Prussian and English under the command of Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington.

On debouching from Fleurus, the French immediately discovered the Prussian army, the principal masses of which were ranged in close columns, and crowned the rising ground which surrounds the mill of Bussi. They

stretched in an amphitheatrical form along a hill, at the foot of which was a deep ravine that protected the whole line. Their right rested on the village of St. Amand, their centre was at Ligny, and their left, the termination of which was not visible, extended towards Sombref, indefinitely stretching to Gembloux and the road to Namur. All these villages, which are large, and built upon uneven ground, were covered by infantry.

The position having been reconnoitred, Buonaparte made his dispositions for attack upon the spot. The first corps, which formed part of the left wing, was stationed with two divisions of heavy cavalry, behind the village of Frasnes, on the right and at a little distance from the road to Brussels, in order that it might be able to repair wherever its presence was most necessary. The third corps moved in columns of attack on the village of St. Amand. The fourth advanced towards Ligny, supported by the guards, the sixth corps, and a strong body of cavalry. General Grouchy, with the divisions of the right, approached Sombref.

The third corps began the attack at St. Amand, where they experienced an obstinate resistance. They resorted to the bayonet and prevailed; but were forced back, after having occupied part of the village. The fourth corps precipitated itself on Ligny, and at the same time both wings entered into action, the one at Frasnes, and the other near Sombref. In a few moments the battle became general, and a strong cannonade, which gradually increased, was heard throughout the line.

The conflict was sustained on both sides with equal obstinacy. The rage against each other, by which the soldiers were animated, is indescribable. It appeared as if every one of them wished to resent a personal insult, and looked on the man before him as his own implacable ene-

my. The French would give no quarter, reports having reached them that the Prussians were determined to massacre all who fell into their hands. In fact, this threat was actually held out to the guards, though it would, of course, not have been put in execution. Both sides, however, were exasperated to the utmost.

The villages, which were the scene of action, were taken and re-taken several times, after a frightful carnage. Those of St. Amand and Ligny were disputed with peculiar obstinacy. The French, however, succeeded in obtaining possession of the church-yard at the former place, and maintained it against repeated efforts to dislodge them; but there was dreadful destruction in this quarter, and Buonaparte ordered the first corps to repair thither.

By this movement, the left wing, which was hotly engaged with the English, and had evidently the advantage, (having driven the enemy from the heights of Frasnes to the farm of *Quatre Bras* where he had taken up a position) was considerably weakened; but Buonaparte ran a greater risk than all by most imprudently neglecting to inform Marshal Ney of the diminution which had taken place in his force.

The first corps had been gone towards St. Amand about an hour, when the English army, to which the Prince of Orange had brought large reinforcements, began, in its turn, to act on the offensive, vigorously repulsing the French *tirailleurs*, and the columns which they preceded. The English horse was ranged near the road to Brussels, along the borders of a great wood. Before them was a hollow road, which had the appearance of a ravine, and some large fields of rye separated this wood from the French. Suddenly these fields were covered by numerous squares of infantry, supported by a formidable mass of cavalry, which boldly advanced, and threatened to force our

line. The French troops appeared to be alarmed, and fell back. The moment was a critical one, and it became necessary to call in the aid of the reserve. Marshal Ney, however, was not alarmed by these attempts on the part of the enemy, relying on the first corps, to which he sent orders that they were immediately to make a charge. But what was his astonishment, how great his embarrassment, when he learnt that Buonaparte had otherwise disposed of this corps!

He immediately ordered the eighth and eleventh regiments of Cuirassiers, who were at hand, to charge the first battalions, which was done with great bravery; but these battalions were backed by a wood full of infantry. The united fire of this force was so terrible that the Cuirassiers were overpowered and fell back in disorder. During this charge which, though disastrous in its issue, was made with great valour, a private of the 11th took one of the colours belonging to the 64th English regiment.

The retrograde movement, which became evident, and the great number of wounded which were carried into the rear of the French army, soon spread an alarm. Servants, canteeners, and all those not engaged in the battle, precipitately took to flight, carrying away every thing they found. They were soon followed on the road to Charleroi by some of the troops, all exclaiming as they fled: "The enemy! The enemy is at our heels!"

The evil, however, was not so great as at first supposed, for it was soon repaired. The division of Cuirassiers, under General Roussel, approached the English in full trot and re-animated the sinking spirits of the fugitives, but even this example was unnecessary, for the main body of the infantry retired in close compact order, and made a vigorous resistance. The French, having at length gained the heights of Frasnes, fixed themselves there again, and being obliged

to renounce the idea of advancing for the present, fought during the rest of the day for the sole purpose of maintaining their station. In a short time order was restored in the rear of the army, and the fugitives stopped when they were sure of not being pursued.

In the mean time, the first corps, which had been detached from the left wing, became useless; for when it arrived, the third corps had carried the village of St. Amand. It was then ordered back to its first position, and thus passing over the field of battle from left to right and right to left, it was not used at any point.

The fire still continued throughout the line, and was particularly brisk towards Ligny, where the greatest effort was made. The cannonade never ceased for a moment, and our artillery made great havoc among the Prussian troops who were in a most exposed situation. The French were infinitely less so, and though the Prussian artillery was worked with much perseverance, it did no great injury.

Towards seven o'clock in the evening, the French were masters of the villages, but the Prussians still maintained their position behind the Ravine. At this moment Buonaparte, who had manœuvred from the beginning of the action in such a way as to be able, when he could find time, to send an overwhelming force across the Ravine and drive the Prussians from the heights of Bussi, dispatched his guards and all his reserve towards Ligny. This bold movement, the execution of which had been delayed by what had hitherto been passing on the left, was intended to separate the right wing of the Prussians from the rest of the army, and cut off their retreat.

All the guards proceeded at the *pas de charge*, supported by a strong body of horse, and a formidable train of artillery. They passed through the village, and rushed into the Ravine, which they crossed amidst a shower of balls

and grape shot. The fire, which had appeared to abate for a moment, was now renewed with dreadful violence, and horrible carnage ensued. The guards, having crossed the Ravine, attacked the Prussians with the bayonet; but they sustained the shock with determined vigour. Nothing, however, could resist the impetuosity of the French grenadiers, who every where made themselves a road by the destruction of the Enemy. Charges of cavalry took place, at the same time, on both sides, and the slaughter was frightful. At length, after a resistance the most obstinate that can be imagined, the Prussians were driven back at all points, leaving the French in possession of the field, which was covered with dead bodies. The guards took many prisoners, and some pieces of cannon. They then stationed themselves on the heights, and the cavalry pursued the enemy.

While this decisive operation was effected at Ligny, the third corps endeavoured to gain the attention of the right wing of the Prussian army, and effect the object of separating it from the main body, but the snare was easily detected. This wing, therefore, regulated its movements in conformity with the rest, and the retreat of the Prussians was universal. They merely fought to cover their retreat, and filed in good order on Gembloux and Namur.

The French army endeavoured to follow up its success, but the approach of night and fatigues of the day prevented it. They contented themselves, therefore, with passing the Ravine, and seizing all the positions of the enemy. At ten o'clock, the fire had ceased throughout the line, and the army had occupied its *bivouacs*.

Different reports were circulated respecting this battle of Ligny, and some of them completely contradicting others: nor has the whole truth ever been known. At first nothing less was talked of than the entire destruction

of the Prussian army, of which twenty five thousand were stated to have been left dead on the field of battle, and a like number taken prisoners. According to the first reports, Marshal Blucher had been killed, and his army was so completely routed that General Grouchy had taken more prisoners, cannon, and equipage than he wished.

The fact is that Marshal Blucher had a horse killed under him, at the beginning of the retreat, and being stunned by the fall of this horse, as well as crushed by lying under it, he remained some time in the midst of the French Cuirassiers. He owed his escape to the darkness of the night, which did not allow them to perceive him during the tumult of the charge. It is positively proved that the French carried the positions of the Prussians, who, to all appearance suffered severely; but it has never been clearly ascertained what was their loss, and it may reasonably be supposed that it was by no means so considerable as reported, because no notice was taken of it in issuing general orders to the army. The field of battle was heaped with the bodies of the Prussians; but, except the wounded, few prisoners were taken.

On the left, where the contest had been very severe though not marked with so much asperity, the English appeared to have lost a considerable number of men, and the opposed troops had remained on the exact ground, which they occupied at the commencement of the action. The Duke of Brunswick fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his troops against the division commanded by Jerome Buonaparte.

The battle of Ligny and Quatre Bras, sanguinary as it was, produced none of the results attendant on a great victory; but it was, nevertheless, considered as highly important, with a view to the ulterior events of the campaign. Buonaparte's adherents stated that he had attained

his object, and cut off all communication between the English and Prussian armies—a circumstance attended with immense advantages, since a small corps was sufficient to observe and pursue the Prussians after the defeat they had sustained, and consequently the main force of the French was at liberty to be directed against the English. In this battle Buonaparte had certainly the advantage; but it was evident to all reflecting men that he was imposing on the public by exaggerations in his bulletins as he had so often done before.

On the day after the battle a laconic note from Marshal Soult, major general of the army, announced that the enemy's line had been separated, and that Wellington and Blucher had with difficulty made their escape.

This intelligence excited a great sensation. The partisans of Buonaparte believed, or pretended to believe that he was again on the point of dictating to Fate. They already beheld him in the capital of opulent Belgium, and master of the *matériel* of the hostile armies. To these pretensions, loftily announced as they were, wise people opposed objections, the justice of which it was impossible to deny. It resulted from the official accounts that the enemy had been forced to retrograde, but that he still contested the ground inch by inch. Nothing, therefore, was decided; and who could say but that the allied troops had retired a few leagues of their own accord, for the purpose of being nearer to the several corps, which were hastening to join them?

At break of day on the 17th Buonaparte, after having left the third and fourth corps, as well as the cavalry of general Pajol, under the orders of General Grouchy, to follow and observe the Prussians, marched towards *Quatre Bras* with his reserve and the 6th corps.

The English appeared still to occupy the same posi-

tion as on the preceding evening. Buonaparte employed himself in reconnoitring, and the French army remained quiet 'till towards eleven o'clock, waiting for the troops on the right, to which stations were assigned as fast as they arrived. It rained incessantly, and the cross-roads, which had already been injured by the bad weather, became now almost impassable for artillery.

All the dispositions for attack being made, the French advanced in line to the heights of Frasnes, when it was perceived that the English had manœuvred with a view to mask a retreat, which measure they had doubtless resorted to, in consequence of the accounts received by the Duke of Wellington as to the battle of Ligny. The retreat had taken place during the night and that part of the morning, which the French had employed in concentrating their forces. The troops, which were visible on the hills, at the entrance of the wood, and on the road, were only a strong rear-guard employed in supporting the movement, which they were to imitate, as soon as the main army had effected their purpose. Buonaparte immediately began a pursuit with his cavalry, and the whole army hastened towards Brussels.

During this rapid march the ardor of the troops was incredible. They considered the retreat of the English, though so skilfully and successfully effected, as a rout which would terminate in their embarkation. That they would not rally again, but abandon Brussels and regain their vessels as soon as possible, every one had settled as certain. The artillery, the equipage and the infantry marched with great difficulty through the deep clay, while the cavalry could hardly proceed at all, the horses sinking to their bellies in mire. Here and there broken waggons were seen, belonging to the English army.

The French crossed the field of *Quatre Bras*, which

was covered with dead bodies. Some wounded were also found, belonging to our army, who had not been carried away. It was evident how sanguinary the battle must have been on both sides, but the English appeared to have sustained the greater loss. On the hills, which separated the road from the wood where they had taken up a position, and particularly on the borders of the wood itself, lay heaps of carcases, the greater part of which were those of Scotchmen. Their dress, which consists of plaid and descends not even so low as the knee, leaving that and the upper part of the leg naked, particularly attracted the attention of the French soldiers, who designated them by the appellation of *Sans-Culottes*.

Buonaparte pursued the English 'till night, with his guards, and then halted at the entrance of the forest of Soignes, being resisted by the enemy to such an extent as he despaired of this day surmounting. After having cannonaded and harrassed the English as long as the day would allow it, he caused his troops to take up a position, and fixed his head quarters at the farm of Caillon near Planchenois. The principal part of the army encamped at Genappe, and in the environs of this little town.

It was a dreadful night. The rain fell in torrents, and was most oppressive to the troops, *bivouacked* as they were in the midst of mire, and not having had time to construct any temporary shelter.

Daylight having appeared, the French took their arms, and were surprised to perceive that the English not only remained where they had been the night before, but appeared as if resolved to defend their position. Buonaparte, who had been afraid that they would escape during the night, was much pleased at finding them when he awoke, and not being able to restrain his transport, said to some

persons near him at the moment he discovered the enemy :
“ Ab, I have them, then—these English !”

Without further consideration, and with that imprudent eagerness which constitutes one of his characteristics, he summoned the columns which had halted in the rear, and without gaining any information, without knowing either the position or strength of the enemy, without ascertaining that the Prussian army was sufficiently kept in check by General Grouchy's corps, he resolved on an immediate attack.

The French army, which consisted of four corps of infantry, the guards included, and three corps of cavalry, might contain a hundred and twenty thousand effective men, and was assembled, towards ten o'clock, on the heights parallel to those occupied by the English.

The position, thus taken up by the Duke of Wellington, was in front of Waterloo, where his Grace had fixed his head quarters. It crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles. His left communicated with Prince Blücher at Wavre through Ohain.

Scarcely were the French troops formed, when Buonaparte, who had taken his station on a hill not far from the farm-house at which he slept, sent orders to begin the attack. He walked to and fro with his arms folded over his breast, at a short distance from his staff. The weather was stormy and continued so through the day.

The second corps was stationed on the left, and marched against the farm of Hougomont. The first rested its left on the road, and moved on the centre. The sixth held to the right. The guards were in reserve on the heights. The cavalry was divided and fixed at different points ; but its strongest columns occupied the two wings and particularly the right wing.

Towards noon, the first discharge of cannon took

place from the French line, and a large body of riflemen were dispatched to begin the action. The left vigorously attacked the farm of Hougoumont, the buildings upon which had been embattled by the English soldiers, who defended them with excessive obstinacy. Battalions and squadrons moved, at the same time, against the main army, which was posted in the rear of this farm, and continually sent reinforcements thither. After fighting about an hour, the English seemed to give way a little, and the French pressed forward. The artillery was advanced in front of the line, and the columns followed it.

A strong force was soon afterwards sent to carry Mont Saint Jean at the point of the bayonet, while the cavalry of the wings debouched and made a charge at the places which appeared to be least defended. The result of the manœuvre was awaited with impatience, its success being considered certain; but this was retarded by the obstinate efforts which the English made to hold the villages that covered their wings. They incessantly sent battalions towards the farm of Hougoumont and that of the Haye-Sainte, which our cavalry several times dispersed; but these villages, though assailed without intermission, and with a vigour never equalled, were still defended. Impatient at not being able to drive the troops out of Hougoumont, which occupied the buildings, Buonaparte determined to direct his main fire thither. At the same time he sent fresh troops against the Haye-Sainte, which seized it after a very long and sanguinary contest. At every point, the one fought against the other with equal ardour, and the artillery made frightful havoc.

The points, at which the two English wings had taken their station, having been carried, the French army passed the Ravine, and approached the positions, which

vomited a deluge of balls and grape-shot upon them. The charges, which had been ordered, were immediately executed! A most formidable column advanced towards Mont Saint Jean, where a desperate struggle ensued. The French cavalry darted forward, at the same time, to seize the artillery, but was assailed, in its turn by the cavalry of the enemy, and the carnage on both sides was horrible. Neither one side nor the other would yield an inch of ground. Fresh columns advanced, the charges were renewed, and the position was thrice on the point of being forced, but thrice, after performing prodigies of valour, the French were arrested in their progress. They now began to exhibit symptoms of hesitation and inquietude. Several dismounted batteries were put into retreat. A considerable number of wounded soldiers were detached from the main body, and spread alarm as to the issue of the battle. Profound silence had succeeded to the acclamations and cries of joy with which soldiers, certain of marching to victory, had before been rending the air. With the exception of the infantry of the guard, all the troops were engaged and exposed to a most destructive fire. The action continued with unabating violence, yet without any decisive result.

It was near seven o'clock when Buonaparte, who had till then remained on the hill, from which he clearly saw all that was passing, contemplated with a look of ferocity the hideous scene of butchery beneath him. The more numerous the difficulties which occurred, the more obstinate did he appear. He was indignant at obstacles which he had so little foreseen, and far from thinking that it was wrong to sacrifice an army, which placed unbounded confidence in him, he incessantly sent fresh troops, with orders to charge and force their way in spite of every re-

sistance. He was several times told that appearances were bad, and that the troops were exhausted ; but his only answer was " Forward, forward !"

A General sent information that he could not maintain his position, on account of being dreadfully annoyed by a battery, and asked what he was to do. " To take the battery," said Buonaparte, turning his back on the aide-de-camp.

An English officer, who was wounded and made a prisoner, was brought to him. He made several enquiries, and among the rest, what was the strength of the English army. The officer told him that it was very strong, and would almost immediately be reinforced by sixty thousand men. " So much the better," said he. " The more we meet, the more we shall conquer." He dispatched several messengers with dispatches, which he dictated to a secretary, and repeated many times, in a tone of distraction " The victory is mine—remember to say that."

It was at this period, when all his attempts had been abortive, that information was brought to him of Prussian columns debouching on his right flank, and threatening his rear ; but he would not believe these reports, and constantly answered, that these pretended Prussian troops were no other than those of General Grouchy. It was not long, however, before he was undeceived by the violence of the enemy's attack. Part of the sixth corps was sent to sustain this new shock, till Grouchy's corps arrived, which was every minute expected. The Prussian corps, which now appeared in the field at so critical a juncture, was that of General Bulow.

Buonaparte, without altering his resolution in any degree, was of opinion that the moment was come to decide the day. He formed, for this purpose, a fourth column, almost entirely composed of the guards, and di-

rected it at the *pas-de-charge* on Mont Saint-Jean, after having dispatched instructions to every point, that the movement, on which he thought victory to depend, might be seconded. The veterans marched up the hill with the intrepidity which might be expected of them. The whole army resumed its vigour, and the combat was resumed throughout the line. The guards made repeated charges and were as often repulsed. Overpowered by an irresistible discharge of artillery, which seemed every moment to increase, these invincible grenadiers saw their ranks constantly thinned; but they closed together with perfect coolness, and advanced into the heat of the fray without intimidation. Nothing arrested their progress but death or the severest wounds.

The hour of their defeat, however, was come. Enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense force of cavalry, to which the French could oppose no resistance, as their own was entirely destroyed, poured down upon them from all sides with a degree of fury which made all idea of quarter, on either part, out of the question.

While this was the state of affairs in the centre, the Prussian columns, which had so suddenly assailed the right wing of the French, continued to advance, and press with ardour against the few troops remaining at that point, who fell back, more and more disheartened by the report that the guards were overpowered. Feeble resistance was made—the news became every moment more disastrous—the ranks were broken—the men were panic struck—universal confusion was succeeded by universal flight. It was in vain that Buonaparte attempted to make a final effort by bringing into action some battalions of the guards which had not yet been employed, and which he himself headed. All was useless. Intimidated by what passed around them, and overpowered by numbers, this feeble reserve soon yield-

ed, and with the rest fled back like a torrent. The artillery-men abandoned their cannon; the soldiers of the waggon-train cut the traces of their horses; the infantry, the cavalry, and every other species of soldiery formed one confused intermingled mass, partly flying along the roads and partly across the fields. The generals were lost in this crowd; the corps had no longer any regular commander, and not a single battalion existed, behind which the rest could attempt to rally. Even the guards, who had hitherto been the very bulwark of the army and the terror of the enemy, were dispersed among the multitude, the disorder of which was increased by the darkness of night.

The enemy, perceiving the total overthrow of the French army, detached a numerous body of cavalry in pursuit of them, and assailed them in every direction. Buonaparte's equipage, which had been stationary near the farm-house at which he had slept, became the booty of the Prussians, as well as a large quantity of other baggage. All the cannon, which had been used in the batteries, remained on the ground, and consequently fell into the hands of the Allies. In less than half an hour nearly the whole *matériel* of our army had disappeared.

The English and Prussians having completely effected their junction, the two commanders-in-chief, viz. the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blücher, met at a farm called *La Belle Alliance*, and concerted the means of following up their success. The former had suffered considerably during the action, and their cavalry in particular; but that of the Prussians, having been far less employed, now set forward in pursuit of the French, and harassed them to an extent which did not allow them a moment's respite.

The fugitives, thus painfully pressed by an over-

whelming foe, ran rapidly over the two leagues which separate Genappe from the field of battle, and at length reached this small place, where the greater number trusted that they should be able to pass the night. In order to oppose some obstacles to the enemy, they collected carriages on the road, and barricadoed the entrance to the principal street. A few cannon were collected into the form of a battery; *bivouacks* were formed in the town and its environs, and the soldiers went into the houses for the purpose of finding an asylum and food; but scarcely were these dispositions made when the enemy appeared. The discharge of cannon, on their part, spread universal alarm among their downcast enemies. All fled again, and the retreat became more disorderly than ever.

All this time every one was ignorant of Buonaparte's fate, for he had suddenly disappeared. The general report was, that he had fallen in the heat of battle. This intelligence being conveyed to a well-known general, he replied in the words of Megret, after the death of Charles XII at Friederickstadt: "Then the tragedy is ended."* Others said that, while making a charge at the head of his guards, he had been dismounted and taken prisoner. The same uncertainty prevailed as to Marshal Ney, and most of the principal officers.

A great number of persons affirmed that they had seen Buonaparte pass through the crowd, and that they knew him by his grey great-coat and horse. This proved to be the fact. When the last battalions of the guards, which he led into action, were overthrown, he was carried away with them, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. He then sought refuge in an orchard adjoining to the farm of

* *Voilà la pièce finie.*

Cailon, where he was afterwards met by two officers of the guards, who were like him, endeavouring to elude the enemy. To them he made himself known, and they passed together over the plain, upon which were scattered various Prussian parties. These, however, luckily for the fugitives, were employed in plundering the captured equipage. Buonaparte was recognised on several occasions in spite of the darkness of night, and the soldiers whispered to each other as he passed: "Look! there is the Emperor!" These words seemed almost to alarm him, and he hurried forward through the multitude. Where were now the acclamations, which used to greet his ear the moment he appeared in the midst of his troops?

The French army continued its disastrous march through the night, scattering its ruins on the road, and every moment assailed by the pursuing Prussian. At break of day its sad remains arrived partly at Charleroi and partly at Marchienne, where they hastened to repass the Sambre. Never did an army, of late so brilliantly appointed, exhibit so wretched an appearance. The wounded too, who with pale and emaciated looks followed on horseback, proclaimed what a scene of carnage had taken place. Some equipage, which, the nearer it approached to the Sambre was the more impeded in its progress by the passage of those in advance, became choked up near the bridges of Charleroi and Marchienne. The cavalry of the enemy soon appeared and surprised it while thus encumbered. No one attended to it any longer. Each thought only of his own escape. The affrighted drivers cut the traces of their horses and fled with the rest. All the artillery that remained fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a great number of prisoners.

At a short distance from Charleroi are two roads, the one leading to Avesnes and the other to Phillippeville.

The army, being ignorant what direction to take, and seeing none of its commanders, divided itself into two parts, the larger of which moved on Avesnes; the other took a direction towards the left on Philippeville. A great number of stragglers, without any design but that of avoiding the pursuit of the cavalry, threw themselves into the adjoining woods. Thus the army was gradually more and more diminished, till at length it almost ceased to exist.

It was the latter road that Buonaparte took. Again he deserted and abandoned his army, without any effort to rally it, amidst dangers which he seemed even to feel a pleasure in aggravating, by resigning it to anarchy and dissolution. He arrived in a state of great alarm, at Philippeville, and demanded admittance, wishing to protect himself by the fortifications of this place from the pursuit of the Prussians, who were tracking his course by strong parties, into the power of which he trembled to fall. On arriving at the gates, he was subjected to the humiliation of being interrogated by a centinel to whom he would not announce his rank. This man would not allow him to enter till he had been recognized by the governor, who was summoned to identify him. He was then admitted with a suite of a most humble description, and the barriers were immediately closed.

Soon afterwards, orders were issued to disperse the collection of soldiers, which every moment increased round the town. The report having been spread that their illustrious Emperor was in the place, they thought it their duty to station themselves near him, and had no doubt but that they would soon be admitted into the garrison of the fortress. But the prudence of Buonaparte is well known. He conceived that such an assemblage might attract the enemy to the spot, and cause a discovery of his asylum.

He therefore sent orders to the troops that they were to continue their march; but as he had, in his capacity of a great general, analyzed with precision the means of working on the minds of his men, after a defeat, he adopted a little stratagem, to insure the prompt and entire execution of his orders. Some emissaries were sent out of the town, who ran towards the camp, apparently in great alarm, exclaiming: "Save yourselves! The Cossacks! The Cossacks!" It will easily be imagined that nothing more than this notice was necessary—the fugitives disappeared in a moment.

After remaining a few hours at Philippeville, Buonaparte took his departure for Mezieres. Towards evening he passed under the walls of Rocroi, and hastened to Paris, thus abandoning his army like a coward to preserve his own life. Oh everlasting disgrace! Who can describe the indignation of his troops when they heard that he had reached the capital in good health and spirits?

The battle of Waterloo was one of the most sanguinary ever fought. The French army, composed of a hundred and twenty thousand men, after performing prodigies of valour, was almost entirely destroyed. Three hundred pieces of cannon, with all the ammunition and equipage, became the prizes of the victors, together with a vast number of prisoners. More than twenty thousand French soldiers lay dead upon the field, frightfully mutilated by the enemy. The English also sustained a great loss, but less considerable than that of the French, on account of the advantageous position, which they occupied. The number, however, lost by all the allies, is calculated, like our own, at twenty thousand. Every thing tends to prove that, at the beginning of the battle, the numbers on each side were nearly equal; but the English were in fact much stronger, because they awaited our attack in their entrenchments;

and they became still more so by the arrival and efficacious co-operation of General Bulow's Prussian corps, at the moment that the decisive blow was about to be struck by the Duke of Wellington.

Victory was the more glorious and valuable to the conquerors, from having been so long suspended. The French fought with a degree of desperation never before witnessed, but their rout, dispersion and overthrow were equally complete and without example. A total disregard of danger prevailed throughout the field, and officers of the highest rank mingled in the fray, like the meanest soldier.

It was on the 21st that news again arrived at Paris from the army, bearing reference to the battle fought at Ligny near Fleurus, but particulars were added, as to the dreadful day at Waterloo, under the title of *the battle of Mont St. Jean*, which were calculated to make every one tremble. Buonaparte expressed himself as he had heretofore done in his famous nineteenth bulletin, when he avowed without disguise the frightful results of his retreat from Moscow. It became certain that France had lost the power of longer opposing the enemy, though as yet the battles, which had taken place, could only be considered as against the advanced guard of the allies, for the Austrians, Russians, Bavarians and minor German troops were merely on their march to the seat of war. It was known too that Buonaparte, in order to strike a decisive blow, had collected round him all his guards, and the choicest troops that could be found from Huninguen to Dunkirk. The conquerors were, therefore, on the point of penetrating into a country which was entirely open, driving before them the routed panic-struck remnant of the French army. Finally, it was announced that Buonaparte was arrived, in the character of a fugitive, at Paris, as he before appeared

after the disasters of Moscow and Leipzig, thus leaving his troops without their leader, after they had, in his personal cause, incurred the charge of perjury, and defied the forces of united Europe. The indignation of the public was at its height. Was he come to dissolve the chambers? This was not an unnatural conjecture, but, at all events, it was certain that he was come to demand fresh supplies of men and money, and to draw down upon Paris all the evils of war. Even in avowing the total rout of his army, he did not entirely adhere to truth. His bulletin was a mixture of facts and imposition; nay, by a singularity truly deserving of record, the Duke of Wellington rendered greater justice to the exertions of the French than they experienced from their own ungrateful commander.

When the great confusion began, and Buonaparte by his unpardonable flight with several of his officers, had made it absolutely impossible to repair the disorder which had taken place, several corps of his guard signalized themselves by one of those acts of despair but seldom recorded in the history of mankind. When exposed to the fire of the English, and when further resistance could only ensure their destruction they were invited to surrender, with an assurance that they should be treated with all the respect which their valour entitled them to, but they replied: "The imperial guard can die, but not surrender."

After making this declaration, they fired on each other that they might not die by the hands of their enemy, and that they themselves might accelerate their certain fate, while the English, struck with amazement at this proceeding, could hardly give credit to the strange scene thus acted before their own eyes.

Paris and part of France had been conquered at Leipzig in 1813, for the subsequent actions were inevitable

consequences of that disastrous day. They were conquered again at Waterloo, and on these two occasions it is difficult to say whether we should be most astonished at the imprudence of Buonaparte, in wantonly sporting with his destiny, or the proofs of devotion displayed by his troops, for which they so severely suffered.

While Buonaparte was flying from the field of carnage, the King was assailed by violent emotions. The victory of the Allies secured his restoration. He was avenged of those who had betrayed him; but how mournful was this vengeance! His paternal heart, however, beat for his misguided but now unfortunate subjects. By promising twenty francs for every French prisoner, he saved the lives of a great number of fugitives, who could no longer resist their conquerors, and by sending money to Brussels, he assisted the wounded, whom he also particularly recommended to the humanity of the Allies.

What astonishing political scenes were now about to be witnessed at Paris, on which the eyes of Europe were more intently fixed than ever! The two chambers assumed an attitude by no means generally expected, and obtained by their energy a sacrifice which few dared to hope, by provoking the abdication of Buonaparte.

In this act the tyrant shewed himself as absurd as unjust. "My political life is terminated," said he, "and I proclaim my son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon the Second." What general consternation pervaded the public mind, when this was announced! Could it be possibly supposed that the Allies would be satisfied with such a nomination? Of one only could this be expected, but it is now well known with what fidelity to the common cause the august sovereign alluded to declared that he knew no Napoleon the Second. The French themselves were somewhat less alarmed when the

provisional government proclaimed the public acts *in the name of the French people*. Such was our unfortunate situation that we even deduced hope from a republican expression, which, at any other time, would itself have created alarm.

Scarcely had the chambers received the abdication of Buonaparte, and acknowledged his Son, than they displayed to admiration all the shameless feelings, which might naturally be expected from peers created by the Usurper, and pretended representatives who were in reality appointed by his factious adherents. We had a constitutional charter, in which the King had promised that he would make the desired improvements; but the chambers, instead of adverting to this, took upon themselves to frame a new constitution, appearing to be mightily pleased with their silly discussions for the benefit of future generations, while the enemy, having no further obstacle to encounter, was advancing in full march. They talked about dying at their posts, as if this affectation of heroism was superior to the consideration of the sound measures, by which a further effusion of blood might be prevented, and the public mind tranquillised. Amidst these ridiculous debates of the chambers, particular stress was laid on the defeat of the Royalists in the West, and a city, threatened by five hundred thousand men, was pompously assured that the leaders of Vendée had submitted to government.

It was at Paris, however, that the fate of France was to be decided, and it was surely most desirable that the blood of Frenchmen should not be shed by Frenchmen. The Royalists had not submitted, but a suspension of arms had taken place, because the King himself had commanded it.

In the mean time, the news from the army was of a most unpleasant nature. General Grouchy, completely

abandoned by his commander, had made an effort, which held out no probability of advantage, and all that could be expected from the talents of the French generals, or the courage of their troops was that they might effect their retreat without being annihilated. As to the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, the disaster of the principal army had exposed their flanks, and it could hardly be hoped that they would dispute the ground with forces, the superiority of which was out of all proportion.

Two measures were suggested as highly important, and both were adopted. Commissaries were sent to the head quarters of the Allies, and resolutions adopted, indicative of an intention to defend Paris to the last extremity. Members were also sent from the Chamber of Representatives to the head quarters of Marshal Davoust, who was generalissimo of the army. The safety of France depended upon one solitary exclamation, on the part of this army—yet it continued silent, and close to the metropolis, now so imminently threatened. The King was at Cambray, and sentiments of veneration, suppressed by the late acts of usurpation, burst forth as his subjects saw him again in his dominions.

Let us now return to the brave Wellington and Blucher, whom we left advancing after the victorious achievements of their combined troops at Waterloo.

The French had still a sufficient force left to attack the advanced guard of Marshal Blucher's corps at Villars Coterets on the 28th; but the main body coming up, they were driven back, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and about a thousand prisoners. These troops were on their march from Soissons to Paris, and having been driven off that road as above described, found their way to the Meaux road, where they were attacked again by General Bulow, who took from them five hundred more prisoners, and drove

them across the Marne; after which, however, the remnant of this corps effected its escape to Paris. The advanced guard of the Allied Army, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, crossed the Oise on the 29th and the whole on the 30th. On the 1st of July the Duke took up a position with his right on the height of Rochebourg, and his left on the Bois de Bondy. Marshal Blucher, having seized the village of Aubervilliers, on the 30th of June, crossed the Seine at St. Germain, and fixed his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. The French had fortified the heights of Montmartre and the town of St. Denis strongly. By means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mar, the ground had been inundated. Water had also been introduced into the *Canal de l'Ourcq*, and the bank had been formed into a parapet and batteries, forming altogether a strong position on this side of Paris. The heights of Belville were also strongly fortified, but no defensive works were thrown up on the left of the Seine. In and adjoining to the capital, all the troops, remaining after the fatal battle of Waterloo, and the *dépôts* of the whole French army had been collected. These consisted of nearly fifty thousand regulars and guards, besides the National Guards, a new levy called *Les Tirailleurs de la Garde*, and the *Fédérés*.

Marshal Blucher was strongly opposed while taking up his position, but surmounted every obstacle, and at length the Prussians fixed themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. The French attacked them again in Issy on the 3d, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They then found that Paris was open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was opened between the two allied armies by a bridge, which the Duke of Wellington had caused to be established at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was likewise moving upon the left of

the Seine. They therefore sent to desire that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the negociation of a military convention between the armies, under which the French troops should evacuate Paris. Officers accordingly met, on both sides, at the palace of St. Cloud, and decided by the convention, mutually agreed upon, every military question without touching on any thing political.

Dumourier was an intriguing character, and one of those dangerous men who are ready to serve every party, while they think in reality of nothing beyond their own interest, but he was possessed of military talents. He says positively, in his memoirs, that the idea of defending Paris is *absurd and impracticable*. The experience of 1814 justified this assertion, yet Buonaparte's adherents, who even yet supported his cause though he himself had abdicated, felt no hesitation in exposing the capital to an assault. Numerous corps, among which was that of General Vandamme, prepared to defend a city menaced in its most vulnerable points. At this moment of dreadful agitation Buonaparte took his departure, leaving us as a legacy the prospect of impending plunder and famine. The enemy was at our gates, and intestine commotion seemed likely to complete our evils; but the National Guard, by a zeal above all praise, succeeded at least in averting the latter calamity. The vociferations and even insults of a few wretches, hired for the purpose by the tyrant's accomplices, made no impression on their noble firmness. All the citizens, who commanded this body, felt the extent of their duty, and proved themselves worthy of their station. By them was Paris saved a second time.

While good Frenchmen were thus watching over the dearest interests of the country, the Chamber of Representatives was completing its new constitution. The commis-

sion of government was employed on matters of much the same utility—and all this, while the enemy was close to us! Skirmishes and affairs had taken place in the immediate vicinity of Paris, in which both sides displayed intrepidity, but the inhabitants of the scene of action were severe sufferers. The fatality, which pursued us, did not even spare the city, in which Louis XIV had displayed so much magnificence. Versailles was forcibly occupied by the enemy, and reduced to a most lamentable state, while the representatives of the people were still crying: “Liberty for ever, and no Bourbons!” A palace, which Buonaparte had inhabited, could not escape the allied troops—Malmaison was pillaged.

It was in the midst of these proceedings that negotiations were proposed. The French Commanders saw in what a critical situation Paris was placed, and wished to preserve its inhabitants from incalculable evils; but the Allies, availing themselves of their advantages, would not accede to any truce, unless the French army retired beyond the Loire. The convention was at length signed, and if Paris submitted to the law of the conquerors, it escaped at least the horrors of being taken by main force. The commission of government, in communicating this convention to the two Chambers, spoke in the language of dignified wisdom: “It is in vain,” said they, “that we have struggled against the tempest. Our efforts have been fruitless, our means of defence are exhausted. In spite of the heroic courage of our troops, and the devotion of the National Guard of Paris, we have found it impossible to prevent the occupation of the capital, on the part of the Allies, either by main force or negotiation.

We have preferred the latter alternative, in order that we might not compromise the fate of the city, by risking a

final battle against a superior force, on the point of receiving additional strength."

The latter expression was strictly true, and I must not omit an anecdote, which sensibly and deliciously affected the friends of their country and humanity, in the midst of so much agitation and terror. The Duke of Wellington shewed the commissioners of the provisional government an exact account of his forces; he laid before them the assurances, which he had, of being immediately joined by numerous corps; and thus carrying conviction to their minds, succeeded in determining them to take the only step which could save the capital. In fact, even supposing that the French army, though so very inferior in numbers, had at first obtained an advantage (which is a circumstance highly improbable) the Allies would soon have resumed the offensive; they would have fallen upon us in irresistible numbers, and a second battle of Waterloo would probably have succeeded to a second battle of Ligny. Honoured, then, be the truly great hero, who made it his glory to spare the blood of several thousand brave men, and preferred a tranquil triumph to the trophies of sanguinary warfare!

The reduction of Paris excited general satisfaction among the peaceably disposed citizens; it tranquillised the minds of fathers of families; but military honour did not allow the soldiery to view it in the same light. Most of them testified their mortification, and said they were a second time betrayed, while in reality they had been, by the capitulation, furnished with the means of avoiding a most unequal struggle, and without any compromise of their established renown. It appeared as if a vertigo had seized them at the moment that they deserted the flag of their country's father, and it is deeply to be lamented that many of them still persist in their error.

The chambers, by dethroning Buonaparte, had evidently thought only of themselves. Their legitimate king could not, as they well knew, sanction their conduct. They persisted, therefore, in recognizing Napoleon II, and placed under the special safeguard of the armies, the national guard, and all the citizens, the tri-coloured flag and cockade.

But every thing announced that the moment was at length arrived, when order was to succeed this state of anarchy. It was known that *Monsieur* was at hand, and that the King was rapidly advancing, escorted by his own faithful guard, and national guards furnished by the departments, through which he passed.

The army, however, still murmured, and a certain number of *Fédérés* exhibited a disposition equally alarming. Towards night, muskets were discharged on the Boulevards and in the streets; nay, even cannon were occasionally heard. It was the 5th of July—a day which will never be forgotten by the Parisians. We had just escaped the most imminent danger, and a danger, not less to be dreaded, already threatened us. The general was beat in all quarters; the indefatigable national guard was at its post; the shops were shut. Ferocious men were uttering horrid threats, and apparently on the point of committing violent excesses; but the calm praiseworthy prudence of good citizens succeeded in restoring order. It was remarked, and with justice, that the regiments of the Imperial Guard set an example of discipline. Their countenances were overshadowed with sorrow, but they executed the convention without uttering a complaint. The commissions of government issued a proclamation, tending to maintain order. “Be united, Frenchmen,” said they, “and your misfortunes will soon be at an end.”

Several of the national guards went to present their homage to their Colonel General, *Monsieur*, at St. Denis.

At the same time the Allies, in virtue of the convention, occupied the entrenchments of Montmartre, and in Paris the most distinguished characters took a part conformable with that which they had acted for several months. Marshal Ney, for instance, quitted the capital, while Marshal Macdonald served in the national guards as a private soldier.

On the 8th of July, about fifty thousand of the allied troops entered the city, where no regular French troops now remained, except such as were sick or wounded. It was publicly announced that the King was at St. Denis, with his own guards, and it excited no surprise that his Majesty, in spite of the injunction by the Chamber of Representatives, had determined, as well as his faithful followers, to wear no colour but that of his illustrious ancestor Henry IV. This chamber now received the following communication from the members of the Provisional Government.

“ Mr. President, Till now we had been induced to believe that the intentions of the Allied Sovereigns were not by any means unanimously fixed as to the choice of the prince who should reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances at their return; but the ministers and generals of the allied powers yesterday declared to us, at the conference which they held with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns were pledged to each other to replace Louis XVIII on the throne, and that he would either this evening or to-morrow enter the capital.

Foreign troops have occupied the Tuileries, which is considered the seat of government. In this state of affairs we can only wish well to our country, and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

The Marshal, Prince of Eckmuhl, and the Prefect of the Seine, have been ordered to watch over the maintenance of order, and the security and tranquillity of the public."

When this letter became generally known, its effect was marvellous. The majority of well-disposed people had never doubted the sentiments of the confederated monarchs, yet pains had been taken, for some time, to spread disheartening reports. They were now destined, however, to be completely refuted. The King made his public entry on the 8th. Numerous detachments of the national guard went to meet him, though no ceremonial had been ordered. The public enthusiasm and brilliant festimonies of general joy alone embellished this family festival. The King's carriage was preceded and followed by his military household. Around it were several marshals, followed by a great number of general officers, who had always accompanied the King. The inhabitants of Paris and the neighbouring towns covered the road. All, as well as the national guard, had assumed the white cockade.

Count Chabrol, Prefect of the Seine, accompanied by the Municipal Body, waited the arrival of the King at the barrier of Saint Denis. At four o'clock, the acclamations of an immense multitude announced the approach of a procession, which defiled amidst a thousand repeated cries of *Vive le Roi!* At night, the whole city, without any official notice, was brilliantly illuminated.

It would have been well if this happy state of affairs had not been clouded, but Paris, and indeed all France, has ever since offered to an attentive observer subjects for meditation, of which several are most painful. Among the latter may be reckoned the threatening aspect, which the allied troops assumed, immediately after occupying

Paris. They were not satisfied, as in 1814, with uniting their troops to the patrols of the national guard, but the bridges and public places were occupied by military of every description, including even artillery. The troops were quartered on the inhabitants. It is true that these energetic measures were, in some degree, caused by the culpable conduct of the people belonging to the very lowest class of society, instigated and doubtless also bribed by the eternal enemies of order; but the distress of those, who had good intentions, was not the less severe and well founded. It increased when it was known that the Prussians were making preparations to blow up the bridge, hitherto designated by the name of Jena. It is true that Buonaparte had robbed them of several monuments, and among these the pillar of Rosbach; but had they not declared that they made war against him alone, and that the public edifices should be respected? The King was not less afflicted than his good citizens of Paris; and protested against such conduct in the most energetic manner. It cannot be known whether his noble interference would have prevented the measure resolved upon, but the Emperors of Russia and Austria, as well as the King of Prussia, arriving at Paris, a new turn was given to affairs, and one of a less alarming nature. It is probable that the Emperor Alexander particularly interested himself in removing the uneasiness of the Parisians. In him they placed implicit confidence, well knowing how nobly he had acted in 1814.

Public curiosity was naturally excited as to the fate of Buonaparte. He had announced that his political career was at an end, but every one knew what reliance was to be placed upon his pledges, however solemn their nature. At length official intelligence arrived. He had endeavoured to escape the English cruisers off Rochefort, in

order to sail for America, but finding it impossible to elude their vigilance, and dreading the effects of a longer stay in a country, which he had overwhelmed with calamities, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of his Britannic Majesty's vessel the *Bellerophon*. By that officer he was taken to the British Channel, and there removed into the Northumberland, after an agreement had been made by all the Allied Sovereigns as to his future destiny. He is to reside, with a few friends, who chuse to share his fortune, in the island of St. Helena, under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by each of the principal European powers, 'till summoned to answer for his atrocious crimes and sanguinary career in another world.

Several of the fortified places in France have been taken by the allies, and his Majesty is constantly employed in measures tending to relieve his subjects and promote the prosperity of his kingdom. "*I wish every thing that can save France,*" said he in his proclamation at Cambrai and his whole conduct has been in conformity with this declaration. What, then, should be our conduct? To rally round him, exclaiming "*For our king and country!*"—for a country that groans under the wounds, so deeply inflicted by the infamous usurper—for a king, whom no times and circumstances have been able to depress! It is reserved for this pacific, sage and virtuous monarch to give a new impulse to the French character, or rather to restore its ancient good properties, and to construct, on a solid basis, the edifice of a liberal, just and strong government, equally protecting every citizen and zealously guarding public morals as well as the institutions which secure the happiness and tranquillity of nations.

Let those members of our army, who sincerely love their country, be persuaded that the greatest benefit we can obtain is peace! Like the great Regulus, whose vir-

tuous conduct justly excites admiration, let them hang up their swords as glorious trophies of their exploits, and take them down again only when their country calls upon them as defenders. Let them devote their attention to agriculture and those useful arts, which constitute the glory and happiness of mankind. Let them return, like peaceable citizens, to the bosom of their families. Let them become respectable members of the community, honouring and enriching the state by their industry, while they, at the same time, honour and enrich themselves. Being particularly interested in respecting the social pact, let them be the first to avert the disasters of war, and contribute, by all the means in their power, to ward off a scourge, the dreadful calamities of which are so well known to them.

END.

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