DETAILED ACCOUNT

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OF THE

BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ,

BY THE

AUSTRIAN MAJOR-GENERAL,

STUTTERHEIM. Karl, , there were

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

MAJOR PINE COFFIN,

ASSISTANT QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL TO THE BRITISH ARMY.

Tout cela, prouve, qu'il y a beaucoup d'hommes, capables de faire manœuvrer, quinze a ving mille hommes, et qu'il en est peu, qui puissent tirer tout le parti possible, d'une armée de quatre-vingt mille hommes.

Note par un officier François.

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1807.

TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE fatal consequences that resulted from the battle of Austerlitz, to the cause of Europe, and of humanity, render it an object of too deep an interest with the statesman and the soldier to make an apology requisite for introducing to the public, what may be considered as the Austrian official account of that action. It is hardly probable, that, under a government so constituted as that of Austria, a general officer would have ventured to publish the particulars of an action, in which he himself bore a conspicuous part, (at least with his name attached to it,) unless he felt himself sanctioned by the highest authority in so doing.

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However that may be, the work bears evident internal marks of authenticity, while the events daily passing under our eyes, with such dazzling, and unprecedented rapidity, give an additional interest to the *cause* which has been productive of such direful *effects*.

Scarcely have twelve months elapsed since this disastrous battle was fought, and already have we seen new dynasties created, and the proudest empires levelled in the dust.

We have seen one of the most powerful monarchies of Europe, whether it be considered as to its military resources, or its well replenished treasury; as to its well disciplined army, or the glorious recollection of its past achievements: we have seen the armies of Prussia, which were wont to be considered as the patterns of military excellence, dissipated and annihilated, like chaff before the wind, by the well-trained legions of the modern Alexander.

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The present state of Europe affords ample scope to the reflections of the statesman. For, though the soldier may account for the loss of a battle, by reasoning on what was done, and what was left undone, the subjugation of states is to be looked for in causes far remote from the scene of action. These are times which not only require superiority of intellect in those who govern, but the conviction on the part of the governed, that they are not mere spectators of the fray; that it is not a mere squabble for power; but that the happiness of each individual, that the preservation of all he holds most dear, in short, that the liberties of his country are at stake, and depend upon the issue of the contest.

Has this been, or *could it be*, the feeling of those nations of the Continent we have seen overrun?

In the answer to this simple question, we may perhaps find the real cause of all, the disasters of the coalition, and subject of much contemplation for ourselves. The cloud which has been long gathering over Europe has begun to burst; we have seen the storm fall where least expected, and bury whole empires, and their people, in one common ruin. When the demon of destruction is abroad, let us not be unmindful of ourselves. Are we better prepared than our neighbours? Have we more skilful generals, or less intriguing politicians? I fear not. It is then only to the people we can look in the day of trial; and I trust there is yet enough left of the genuine spirit of the constitution, and of the native valour of Britons, to

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make every man feel his country is worth contending for. The moment that ceases to be the case, our independence as a nation is virtually gone; and, though our empire may drag on a precarious existence for a few years, it will fall, inevitably fall, at no distant period.

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I have been inadvertently led into a train of reflection, which some persons may think not quite compatible with the character of a soldier. Against this opinion, I beg leave to enter my protest. I have always considered the superiority of the French troops over those of the continent, as the result of their individual intelligence; arising in a great degree from the habit of every Frenchman, to discuss whatever topic comes under his notice; and it is quite unnecessary for me to remark, that the powers of 'the mind only develope themselves in proportion as they are called into action. Let us hear no more then of soldiers being mere machines. The absurdity of the doctrine is too palpable to need refutation.

I ought perhaps to assign some reason for having undertaken a labour, to which I may appear so very unequal. It was to relieve my mind from constantly dwelling on a subject of disappointment, which still weighs but too heavily on my spirits; and which I hoped to alleviate, though it cannot be removed by occupation. Personal vanity had no share whatever in it, and if I have not concealed my name, it has been because I hoped to disarm the severity of criticism by avowing it. Much will not be expected from one, who embraced the profession of arms at a very early period, and whose ambition, from a child, has been military and not literary reputation. All that I can flatter myself with having succeeded in, is, the rendering the sense of the author, in terms plain and intelligible. For elegance of style, and flowing periods, the public may look to a Hutchinson, but not to soldiers in general.

JOHN PINE COFFIN.

P.S. It was my original intention to have annexed a good map to this work, on which the reader might be enabled satisfactorily to follow the operations with his eye;—but having in vain ransacked the shops of London, without being able to procure a map of Moravia on a scale sufficiently large to make it of any use; and, in fact, without finding any that was better than Chauchards, which is woefully deficient, both in the names of villages, and in geographical accuracy; I have been induced to publish the Battle of Austerlitz without this advantage. My principal motive for so doing has been the persuasion, that a bad map could be of very little use; and that it would enhance the expense to such a degree, as to place the work beyond the reach of many military men; while others may be already in possession of as good, or better information than I could furnish them with. To those, however, who do not already possess a map of Moravia, I would recommend that published by Covens and Mortier, at Amsterdam; not as the best possible map, but as the least defective I have seen. But, I have great doubts whether this is to be procured in England.

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TO THE AUSTRIAN ARMY.

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THIS account of what passed under my own observation at the Battle of Austerlitz, and of the result of my researches on that memorable event, I here dedicate to my brethren in arms. The desire of being read by all the military men in Europe has induced me to write in a language more generally known than that of Germany, and which there are few among you who do not understand. Those who, like myself, have borne a part in this disastrous day of the 2d December, will be enabled to bear testimeny to the truth of this narration. I have prided myself on using the greatest impartiality; on having stifled all prepossession, all passion, and every feeling, that could tend to lead my judgment astray. It is to your approbation, my brother soldiers, that I look forward, as the most delightful recompense of all my labours.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE imperfect accounts which have reached the public, as to the details of the Battle of Austerlitz, are so contradictory to each other, and so little satisfactory to military men, that it has been thought proper to lay the following relation before them, in order to fix their ideas as to this memorable epoch.

In all ages, as in all countries, nations and armies have been the slaves of opinion. Hence it has ever been the policy of governments to heighten, by those means best calculated to excite national enthusiasm, the splendour of even the greatest victories; as well as to give a specious colouring to those reverses of fortune, which are too public to be passed over in silence. The soldier, who here gives the relation of what he himself saw, neither wishes to flatter a government, nor to gain the good opinion of an army. His object will be, to detail, with truth, what he has either seen or been able to discover from others; and, forgetting the part he himself acted, he will speak with candour and impartiality of the events that passed under his own observation, without the slightest tincture of prejudice, or passion. Of these events, posterity must be the judge.

Nothing will be found here, but the simple recital, without commentary, naked, and devoid of art, of one of the most famous epochs of history. To attempt to reason on the operations of wars that have passed in our times would be giving too much scope to self-love, which always adopts or rejects, as suits our own opinions.

It is not the strength of the respective

armies opposed to each other at the battle of Austerlitz, or the losses they sustained, which particularly distinguishes it, from many of those which took place in the first campaigns of the French Revolution, and the seven years war.

We have heretofore often seen 150,000 men in the field, and 30,000 slain. But it is the consequences of the action of the 2d of December, 1805; it is the epoch when it decided the fate of war; it is the *moment* in which it was fought, which makes it worthy of attention, and which will assign it a marked place in history.

It was the wish to gain personal information that induced the author to collect materials, which may become useful to a, better pen: and he avails himself of a leisure moment to offer them to such as have the talent to make use of them.

In order that the past may serve to elucidate the future, it becomes requisite to recur to the circumstances that led to this decisive day; which proved how scrupulously accurate it is necessary to be, in making the calculations and combinations, to which the existing circumstances and the knowledge of human nature give rise.

The battles of Crems, and of Hollabrunn, are already well known. This is not intended as a history of the late campaign, but merely of a part of it, into which the account of those two affairs does not enter. It was after they had taken place, that M. de Koutousoff directed his retreat upon Brunn, and effected it from that moment, without much annoyance from the enemy. This first Russian army had orders carefully to avoid a serious engagement, and to hasten its retreat, for the purpose of forming a junction with that under M. de Buxhoevden, who was advancing rapidly to its support. M. de Koutousoff executed a. difficult retreat from the river Inn, upon

Moravia, which commenced on the 14th October, and lasted till the 18th November; and, although very inferior to the enemy in point of numbers, this Russian army effected its junction without much loss. The farther the grand French army advanced, the more its combinations became multiplied, and the more it was obliged to detach its force. The Russian general had the advantage of being enabled to concentrate during his retreat, which he also effected in good order: for this he was principally indebted to Prince Bagration, who conducted the rear-guard with much courage. The two Russian armies formed their junction at Wischau, on the 18th of November; from which time they became one, under the command of the General in Chief, Koutousoff. Its strength consisted of 104 Battalions, 20 of which were Austrians; and 159 squadrons, 54 of which were Austrians, and 40 Cosacks.

The Austrian corps was commanded by Lieutenant General Prince John de Liechtenstein: his infantry was composed of the 6th Battalion, recruited, armed, and organized about a month before; M. de Kienmayer, with the remains of his corps, (very much weakened by the movement of M. de Merveldt on Styria,) formed a part of the corps under Prince John de Liechtenstein. The Archduke Ferdinand, with the wreck of the army from Ulm, and some Battalions, also newly raised, was in Bohemia, and thereby covered the right of the combined army; which might at this time be computed at about 72,000 men. The corps under the Archduke Ferdinand was composed of from 18 to 20,000 men.

The grand French army, after passing the Danube, had advanced into Moravia, being composed of the corps under Prince Murat, Marshals Soult, Lannes, and Bernadotte. The last of these was then op-

posed to the Archduke Ferdinand, and was advancing upon Iglau. Marshal Davoust, after having followed M. de Merveldt into Styria, moved from Vienna upon Presbourgh. The corps of Marmont marched upon Carinthia, and then upon Styria; in the first instance, to open the communication between the grand army and that of Italy; and afterwards, to oppose the junction of the Archduke Charles with the army under M. de Koutousoff; but the movements of this prince were so well calculated, and his force so well concentrated, that he did not allow time for the French to establish themselves at Gratz. Marshal Ney, after the passage of the Inn, took his direction on the Tyrol, by Scharnitz.

At the time of the junction of the two Russian armies near Wischau, they had only opposed to them, the corps of Prince Murat, part of which formed the advanced

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guard, those of Marshals Soult and Lannes, the imperial guards, under Marshal Bessiéres, and a corps of grenadiers, drawn from these different troops, forming a reserve of 15,000 men, under General Duroc. This army, when near Brunn, was composed of eight divisions, each of which was about 7000 strong. The Russian army was so much fatigued with the continual marches it had been making, whether to fall back on the support, or the support to get forward in time, that it was decided at Wischau to take up the position of Olmutz, to give some days rest to the troops.

Opinions were at that time much divided. The Russian advanced posts had no sort of information as to the position and force of the enemy; at one time, even Prince Bagration was ignorant of the situation occupied by the French advanced guard. The Austrians also, notwithstanding the facility they ought to have possessed of procuring intelligence in the country, had only very vague data to act upon.

By this information, however, it appeared, that the French forces were collected only in small numbers near Brunn; and some generals of the combined army gave their opinion at Wischau, for *immediately* resuming the offensive. It is possible, this moment might have been more fortunate than that which was afterwards chosen. The strength of the coalesced army was, from the 19th of November, superior to that of the enemy, who was yet uninformed that the junction of the two Russian armies was effected, and therefore could not expect an offensive movement,* such as a manœuvre

* Note by a French officer.—A general, whose movements are not so combined as to enable him to oppose another manœuvre to that of his enemy, whatever it may be, is a general devoid of talent, and ignorant of the art of war. on either of his flanks would have been. The army was then too near him to admit

If the Russians had assumed the offensive at Wischau, it would have been previous to the arrival of the corps under the Grand Duke Constantine, which would have weakened their army by 10,000 chosen men. The French army would not only have had Marshal Bernadotte with them, who was then at Znaim, but also the corps of Marshal Davoust, whose divisions were in echelons, on Nicolsburgh.

In fact, it was natural to suppose the combined army would not abandon the capital of Moravia without a battle. It was well known that Brunn was a fortified town, that there was much artillery, large magazines of powder, and warlike stores of all kinds in it: its possession seemed to merit an action, and it was expected. Although the arrival of General Buxhoevden was not positively known, yet spies had reported it, and all the information received as to the march of that army in Poland, and the two Galicias, rendered it so probable, that all the calculations of the French army were founded on the supposition of this junction.

The 19th November, Prince Charles had not passed Goritz; he therefore could not enter into the most remote of his receiving reinforcements near Brunn. But this very diversity of opinion, perhaps

calculation relative to the war in Moravia. The whole French army was collected, so that, if the Russian army had wished to maintain the important point of Brunn, and to defend the magazines in that place, it would two days after have been attacked by Prince Murat, by the corps of Marshals Soult, Lannes, and Davoust, and by part of that under Marshal Mortier. The Russians would have had 10,000 chosen men less than at Austerlitz, and the French 30,000 men more: and if it is asked, why, at Austerlitz, the French had not these 30,000 men more, it is, because the Emperor Napoleon, being informed that the Russian army was retiring from Wischau, and falling back on Olmutz, conjectured that the Russians were waiting for the third army under Michelson, in order to resume the offensive; or meant to take up a position under the guns of Olmutz, and so wait till Prince Charles approached nearer to the theatre of operation.

Obliged to oppose both these armies; the emperor had detached Marshal Davoust to Presbourgh, and Marshal Ney into Carinthia. The corps under these two Marshals would have supported General Marmont, and have had the corps of Marshal Mortier as their reserve; and above

rendered the movement on Olmutz necessary, because those in command did

90,000 men would have attacked Prince Charles, before he could approach the Danube: and, vice versa, if the third Russian army, under Michelson, and the combined army, under Olmutz, (which were calculated by their junction to amount to 120,000 men) should resume the offensive; whether they advanced by Kremsir, or direct upon Brunn, the calculation had been made so as to be joined in a short time, by Marshal Bernadotte, who had made two days march upon Iglau; by Marshal Davoust, one of whose divisions was only two, and the other four marches distant; and lastly, by Marshal Mortier, who would also have arrived in four marches, and who, under this supposition, would have been replaced at Vienna by one of the Generals, Marmont or Ney.

These were skilful dispositions; the object of which was, to oppose equal force to the enemy, although in reality superior in numbers to the French army.

When the Russians assumed the offensive, it was known that Michelson had not joined them. The Emperor Napoleon was of course astonished, and immediately saw how ill combined was the system of the allies. It was not till after the battle of Austerlitz, and by reports from Galicia, that not possess that decision, which can only be the result of a military eye.

The Austrian general Weyrother, had been sent into Galicia, for the purpose of

it became known that Michelson had no army; that he was only the Inspector of the two other corps; and that the Russians, after the arrival of the Grand Duke Constantine, had nothing more to receive.

As soon as he learnt the offensive movement of the Russians, the emperor recalled Marshal Bernadotte, the remainder of the corps of Marshal Davoust and General Marmont. If he gave battle at Austerlitz, without having been rejoined by the last divisions of Marshal Davoust, and those of Marshal Mortier, it was because he saw so favourable an opportunity, that he not only was persuaded he should gain the battle without these reinforcements, but even had he 30,000 men less.

The allies then did well to wait the arrival of their reinforcements before they resumed the offensive. They calculated rightly, in letting the emperor be the first to make his movements, and must have conceived the hope of afterwards gaining by it, when they should themselves come to act upon their own plans.

conducting the army of Buxhoevden through the hereditary states. He was an officer of reputation, who did not want for talent, and who had inspired the Russians with confidence. As soon as the two armies became united, he filled the situation of Quarter-master general. The court of Vienna had previously selected General Schmidt for this important trust; but that officer, a man of superior merit, and who, with a talent for the profoundest calculation, possessed that tranquil wisdom, which gives reason and deliberation in counsel; after having shewn himself, at Crems, to be worthy of the confidence that was placed in him, lost his life there, and was thus snatched from the hopes of his sovereign, and of his brother soldiers. His loss was the more sensibly felt, and the more regretted, because his successor, neither possessed his calmness, his prudence, or his firmness. The army marched, the 21st of November, from Wischau, and arrived the next day but one, in the position in front of Olmutz, whither we will follow it, for the purpose of

detailing the operations.

March of the Combined Army into the Position of Olmutz.

IT was on the 23d of November, the army arrived in this position, and was posted in rear of the village of Ollschan. Its left rested on the river March; its right extended to the heights in rear of Tobolau. In this manner it lay upon its arms, in three lines; while the Austrian corps, under Prince John de Liechtenstein, formed the reserve of the army, on the heights in rear of Schnabelin, and was principally intended to secure, in case of a check, the passage across the March. With this view, several bridges were constructed across that river, between Nimlau and Olmutz, to facilitate the opera-

tion. The ground occupied by the army in this position, offered great advantages. It was so commanding, throughout its whole extent, from the heights near Nimlau, to the right of the position, as to discover nearly a league in its front, all the enemy's movements in case of attack; while the slope of the hills in its immediate front was so gentle, as to resemble a glacis. In its rear, spacious ravines, only of sufficient depth to conceal large columns of troops from the enemy, which might unexpectedly be brought into action, facilitated the means, in this defensive position, of manœuvring offensively, under cover of the heights. Along their summit, there were commanding points, which mutually defended each other; and on which, the numerous artillery, with which this army was provided, might be employed with great success. A morass covered the right, and a part of the

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centre; the Blata ran at the foot of these heights, on which heavy batteries might have been constructed : this little stream, although insignificant in itself, became an additional obstacle, under the fire of grape. To sum up all, the ground offered the means of delaying the enemy, in his attempt to ' overcome these obstacles, and to open out. The General Bagration, with his advanced guard, was at Prosnitz. General Kienmayer, with his, upon the left, at Kralitz, pushed on detachments upon Klenowitz. The out-posts were at Predlitz. An Austrian partisan was sent along the March, on Tobitschau, Kogetein, and Kremsir, to observe that country. The French army had also sent a partisan, from Goeding on Hradisch, and Kremsir; but the latter was repulsed, and the Austrian detachments remained masters of the March. It will not escape the observation of intelligent

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military men, that this was an advantage which gave the allies the means of manœuvring by their left, while their right (which would then have rested on the March) was secured; and would have masked this movement, so as to give them, at least two days march in advance. The good understanding, at that time subsisting with Prussia, appears to have been such, as to have made it expedient for the allied army, to think of establishing a communication with the Archduke Charles. But, in determining on offensive movements, nothing appears to have been thought of, but going straight forward.

M. de Koutousoff had also sent some Austrian partisans, on his right flank, who marched upon Tribau and Zwittau, whither the Archduke Ferdinand, who was at Czaslau, had sent some parties of light troops, to keep up the chain of communication. Prince Murat arrived, on the 18th of November, at Brunn. His advanced guard, under general Sebastiani, pushed forward in the first instance, to Rausnitz, and afterwards entered Wischau, after Prince Bagration had evacuated it. The Emperor Napoleon, established himself, on the 20th November, at Brunn, and placed his army in concentrated cantonments, in the following manner:

The corps of guards, the grenadiers of the reserve, and the troops under Marshal Lannes, in Brunn and its vicinity. The cavalry under Prince Murat, on the right and left of the great road, between Brunn and Posorsitz. Marshal Soult, at Austerlitz; and the three divisions, of which his army was composed, were divided, between that place, Butschowitz, Neuwieslitz, Stanitz, and the road to Hungary. At Gaja, was a strong detachment, which kept open the communication with that which observed the river March, in order to secure the right of the army.*

* Note by a French officer.—This disposition, of which the Austrian officer makes mention, and which is accurate, shews that the emperor had foreseen, that the enemy might manœuvre on the line of operation from Olmutz, along the March; in this case, the Russian army must pass at Shadish, whence it was farther distant than Marshal Soult, who had some infantry at Gaja, and detachments of cavalry, observing all the route, necessary to this movement.

Whenever the enemy's movement had been known, they would have been allowed to advance. The corps of Marshals Mortier and Davoust, would have been at Goeding, and the enemy would have had 30,000 men to contend with more than at Austerlitz.

In all the enemy's manœuvres upon Vienna, he moved upon the wings of the French army, which, by calling in all its detachments, concentrated itself, and opposed its whole force to that of the enemy.

It is more particularly in discussing, what it was possible for the enemy to have done, that we are conThe 25th November, the Grand Duke Constantine arrived at Olmutz, with the corps of guards, of which he had the command. After a long and forced march from St. Petersburgh, this fine body of men was in the best order.

This corps was composed of ten battalions, and eighteen squadrons, the whole amounting to 10,000 men; of whom, however, there were only 8,500 under arms. At this moment, the army under M. de Koutousoff may be computed to have amounted, in all, to above 80,000 men, as will be seen hereafter, in detail.

vinced of the science, and deep calculation shewn by the emperor, in a country so new, and so little known. We see that all his dispositions, even those which appeared to be the most trivial, and to have had no other object in view than the subsistence of the troops, were the result of premeditated design, the chances of which had been already calculated.

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A reinforcement of 10,000 men was still expected, under General Essen ; which, accordingly, arrived near Olmutz, at the moment when the allied army commenced its offensive operations. The corps of Essen was at Kremsir, the day of the battle of Austerlitz, and was of no kind of use. The army under M. de Koutousoff, was certainly stronger than the one opposed to it; but while the latter was concentrated towards a single point, and formed into masses, the former diffused its force as it advanced. It is not in numbers that the only, and, indeed, the principal strength of an army consists; but there are emergencies, and occasions, in which it is absolutely necessary to profit by that advantage; and the present was an instance of the kind. The allied army was under the necessity of advancing, for the reasons hereafter to 'be detailed. Had it commenced its movement from the day when the Grand Duke Constantine ar-

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rived with his reinforcement, forming the reserve of the centre. If, at this epoch, it had manœuvred with rapidity, and calcu-lation; if the reserve, under the Grand Duke, had been augmented by the corps under General Essen; if less importance had been attached to the resting an army, which, after some days inactivity, could no longer be fatigued; there might, perhaps, have been found means, without risking a battle, to oblige the French to abandon their position, by turning one of its flanks; which, by giving this army some uneasiness, as to its communications, would have induced it to move upon Vienna, or Bohemia. The former step would have been attended with danger. The corps of Bernadotte, which came from Iglau to reinforce the army in front of Brunn, the evening before the battle of Austerlitz, would not then have had time to make this movement, which was followed by such fatal consequences to the

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allies.* It was only by means such as these, had the allies acted with prudence and vigour, that they could have hoped to make the French fall into their combinations: combinations which should have been calmly conceived, and vigorously executed. But the Quarter-master general, it has before been mentioned, though an officer of great personal courage, had not that confidence in himself which could enable him to give advice at the head quarters, where the greatest degree of wisdom was requisite. Without regarding the difficulties thrown in his way, this officer, too easily, abandoned his own opinions, to adopt those of other people.

The astonishing rapidity with which the unfortunate events, of this disastrous war,

* Note by a French Officer.—There is here the mistake of a day. Marshal Bernadotte arrived two days before the battle of Austerlitz. succeeded each other; the excessive folly of Mack, which was only to be surpassed by his disgrace; and in which originated that succession of guilty errors, which astonished Europe, and calumniated a brave army; that folly of never anticipating a check, and of not establishing magazines in the rear, as a consequence of that presumption. To these circumstances it was owing, that the army, while in the position of Olmutz, was almost destitute of provisions. It had only been there one day, before it was obliged to have recourse to forced requisitions; a violent expedient, which, by the disorderly manner in which it was executed, had much influence on the discipline of the army, into which a spirit of licentiousness began to insinuate itself from that day forwards. In the then state of politics, the gaining time was, at that moment, nearly of equal importance with the gaining a battle: and, the instant it was decided, not to

manœuvre, it became of the highest importance to be enabled to subsist in the position of Olmutz, for the purpose of maintaining it. There still remained countries, from whence it would have been possible to draw provisions; but they were at a distance, and the convoys were obliged to make a long circuit. To this it was necessary to apply a speedy remedy. The officers of the commissariat received orders, incessantly repeated, but never sufficiently urgent, to establish convoys of provisions, with all possible dispatch, upon the different roads; but some of this department wanted both activity and inclination ; their systematic conception of things not allowing them to feel the extent of the emergency; while others experienced great embarrassment, from the detention, by the Russians, of a great part of the horses belonging to the country, which were employed in the transport of provisions, and were, in conse-

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quence, at a loss for the means of conveyance. The bread was plundered on the road, both by the detachments appointed for its escort, and by a number of marauders who followed the army. The strict discipline, that ought to have existed, was not vigourously maintained, under the pretext, that the army was starving. Relaxation of discipline is always succeeded by excesses; and the licentiousness, attendant upon it, gives full latitude to the disaffected, and to all those who have not courage to support the numerous privations attendant upon modern warfare. It was thought impossible to subsist the army in the position in front of Olmutz, and it was resolved to abandon it, for the purpose of attacking the enemy.

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Offensive Movements of the Allied Army.

WE have already seen the uncertainty in which M. de Koutousoff found himself, as to the movements and force of the enemy, at the moment when it was decided to resume the offensive. The accounts derived from the people of the country were contradictory; and the out-posts gave no information whatever. The first disposition made for the advance, was not then founded upon an exact knowledge both of the position of the enemy and the numbers to be contended with, but was solely adapted to the nature of the ground, between Olmutz and Wischau. This disposition was given to the generals, the 24th November. The 25th was the day on which it was fixed to march; but it was necessary to take two days provisions; and these provisions could not arrive till the day after. When that

day came, some of the generals had not sufficiently studied their dispositions; and thus, another day was lost. The enemy to profited by this time. The evening before the battle, as has been already mentioned, Marshal Bernadotte, as well as part of the corps of Marshal Davoust, reinforced the Emperor Napoleon. It was necessary to recal the attention to these facts, on which we shall yet have occasion still further to remark.

The 27th November, at eight o'clock in the morning, the army was put in motion, in five columns, to approach nearer the advanced guard, under Prince Bagration, who, on that day, made no movement whatever, in order that the manœuvre might be concealed from the enemy. This was done with a view to concentrating the troops, which, however, in the end, were diffused afresh. The five roads, by which the army advanced, were parallel to each other. The two right columns marched along the foot of the mountains, to the right of the causeway, and were composed of infantry only. That of the centre was on the great road to Prosnitz; the fourth to the left of this, and very little distant from it; the fifth, composed entirely of cavalry, was in sight of the fourth. In front of this last, the country was entirely open.

Here follows the detail of the march.

RIGHT WING.

The General of Infantry, Buxhoevden.

FIRST COLUMN.

Lieutenant General Wimpfen. Major Generals Muller, Sclichow, and Strick. 18 battalions of Russians. 1 company of pioneers. $2\frac{1}{2}$ squadrons of Cosacks. 8,320 men. 250 horses.

SECOND COLUMN.

Lieutenant General Langeron. Major Generals Kaminsky, Alsufieu. 18 battalions of Russians. 1 company of pioneers. 2¹/₂ squadrons of Cosacks. 11,420 men. 250 horses.

CENTRE.

The General in Chief, Koutousoff.

THIRD COLUMN.

Lieutenant General Przybyszewsky.
Major Generals Orosow, Lieders, Lewis.
24 battalions of Russians.
2 companies of reserve artillery.
13,800 men.

LEFT WING.

The Austrian Lieutenant General Prince John de Liechtenstein.

FOURTH COLUMN.

The Austrian Lieutenant General Kollowrath. The Russian Lieutenant Generals Essen and Miloradowich.

The Russian Major Generals Szepelow and Repninsky. The Austrian Major Generals Carneville, Rottermunde, and Jurezeck.

32 battalions, of which 20 were Austrians.

1 company of reserve artillery.

5 companies of pioneers.

30 squadrons of Russians, of which 8 were Cosacks. 22,400 men. 3000 horses.

FIFTH COLUMN.

The Austrian Lieutenant General Prince Hohenlohe. The Russian Lieutenant General Ouwarow. The Austrian Major Generals Stutterheim, Weber, and Caramelli.

The Russian Major General Piritzky. 70 squadrons, of which 40 were Austrian, but very weak.

> 2' companies of light artillery, 4600 horses.

THE RESERVE.

The Grand Duke Constantine. Lieutenant Generals Kollagriwoff and Malutin. Major Generals Jankewitz and Depleradowich. 10 battalions of guards, 4 companies. 18 squadrons. 8,500 men.

RECAPITULATION.

1st and 2nd c	columns,	36 bat.	20	comp.	.5	squad.	,19,740
3d	do.	24	2				13,800
4th and 5th	do.	32	8 -		10()	27,000
Reserve		10	4 -		18	}	8,500
Advanced corps under							
Prince Bag	ration	12			40	*	12,000
General Kienmayer		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			14		1,000
		14 11	6	1'	77		80 040

* 15 of these were Cosacks.

+ Note by a French officer.—It is evident that the author here diminishes the real strength of the combined army, by one-fifth

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The first column assembled at Nebotin, and marched upon Trzebschein, Blumenau, and Kobelnizeck, where it formed in two lines.

The second column assembled at Olschan, and marched upon Studnitz, Czechowitz, and Ottaslowitz, where it formed, with its right supported by the left of the first column.

The third column assembled on the high road to Prosnitz, on which it marched, and formed in line with the two right columns.

The fourth column* assembled at Ned-

* Note by the Austrian general.—The Austrian battalions, of which this column was partly composed, were extremely weak, in consequence of the new formation introduced by M. Mack, who, from three battalions to each regiment, made five: and, as before stated, they were new levies, with the exception of the regiment of Salzbourg, wriss, and marched upon Wrahowitz, and Dobrochow, where it formed, and established its communication with the centre column.

'The fifth column assembled at Schabelin, and marched upon Kralitz, and Brzesowitz, where it formed in two lines.

This last column, not being covered by the out-posts on the left, had an advanced guard of its own, commanded by General

and the frontier troops. This corps of infantry was composed as follows:

1	2
1	0

2 bat. 1st reg. of Szeckler. 1 bat. reg. of Lindenau.

2 do. 2	2d do.	1
1 do. I	Brooder	1 Beaulieu.
6 do. 5	Salzbourg.	1 Wurtembourg.
1 do. 4	Auersperg.	1 ——— Reuss. Graitz.
1 do. I	Kaunitz.	1 Czartorisky.
	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 Kaiser. ";
	Prot	

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Stutterheim, which communicated with the detachments observing the river March.

The army advanced with much precaution, because it was ignorant of the enemy's movements. It had orders to refuse the left, and to allow the right, which moved along the mountains, to gain ground, in order to turn the enemy's left, in case of meeting with it. The corps under the Grand Duke marched upon Prosnitz, (where the two emperors and the head-quarters were established) and formed the reserve. After four hours march, the army arrived on its different points of formation without any obstacle.

Information was received that the enemy had made no movement whatever, and that his advanced guard at Wischau had neither been reinforced or diminished. Preparations were in consequence made for its attack the next morning, and Prince Bagration received orders to put it in execu-

tion. The army was to follow, in the same order as before, the route that should be opened for it by this general. On the 28th, at day-break, Prince Bagration put his corps in motion, in three columns; that of the centre remained on the causeway; the two others, on the right and left, turned the town of Wischau; in which the enemy had a regiment of hussars, and one of chasseurs. Two other regiments of cavalry were posted in reserve, in rear of the town; while General Sebastiani was at Huluboschan with a regiment of dragoons. As soon as the Russians, with the cavalry under General Kienmayer (composed of the hussars of Szechler and Hesse Hombourg) on their left, appeared before Wischau, and on the heights of Brindlitz, the French cavalry, with the exception of about 100 men, precipitately abandoned the

The Adjutant General Dolgorucky, took

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town.

possession of the town with two Battalions of Infantry, and made four officers and 100 men prisoners. The Enemy's Cavalry received considerable reinforcements in retiring upon Rausnitz, where was a strong Reserve. In the first instance, they were pursued by four squadrons of Russian Hussars, and two of Cosacks; but afterwards all the cavalry under Prince Bagration, reinforced by that of the fourth column, under the command of Lieutenant General Essen, (under whose orders were placed ten squadrons of Hulans, five of Cuirassiers, five of Dragoons, and eight of Cosacks) passed through Wischau, to support the attack of the advanced guard. To cover his right during this movement, Prince Bagration had received orders to send a regiment of chasseurs, and one of cavalry, to the right of Drissitz by Bustomirz and Dietitz, upon Habrowan. This general prosecuted his march as far as the

heights of Rausnitz, where he took up his position. The enemy was still master of this little town, and began to cannonade; but the Russian artillery, which was more numerous, soon silenced the fire. In the evening, two Russian Battalions took possession of Rausnitz, in front of which were placed the out-posts.

M. de Kienmayer, who, with his cavalry, had supported the Russian advanced guard on the left, took his direction upon Drasowitz, and there established his communication with Prince Bagration.

The army, on the 28th, moved, as before, in five columns, and followed up the movement of the advanced guard, in the following manner:

The first column, from Kobelnizech, by Ratzlawitz, upon Lutsch, where it took up its position, posting six Battalions of Infantry and Chasseurs, in the wood between Nemajam and Pistomirtz.

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The second column, from Ottaslowitz, by Dietitz, upon Nosalowitz, where it formed in second line.

The third column, marched as before, along the causeway, to beyond Noska: one brigade was posted in the first, and the two others in second line.

The fourth column, from Dobrochow, by Krziczanowitz, and Brindlitz, upon the heights of Noska, where two regiments* formed in first line; and the two others in second line. The Austrian infantry attached to this column was formed in two lines, on the left of the Russians.

The fifth column, from Brzesowitz, by Ewanowitz, upon Topolan: its advanced guard marched upon Kutscherau, and communicated with that at Drasowitz.

Upon these movements of the allies, the

* I am inclined to think the word, regiment has here been, inadvertently, substituted for brigade. Translator. French quitted their cantonments. By a signal made from Austerlitz, Marshal Soult collected his corps there, which evacuated the villages it had before occupied.

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The allies flattered themselves that the enemy would not risk the fate of a battle in front of Brunn. After the 28th, this hope became the prevailing opinion at head quarters. Then, instead of hastening their movements, they wished to manœuvre, at a period, when too much had been risked, to enable them to avoid a decisive action ; if, contrary to the opinion of those who thought the French would not fight, they still persisted in not retiring.

We have, hitherto, seen M. de Koutousoff advancing his right, and refusing his left, with the view of turning the enemy's flank by the mountains; for which purpose he had disposed the greater part of his infantry on the right wing. At Wischau this disposition was changed. He wished to manœuvre on the right of the enemy. A march to the left was undertaken, which both lost time, and the ground that might have been gained to the front. The 29th November, the combined army moved from Lultsch, and the heights of Noska, upon those of Huluboschan and Kutscherau. It was not till the 1st December that Marshals Bernadotte and Davoust joined the Emperor Napoleon 3 and, on the 29th, M. de Koutousoff might have been at Austerlitz. After having passed Wischau, the allied army could no longer manœuvre with impunity, The time it then lost, in making movements, which did not lead it directly towards the enemy, while it discovered its intentions to the French army, gave it also the means of receiving such reinforcements as were within reach. A short flank movement could not answer the end proposed; while one that was longer, would

have afforded the enemy an opportunity of attacking on the march.

While the army was moving on the heights of Kutscherau, Prince Bagration pushed on his advanced posts towards Posorsitz: General Kienmayer marched upon Austerlitz, which the enemy had evacuated at ten o'clock,* on the morning of the 2,th; and General Stutterheim arrived at Butschowitz, from whence he kept up the communication by Stanitz, with a detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Scheither, who had driven the enemy's detachments from Gaja. The French army concentrated its forces, the same day, between Turas and

* Note by a French officer.—The corps under Marshal Soult had evacuated Austerlitz at three o'clock in the morning; and was posted at seven o'clock in rear of Puntowitz and Schlapanitz. There are some inaccuracies in the detail of the movements, and the partial attacks; but the narrative is generally correct, and well told,

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Brunn: it occupied the villages of Menitz, Tellnitz, Sokolnitz, Kobelnitz, and Schlapanitz, which covered its front, and placed its out-posts at Aujest, on the heights of Girshikowitz, and near Krug. The 30th November, the combined army, in consequence of its new plan, again marched to its left, in the following manner:

The first column, from Kutscherau, by Lettonitz, upon Niemschan, which was the appuy for the right; its left was at Hodiegitz, and it was disposed in two lines.

The second column, by Lettonitz, to Hodiegitz, where it formed on the left of the first column.

The third column, upon Malkowitz, by Butschowitz, and Krzisanowitz, where it was posted in reserve, in rear of the first column.

The fourth column, by Schardiska, Tschertschein, Krzizanowitz, upon Herspitz, where it formed in reserve to the second column.

The fifth column, by Neuwieslitz, followed the march of the third, and was posted in the valley, in front of Marhoefen.

The Reserve, under the Archduke Constantine, marched to Butschowitz; the advanced corps, under Prince Bagration, to Posorsitz; and pushed on its out-posts upon the causeway, and upon Krug. M. de Kienmayer remained at Austerlitz, and was reinforced by the brigade under General Stutterheim. A little affair of out-posts took place that day; the enemy was employed in reconnoitring, and a few cannon shots were ineffectually exchanged. The head-quarters of M. de Koutousoff were at Hodicgitz; those of the two Emperors at Krzizanowitz, near Austerlitz.

It is here necessary to remark, that during these offensive movements the Archduke Ferdinand had received orders to advance also, to make a diversion and occupy the enemy; and that this prince, quitting Czaslau, after having driven the Bavarians, first from Steinsdorff and afterwards from Deutschbrod, was advancing upon Iglau, where the Bavarian general, De Wrede, had the command.

On the 1st December, there was a good deal of firing, the whole of the morning, along the entire chain of out-posts. The enemy, from day-break in the morning, was continually reconnoitring along the heights in front of Pratzen and Krug. He also, for the like purpose, pushed parties from his left to beyond the high road. M. de Kienmayer's out-posts, on the left, were at Satchan: and he had a post near Menitz, a village which the French abandoned. Five Battalions of frontier troops, under Major-general Carneville, being a part of the Austrian infantry, arrived in the evening to reinforce M. de Kienmayer.

The combined army, the left of which was commanded by General Buxhoevden, and the centre by the general-in-chief, after having dined, moved forwards, in five columns, in the following manner:

The first column, under Lieutenant-General Dochtorow, composed of twenty-four Battalions of Russians, marched by its left on Herspitz, Wachan, Klein-Hostieradeck, and took up a position in two lines, on the heights where this village is situated. A regiment of Chasseurs was posted at Aujest, a village between the foot of the mountain and the lakes of Menitz.

The second column, commanded by Lieutenant-general Langeron, composed of eighteen Battalions of Russians, marched by Austerlitz, Krzenowitz, and took up a position on the heights of Pratzen; also in two lines on the right of the first column.

The third column, commanded by Lieutenant-General Przybyszewsky, composed of eighteen Battalions of Russians, marched on the right of Austerlitz, took its direction upon Pratzen, and its position on the heights, to the right of this village.

The fourth column, commanded by the Austrian Lieutenant-general Kollowrath, was composed of twelve Battalions of Russians, under Lieutenant-general Miloradowitsch, and of fifteen of Austrians, who were in the rear of this column. This latter marched by its right, near Niemschan, intersected the high road from Austerlitz to Brunn, and took post in two lines, in rear of the third column.

The fifth column, composed of cavalry, under the orders of Lieutenant-general Prince John, of Liechtenstein, was composed of eighty-two squadrons, marched by its left, and followed the direction of the third column, behind which it took post under the heights.

The corps of reserve, under the Grand

Duke Constantine, composed of ten Battalions, and eighteen squadrons of guards, passed by Austerlitz, and posted itself on the heights in front, with its left towards Krzenowitz, and its right towards the high road from Austerlitz to Brunn.

The advanced corps, under Prince Bagration, extended by its left beyond Holubitz and Blasowitz, in order to facilitate the march of the third and fourth columns upon their points of formation.

Lieutenant-general Kienmayer, as soon as the columns arrived on the heights, in front of Austerlitz and Krzenowitz, where his troops were posted, marched by Pratzen, in front of Aujest, where he arrived at nine o'clock at night: his corps was then composed of twenty-two squadrons of Austrians, ten of Cosacks, and five Battalions of Croats.

The head-quarters were at Krzenowitz. The enemy did 'not interrupt this movement, and even withdrew his out-posts as far as Tellnitz, Sokolnitz and Schlapanitz. The second column having arrived late on its point of formation, had no out-posts in its front. During the whole night there was no chain of out-posts established in front of the position occupied by the combined army.

At one moment during the night, the enemy evacuated the village of Tellnitz, in which out-posts were placed by a half squadron of Austrian light cavalry of the regiment of O'Reilly: but two hours after, the French returned in force, and posted a regiment of infantry in this village, from the division of Legrand, forming a part of the right of Marshal Soult. The out-posts on the left of the allies sent, continually, patroles during the night, to their right, in order to establish a communication with the Russian advanced posts, but could never fall in with them. This offensive movement had been made by the army in open day, and in sight of the enemy, who, from the heights of Schlapanitz, and in front of Kobelnitz, had been able to remark it at his ease. The position occupied by the allies, at the moment when they crowned the heights between Aujest, Pratzen, and Holubitz, was a strong one: The enemy, had he been well observed, would have found it difficult to advance for the purpose of attacking these heights;*

* Note by a French officer.—There is no foundation for the remark here made by the Austrian officer; since the Emperor, who intended to act upon the centre of the enemy, had an interest in remaining master of these defiles, that no obstacle might be opposed to the bringing his army into action : it was with this view he occupied the fine position of the Santon, situated in front of all the small streams : besides, the Emperor had posts upon these rivulets two days before ; and the left of the French army was between the Santon and the village of Girshikowitz, which was the rendezvous of almost the The defiles of Tellnitz, Sokolnitz, and Schlapanitz, which separated the two armies,

whole cavalry; consequently, from that moment, it was no longer necessary to pass the defiles in order to attack the heights.

This observation of the Austrian officer, only serves to mark more strongly to every French officer, who was a witness of the affair, both the prudence and military eye of their general. He made the Santon, the point of appuy, for his left flank; not because it was a fine defensive position; there were others in the rear equally good; but, because it was the key to all offensive operations. If, on the contrary, the French general had neglected the Santon, the whole of the left wing of the French army would have been prevented from resuming the offensive, unless they passed the defiles.

Eight days before the battle, the Emperor returning from Wischau, ascended the Santon, notwithstanding the extreme cold; and said to the officers about him : " Examine this position well; it will probably play a conspicuous part before two months are over our heads."

The Emperor having always had it in view, during the campaign in Moravia, not to allow his left to 'be turned, and to abandon his right; that alone would have

offered the means of delay; and the very elevated points of these heights afforded strong means of defence. Here, as in the position, in front of Olmutz, the army was posted on a curtain, behind which massive columns might be posted, ready to act offensively. Its left was secured by the lakes of Menitz and Aujest, while the right was refused. But the taking advantage of this position was never thought of, any more than the possibility of being attacked on these heights, or of finding the enemy on this side the defile. The French emperor took advantage, in a masterly manner, of the faults that were committed. He kept

been a sufficient reason for resting his left on a position not defensive, but offensive, such as was that of the Santon. The fact is, the more we discuss the plan of the campaign, the more we perceive the judgment and military eye of a master in the science of war. his troops concentrated in massive columns, ready to act according to circumstances. Marshal Bernadotte (who had joined the Emperor Napoleon the day on which the allies shewed themselves on the heights of Pratzen), had been posted in the first instance to the left of the high road. In the night the Emperor caused his corps to pass this road, and posted it in rear of the village of Girschikowitz, which was occupied in force. This corps, composed of the divisions of Rivaux and Drouet, formed the centre of the French army. Prince Murat's cavalry was in rear of Marshal Bernadotte, and on his left. Marshal Lannes formed the left wing with the divisions of Suchet and Caffarelli; this last was connected with the left of Prince Murat. The right of the army, commanded by Marshal Soult, was placed between Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz; the division of Legrand forming the extreme right, was posted between Sokolnitz and

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Tellnitz, and occupied these villages with strong detachments of Infantry. The division of Vandamme was on the left, and the division of St. Hilaire in the centre of Marshal Soult's corps.

The reserve of the army, composed of ten Battalions of the imperial guard, and of ten Battalions of General Oudinot's corps, the whole commanded by General Duroc, was near Turas. The division of Friant, belonging to the corps under Marshal Davoust, which had just arrived from Presburg, was sent to the convent of Reygern, on the Schwartza, to observe and keep the enemy in check, should he approach by the route of Auspitz. The division of General Gudin (also arrived from Presburg), with some dragoons belonging to Marshal Davoust's corps, advanced from Nickolsbourg, on the right of the French army, to keep in check the corps of M. de Merveldt, who had penetrated through Hungary to Lundenbourg. This general had with him his own regiment of Hulans, and the Emperor's hussars, much weakened by the losses they had sustained during a difficult retreat; and six Battalions of infantry, also very weak; the whole amounting to little more than 4,000 men. A detachment of O'Reilly's light cavalry, and some Cossacks, were sent to Gros-Niemschitz to observe that point.

We have now given the position of both armies, during the night between the 1st and 2nd December, which immediately preceded this ever-memorable day.

BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

THE disposition for the attack of the French army was delivered to the general officers of the Austro-Russian army, soon after midnight, on the morning of the 2nd December. But the imperfect knowledge that was possessed of their position, although scarcely out of range of the enemy's musketry, naturally made the suppositions upon which the disposition of attack was founded also very indefinite. Some move-

ments had been remarked, the evening before, on the enemy's left, but it was not known to be occasioned by the arrival of the corps under Marshal Bernadotte.* It

* Note by a French officer.—Marshal Bernadotte was never seen till the day of the battle. Two days before he had rested on his arms behind Brunn, and the following day he took post in the rear of the army, near Lattein. The French generals object in this disposition was, not only to avoid fatiguing this corps as much as possible, but also, not to pass the defile of Bellowitz; for not intending to risk an action, unless the enemy committed great errors, he had determined on retiring another day's march to the rear, if the enemy manœuvred with skill. It was not his wish to engage a general action with a superior army, if it were well posted. The victory might have been doubtful, and above all, too destructive.

It was, therefore, that the divisions repassed the defiles, each day in proportion as the enemy's plans became apparent, and the faults he was about to commit became more probable. Besides, if instead of turning the right of the French army, (which was what the French general was supposed that the French army was weakening its centre to reinforce its left. Several lines of smoke, which had also been perceived the evening before, between

rather wished) the Russians had brought on an affair among the mountains, by turning the left. The position of the head-quarters, behind Kritchen, (which was always occupied by the French) was the point, from whence, by a wheel to the left, it was the most easy to move diagonally in rear of the Santon, upon the little hills towards the left.

The movement that may have been seen on our left, was nothing else than the posting the divisions of Suchet and Caffarelli to support the Santon, because it was apprehended the enemy might, in the course of the day, attempt to get possession of that height, which was the key to the emperor's projects. He would not allow the enemy to occupy positions too near to Girshikowitz and Puntowitz, which might have prevented the army from forming. For the attack, which had been planned by the emperor, particularly depended on the rapidity with which the centre should march on the heights of Pratzen.

Turas and the lakes in rear of Sokolnitz, and Kobelnitz, and some others near Czernowitz, caused the belief that the French army had made these lakes the point of appuy for their right, and had placed a reserve in the rear. The left of the combined army outflanked the right of the French army. It was supposed, that by passing the defile of Sokolnitz, and of Kobelnitz, their right would be turned, and and that the attack might afterwards be continued in the plain, between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas, thus avoiding the defiles of Schlapanitz and Bellowitz, which, it was believed, covered the front of the enemy's position. The French army was then to be attacked by its right flank, upon which it was intended to move down large bodies of troops; this movement was to be executed with celerity and vigour; the valley between Tellnitz and Sokolnitz was to be passed with rapidity; the right of the allies (on which was the cavalry of Prince John de Liechtenstein, and the advanced corps under Prince Bagration) was to cover this movement.—The first of these generals on the plain between Krug and Schlapanitz, on each side of the causeway; and the other by protecting the cavalry, and occupying the heights situated between Dwaroschna and the Inn of Lesch, with his artillery.* For this purpose, the five columns,

* Note by a French officer.—This plan was faulty in every point of view. Supposing the emperor not to have attacked the heights of Pratzen, merely keeping possession of the Santon, and the village of Girshikowitz, he would have made an effort in the centre, when the enemy attacked him, and the left of the enemy, once arrived at the wood of Turas, was by that divided from his centre.

All this serves to prove, that many men are capable of manœuvring 15 or 20,000 men, but very few know how to derive all the possible advantage from an army of 80,000.

composed as before, received orders to advance in the following manner:

1st. Column. Lieut.-general Dochtorow,

with 24 Battalions of Russians, from the heights of Hostieradeck, by Aujest, upon Tellnitz. After having passed the village and defile, the column was to move forward to the right upon the lakes, till its head became parallel with that of the 2d column.

2nd Column. Lieut.-general Langeron, with 18 Battalions of Russians, marching like the former column, by his left from the heights of Pratzen, was to force the valley between Sokolnitz and Tellnitz, and then dress by the 1st column.
3rd Column. Lieut.-general Przybyszew-

sky, with 18 Battalions of Russians, was also to move by his left, from the heights to the right of Pratzen, close by the castle of Sokolnitz; from whence the heads of the threecolumns were to move forward, between Sokolnitz and the lakes situated behind it, as far as the lakes of Kobelnitz.

4th Column. Lieut.-general Kollowrath, with 27 Battalions, 15 of which were Austrian, moving forward by his left, from the heights in rear of the 3d column, was to pass the same valley, and the lakes of Kobelnitz, and bring the head of his column parallel with that of the three former.

The advanced corps under M. Kienmayer, was to protect, with its infantry, the movements of the 1st column, so that this last was, in fact, reinforced by five Austrian Battalions, and composed altogether of 29 Battalions. The heads of these four columns of infantry were to present a large front, and four Battalions of the 1st column were to occupy the wood of Turas. The remainder, and all the other columns, were then to move forward between this wood and Schlapanitz, and to attack the right of the enemy with strong bodies of infantry, while three Battalions of the fourth column should be occupied in carrying the village of Schlapanitz.

5th Column. Lieut.-general Prince John de Liechtenstein, with 82 squadrons, was first of all to move from the foot of the hill, in rear of the 3d column, between Blasowitz and Krug, to protect the formation and march of the columns on the right, and afterwards to advance upon the plain on the right and left of the causeway, between Krug and the Inn of Lesch, as was before mentioned.

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The advanced corps, under Lieutenantgeneral Prince Bagration, consisting of twelve Battalions and forty squadrons, was to maintain its position, and gain the heights between Dwaroschna, and the Inn of Lesch, in order to place strong batteries of cannon upon them.

The corps of reserve, under the Grand Duke Constantine, consisting of ten Battalions and eighteen squadrons, was to move from the heights in front of Austerlitz to the rear of Blasowitz and Krug; he was to serve as a support to the cavalry of Prince John de Liechtenstein, and to the corps under Prince Bagration. The fortune of this day was made to depend upon the rapidity of the attack on our left, and on the driving back the enemy's right upon *his* left. It was imagined the battle would not be decisive if Prince Bagration was not enabled to oppose an obstinate resistance to the attacks the French might make upon him; and orders were given to the cavalry, under Prince John de Liechtenstein, to attack the enemy in any movement he might make, with a view to engaging this Russian general.

The cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Kienmayer, as soon as the first column should have passed the defile of Tellnitz, was destined to cover the left of the column, and to march between Turas and the Schwarza; observing well, the convent of Reygern.

It was settled in the disposition, that in case the four columns were fortunate enough to advance as far as the causeway between Lattein and Bellowitz, and to drive the enemy back into the mountains, the Wood of Turas was *still* to remain occupied by the four Battalions destined to this purpose, in order to preserve the facility of manœuvring round it, and the means of retiring, if necessary, by Kobelnitz and Puntowitz into the position of Pratzen; which retreat was, in case of the worst, to be continued as far as the position of Hodiegitz, Niemtschen, and Herspitz.

If the attack made by the left proved successful, then Prince Bagration was to move against the enemy's left, and to establish a communication with the four columns of infantry; after which it was intended to unite the army in front of the village of Lattein, between Lesch and Nennowitz. The defiles of Schalapanitz, Bellowitz and Kritschen, being thus cleared, the cavalry under Prince John de Liechtenstein was to pass them with rapidity, in order to support the infantry; and, in case of success, to pursue the enemy between Brunn and Czernowitz.

Thé general-in-chief, Koutousoff, was in the centre with the fourth column.

The general of infantry, Buxhoevden, commanded the left of the army, and marched with the first column.

Having thus given the plan of attack, concerted by the allies, we are now about to see the manner in which it was deranged, and how it happened that the faults in the conception were not compensated for by the success of the execution.

At seven o'clock in the morning the combined army was put in motion, and quitted the heights of Pratzen to advance upon its given points. Each of the four columns of infantry was perfectly in view of the enemy, who could not but perceive that the direction of their march caused considerable intervals between them, in proportion as

the heads of the columns approached the valleys of Tellnitz, Sokolnitz and Kobelnitz. The action began on the left wing of the allies. The corps of General Kienmayer, posted in front of Aujest, as before mentioned, was nearest the enemy, and destined to force the defile of Tellnitz, to open the route for the first column, which had a great circuit to make after having passed this defile, in order to arrive at the point which would bring it in a line with the second column; this made it necessary to carry the village of Tellnitz as soon as possible. Between Aujest and Tellnitz is a considerable plain, on which some squadrons of hussars were advanced, between seven and eight o'clock, to reconnoitre the enemy. On a hill, in front of the village, were posted several companies of infantry, who defended its approach, while some detachments of cavalry were on the right, having the lake of Menitz as their appuy.

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M. de Kienmayer ordered a detachment of cavalry to advance against their right, and a Battalion* of the first regiment of Szeckler infantry to attack the hill on which the French infantry was posted. The latter was reinforced, and a fire of musketry commenced, which became pretty warm. The French defended themselves with obstinacy; and the Austrians, who had been

* Many misfortunes of the allies appear to have originated in attacking with small corps where they had the power of attacking in force. It is obvious, that if one Battalion is inadequate to the service on which it is sent, it will not only suffer severely in the attempt, but that very attempt will apprize the enemy of the intention, and enable him to reinforce. Whereas, by at once attacking with numbers, all opposition is borne down, and the defence, from not being protracted, is generally less destructive to the assailants : wherever the French make an attack, it is in force; and *therefore* they usually succeed; with the additional advantage, that they are enabled by *those very numbers* to maintain themselves in what they have acquired. *Translator*.

supported by another Battalion, attacked with spirit. The hussars of Hesse Hombourg, on the right, under Major General Nostitz, and those of Szeckler on the left, under Major General Prince Maurice Liechtenstein, took post on the flanks of this infantry, to check the enemy's cavalry, (which was perceived on the farther side of the defile of Tellnitz) should it attempt to pass for the purpose of attacking these Austrian Battalions. The Hussars suffered severely from the enemy's sharp shooters, who took advantage of the ground, which all round the village was covered with vineyards, and full of ditches; but they could not succeed in keeping off the cavalry. The second Battalion of the regiment of Szeckler infantry had arrived to reinforce the first, which was attacking the hill, and which had lost more than half its strength. Twice the Austrians were repulsed; and twice they again advanced to the foot of

the hill, which it was necessary to carry, in order to arrive at the village. At length General Stutterheim succeeded in getting possession of it with these two Battalions.

The enemy's third regiment of the line, and two Battalions of sharp shooters, were in possession of Tellnitz and the vineyards round the village. These troops defended their post with valour. M. de Kienmayer ordered General Carneville to advance with the remainder of his infantry (consisting of three other Battalions) to the support of the two which were on the hill, and were fighting with great conrage. A destructive fire of musketry ensued. The village was situated in a natural entrenchment, the vineyards being surrounded by a deep ditch, of which the French kept possession : however, the Austrians succeeded at one time in penetrating as far as the village; but were again repulsed, and had some difficulty in maintaining possession of the hill they had

before carried. The regiment of Szeckler infantry fought with the greatest obstinacy; above two-thirds of them being killed or wounded. This action had already lasted above an hour, and yet the head of the first column, with which was M. de Buxhoevden, had not yet made its appearance. The French had more troops belonging to Legrand's division on the farther side of the defile; and the Austrians engaged in so unequal a contest (since they were without support), continued to make fresh efforts, which they momentarily expected would become useless. At length, M. de Buxhoevden, with the first column, appeared from Aujest, and sent a Battalion of the seventh regiment of light infantry to support the Austrians, and a brigade of Russians to form the reserve. Two Austrian Battalions, with this Battalion of light infantry, which charged the enemy with impetuosity, attacked the village, gained possession of it,

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and were followed by the remainder. The French, on the approach of such superior numbers, evacuated the defile, and drew up on the farther side in order of battle. M. de Buxhoevden, before he moved forward, waited to see the head of the second column (which was not advancing) appear in the plain, between the foot of the hills and Sokolnitz.

Towards nine o'clock the enemy received a reinforcement of 4,000 men from the corps under General Davoust. These troops arrived from the convent of Reygern; the French then taking advantage of a thick fog which suddenly darkened the whole valley, again got possession of the village, and even penetrated as far as the hill beyond it. At this moment General Nostitz made a rapid charge, with two squadrons of the hussars of Hesse Hombourg, for the purpose of checking them. The Russian light infantry, and an Austrian Battalion, which had been posted in Tellnitz, had fallen back in disorder: the

Tellnitz, had fallen back in disorder: the Russian regiment of New Ingermannland ought to have supported them; but retreated in a manner, which, combined with the fog, threw a part of the column into confusion. The charge made by the hussars had checked the French infantry, some hundreds of whom were made prisoners. The fog having dispersed, the troops again moved forwards, and the enemy abandoned the village. The first column made a deployment in several lines upon the hill, and Tellnitz was retaken. A cannonade took place; and as soon as the French entirely withdrew from this point, the defile was passed, without opposition, by the brigades of cavalry under Prince Maurice Liechtenstein and General Stutterheim, who drew up in order of battle on the farther side. Tellnitz and the defile were occupied by some Battalions

provided with artillery. The enemy then entirely abandoned the plain between Tellnitz and Turas; but he was not followed up, because the communication with the second column was not yet established. The Austrian cavalry consequently avoided the snare laid for it, by the retreat of the right of the French army. During this action, near Tellnitz, the second and third column had quitted the heights of Pratzen, and had approached towards Sokolnitz, which was occupied by two Battalions from the division of Legrand. These two Battalions opposed some resistance to the Russian light infantry as they advanced at the head of these columns. The French had placed some cannon on a hill between Sokolnitz and Kobelnitz; (the latter village was occupied by the enemy's reserve) a pretty heavy cannonade was opened upon Sokolnitz, which destroyed the village. These two Russian columns, without concerning themselves as to the fourth column, without any direct communication with it, and without being deterred by the offensive movements of the enemy, thought of nothing but the first disposition, and continued their movements upon Sokolnitz; which village they took possession of without much resistance, after a long and useless cannonade. General Muller, of the Russian light infantry, was wounded and afterwards taken prisoner beyond Sokolnitz. In passing this village, the two columns crossed upon each other, and some confusion ensued.

We must now, for an instant, leave this point, in order to see what was passing in the centre, and on the right of the allies, while the capture of the villages of Tellnitz and Sokolnitz was going forward. The Emperor of the French, who had not failed to remark the want of concert and consistency in the movements of the Austro-Russian army, and who saw that by the circuitous route the left was obliged to take, it became more distant from the centre, in proportion as it advanced, immediately put in motion the massive columns which he had kept together, with a view of marching against the centre, and by that means cutting off the wing, which still imprudently continued to advance, for the purpose of turning the French army in a position which it did not occupy. The Reserve of the French army, composed of ten Battalions of the Imperial guard, and of ten Battalions of General Oudinot's grenadiers, (who recovered from his wound, now resumed his command) remained upon the heights between Schlapanitz and Kobelnitz. This Reserve did not fire a shot during the whole battle. Marshal Soult, with the two divisions of St. Hilaire, and Vandamme (posted during the night, as we have already seen, in the valley of Kobelnitz), traversed this village and that of Puntowitz, to make an

attack upon the heights and the village of Pratzen. At the same time Marshal Bernadotte, after having crossed, by means of a bad and narrow bridge, (only a few musket shots distant from his enemy) the rivulet at the village of Girschikowitz, with the division of Rivaud on his left, and that of Drouet on his right, took his direction upon the heights of Blasowitz. The cavalry under Prince Murat formed in several lines on the left of Marshal Bernadotte, and marched between Girschikowitz and Krug. Marshal Lannes having on his right the division of Caffarelli, and on his left that of General Suchet, moved forward to the left of Prince Murat, on each side of the causeway. From that time the centre and right of the allies became engaged in all quarters. The Grand Duke Constantine was destined with the corps of guards to form the Reserve of the right, and quitted the heights in front of

Austerlitz, at the appointed hour, to occupy those of Blasowitz and Krug. He was hardly arrived on this point before he found himself in first line, and engaged with the sharp shooters of Rivaud's division, and Prince Murat's light cavalry, commanded by General Kellermann. The Grand Duke hastened to occupy the village of Blasowitz with the light infantry Battalion of the guards. At the same instant Prince John de Liechtenstein arrived with his cavalry. According to the original disposition, this Prince was to post himself on the left of Prince Bagration, to preserve the command of the plain in front of Schlapanitz. This column of cavalry, which had been posted in rear of the third column, and which was to move by its right flank, upon its point of attack, was impeded in its march by the columns of infantry, which crossed upon it as they were advancing, to

descend from the heights. Prince Liechtenstein had hastened to send, during the march, 10 squadrons, under Lieut.-general Uwarrow, to the left of Prince Bagration, to secure that general's left flank, which was opposed to a part of Prince Murat's cavalry. After the regiment of Elisabethgrod hussars had formed in order of battle, under General Uwarrow, the Grand Duke Constantine's regiment of Hulans became the head of the column of cavalry. Prince John de Liechtenstein, when he arrived on the Grand Duke's left, found the enemy in presence of the Russian guards; it was the cavalry under General Kellermann, supported by the infantry of Marshal Bernadotte's left, and of Marshal Lannes' right. Prince John de Liechtenstein immediately determined on forming his cavalry in order of battle, to charge the enemy. The Grand Duke's regiment was the first that deployed; but, carried away by the ardour

of the brave General* Essen, who commanded them; the Hulans did not await the formation of the rest of the line, and, without support, rushed forward to attack the enemy's light cavalry, which, retiring through the intervals of the infantry, was pursued with but too much impetuosity through the Battalions. The Hulans wanted to attack the French cavalry that was in second line, but, in consequence of the fire they had sustained, they reached it in disorder, and were received by it with determination. The division of Caffarelli formed a line on their right, and that of Rivaud on their left, and the Hulans, being thus placed between two fires, lost above

* Either there were two generals of this name in the Russian army, or there must be some mistake; since, in a former part of this work, General Stutterheim says, "The corps under Essen was at Kremsir on the day of the battle, and was of no sort of use."—Translator.

400 men; Lieut.-general Essen, who led them, was severely wounded, and died in consequence. The Grand Duke's regiment, which had made this brilliant charge, attacked too soon, with too much impetuosity, and became the victim of its own illplaced courage. It was put completely to the route, and in this state it reached, by its right, the corps under Prince Bagration, in rear of which it again formed. This last general had now moved forward from the post of Posorsitz, to oppose the left of Marshal Lannes, which rested on Kovalowitz; Prince Bagration had caused the villages of Krug and Holubitz to be occupied by General Ulanius, with three Battalions of light infantry.

We now come to the centre of the allied army, where the fate of this day was decided. It was too weak to resist the enemy's attacks. Abandoned by the third column,

and all the left of the army, while the division on the right flank was not sufficiently powerful to divide the French forces; the centre saw itself attacked, or menaced with attack, by four divisions, to which it could only oppose 27 very weak Battalions, without any hope of reinforcement. Those Russian regiments which had made their retreat from Braunau, formed a part of this number, and were scarcely composed of 400 men each. Without exaggeration, we may here calculate, that 12,000 men were attacked by 24,000, and while the French army was not, in fact, so numerous as that of the allies, by a more happy arrangement of their force, which was more concentrated and better directed, the enemy's strength was doubled on that point, which was of the greatest importance. The centre of the allies was perfectly insulated, which, in consequence of the distance the several

columns (the 2d and 3d excepted) were from each other, was the case, nearly, on all points.

The Emperor of Russia, with the Commander in chief, arrived at the head of the fourth column, at the moment when it was to advance. In order to give time to the columns on the left to gain ground, Lieut.general Kollowrath, who commanded the fourth column, received orders not to move till towards eight o'clock. The action, therefore, near Tellnitz, had already begun, and the left was in motion, when the centre formed, and broke into platoons from the left. The Russian infantry, under Lieut.general Miloradowich, was at the head of the column. Two of his battalions, of the regiments of Novogrod and Apscherousky, commanded by Lieut.-colonel Monachtin, with some Austrian dragoons of the Archduke John's regiment, formed the advanced

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guard of the column, and marched only a small distance in its front.

It was now near nine o'clock, and the third column had just quitted the heights of Pratzen to march, in conformity to the disposition, upon Sokolnitz: the fourth column had just arrived on the ground occupied, during the night, by General Przibischewsky, when a massive column of French infantry was suddenly descried in a bottom, in front of Pratzen. As soon as the enemy's columns were perceived, they were put in motion, at the moment when the Russian advanced guard approached the village. This massive column of the enemy was composed as follows: the right columns of the division of Vandammme; those on the left, of the division of St. Hilaire. Nevertheless, the advanced guard of the 4th column lost no time in occupying the village of Pratzen, and got possession of

a small bridge beyond it before the enemy's sharp shooters. Having passed this bridge, it posted a Battalion upon a hill to the left, in front of the village, (which was not yet left by the rear of the third column) while the other Battalion of the advanced guard occupied the village itself.

General Koutousoff, whom this movement of the enemy had taken by surprize (thinking himself the assailant, and seeing himself attacked in the midst of his combinations and his movements), felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen, against which the French were moving; they commanded every thing, and were the only security to the rear of the third column, which continued to advance and expose itself with the greatest imprudence, forgetting the enemy and every thing but the original disposition. It was the summit of the heights of Pratzen which decided the fate of

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the day. It had been the key to the position the allied army had just quitted; and, from the confused situation of the different columns their fate depended upon whoever was master of this height. As soon as the Commander-in-chief, who was at the head of the column, was informed by his advanced guard that the enemy was so near him, he gave orders for shewing him a front, and for occupying the height; at the same time he sent for some cavalry from the column under Prince John de Liechtenstein, who sent him four Russian regiments. The French directed the march of their two masses of infantry with great coolness, and at a slow pace. A third column of the enemy now made its appearance on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pass through the interval, between the fourth column, and the cavalry under Prince John de Liechtenstein. This French column was a part of the corps under Marshal Bernadotte. Upon this the

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Russian infantry, belonging to the fourth column, marched to the right of Pratzen, and sent a reinforcement to the Battalions of the advanced guard, which were already posted on the hill to be maintained; but this advanced guard, being attacked by superior numbers, abandoned it, after a very short resistance.

The action then became very warm, and it was attempted to regain the ground that had been lost by the advanced guard. The Russians made an attack ; opened their fire at too great a distance, and without much effect, while the French columns continued to advance without firing a shot ; but when at the distance of about a hundred paces, they opened a fire of musketry which became general, and very destructive. The enemy opened out his masses by degrees, formed in several lines, and marched rapidly towards the height, resting his left on the church of the village, and his right on the

most elevated point of the heights. Having reached them, he formed in an angular direction, for the purpose of opposing the rear of the third column. This was composed of the Brigade under General Kamensky, which had separated from the column, and shewed a front upon the height, menancing the right flank of Marshal Soult's corps.

It was still necessary to dislodge the enemy from the heights, of which he had obtained possession, and to prevent his establishing himself on them.

The Emperor of Russia, who, during this sanguinary conflict, had remained with his infantry of the fourth column, and who, incessantly, exposed his own person in trying to remedy the confusion, ordered his Battalions to advance, and try to take the enemy in flank. General Kollowrath received orders to check the enemy on the left, and, for that purpose, caused the Austrian Brigades, under the Generals Jurczeck and Rottermund, to advance against the heights, on which the French continued to gain ground, and extend themselves, more and more, while they followed up the Russian Battalions that had been thrown forward. The first Austrian Battalions made their attack on the enemy with coolness and intrepidity, although they were entirely composed of new levies. They fell upon a French regiment which had been the first to advance on the crest of the hill, and which was nearly surrounded. The French received the Austrians with firmness, and defended themselves with valour, notwithstanding which they were forced to retreat; but, receiving a reinforcement, they quickly regained the ground which they had lost. Two Russian regiments, belonging to the second column, the grenadiers of Fanagorisky, and the musketteers of Rhiasky, who were left in Reserve upon the height which

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the column had occupied during the night, were ordered, by the General-in-chief, to reinforce the Brigade under General Kamensky. The troops commanded by this General fought very bravely during the whole of this unfortunate battle. They came to the support of the Austrian Brigades; and this reinforcement seemed likely to re-establish the balance of power in the attack of the crest of the hill; upon which the French generals manœuvred their troops with that ability which is the result of a military eye, and of experience, taking advantage of the inequalities of ground to cover their troops from fire, and to conceal their movements. There was no other chance of turning the fate of the day but a general and desperate attack at the point of the bayonet. The Austrian Brigades, with that under General Kamensky, charged the enemy; the Russians shouting, according to their usual custom; but the French received

them with steadiness, and a well-supported fire, which made a dreadful carnage in the compact ranks of the Russians. General Miloradovich, on his side, advanced upon the right; but the Generals Berg and Repninsky being wounded, their troops had lost that confidence in themselves, without which nothing is to be done in war. The ardour of this attack soon evaporated. The superior numbers of the enemy, and his steadiness, soon changed it to a slow uncertain pace, accompanied by an ill-directed fire of musketry. Nevertheless, the example of some of their officers had at one moment the effect of inducing the left wing again to. advance with intrepidity; and, for an instant, the right wing of the French began to give way. The regiment of Saltzbourg, and the Battalion of Auersperg, fought with much courage.* Kamensky's Brigade al-

* Note by a French Officer.—It is very true, that the Austrians fought well, as asserted by the Austrian officer;

ways distinguished itself. The Austrian General, Jurczeck, was severely wounded. The enemy, well aware of the importance of this post, now in turn attacked the allies, who were without any support whatever, and absolutely abandoned by the left of the army. The fourth column now lost the heights of Pratzen, beyond the possibility of recovery, together with the greatest part of its artillery, which was entangled in the deep clay that prevails in that part of the country. The greatest possible efforts were made to repair the confusion incident to such a retreat. Meanwhile, the enemy had advanced his artillery, and vigourously plied it in cannonading the allies during their retreat, which put the finishing stroke to the disorder they were in. The Austrian part

as also that the regiment of Salzbourg particularly distinguished itself, and lost a great number of men by the bayonet. of this column had one general, six superior officers, nineteen subalterns, and 1886 soldiers killed and wounded; five officers and 470 soldiers taken prisoners. This action, upon the heights of Pratzen, lasted about two hours; after which the fate of the battle was decided. The fourth column marched upon Waschan, and repaired (as pointed out in the disposition) to the position of -Hodiegitz and Herspitz, where it collected its Battalions. The enemy, being once in possession of the heights, did not disturb this retreat, and remained near Pratzen, waiting, probably, the event of the movements on the left of the allies. After the unfortunate attack that was made by the Hulans, Lieutenant-general Prince John de Liechtenstein, with his cavalry, covered the country between Blasowitz and Pratzen. The Austrian General, Caramelli, made a charge with the Cuirassiers of the regiment of Lorraine upon the enemy's infantry,

which coming out of Girschikowitz took advantage of the vineyards between that village and Pratzen, to take the Russians in flank. This attack, in which General Caramelli had his horse shot under him, had the effect of checking the French for a moment. The Major who commanded the regiment, a Count d'Auersperg, was killed. Prince John de Liechtenstein also caused an attack to be made on the French infantry, by the regiment of Nassau, at which time the fourth column had already lost the heights of Pratzen, and was put to the route. Prince John de Liechtenstein flew to its assistance to cover the Retreat with the remains of the cavalry. This general tried to rally some Austrian Battalions, which, like the Russian infantry, were retreating in disorder, and was successful in his efforts. His horse was killed under him by a grape-shot. The cavalry continued to occupy the bottom of the heights of Pratzen, between that village and Krzenowitz, till it was night.

While the action took this turn on the heights of Pratzen, and the cavalry under Prince John de Liechtenstein attempted to make head, both to the right and left, against the enemy's infantry, and a part of Prince Murat's cavalry, in order to check, or at least retard, the success of the French. The Grand Duke, Constantine, also found himself engaged in an obstinate contest. The village of Blasowitz, which he had caused to be occupied, as we have before seen, was attacked, and carried by the corps under Marshal Bernadotte. The Grand Duke wishing to check the enemy's progress, left the commanding heights on which he was posted, and advanced in line upon the enemy's columns. A sharp fire of musketry ensued. The French sharp-shooters, who covered the columns, disputed their ground; but were at length driven in by a

charge with the bayonet, which was ordered by the Grand Duke. A sharp connonade, attended with much execution, then took place on this point. The grape-shot made a dreadful carnage; but, at the moment when the Prince approached the enemy, (who had by this time deployed into line) the cavalry of the guards, commanded by Marshal Bessieres, which had been posted in the intervals of the infantry, made a charge on the Russian line, which, being without support, was in consequence driven back, after a brave resistance.

The Grand Duke's regiment of horseguards, in order to disengage the infantry, made a charge on the enemy's flank, where it checked and routed their cavalry, and afterwards attacked the French infantry, which had advanced to support the cavalry. It was on this occasion that the regiment of horse-guards captured a French eagle belonging to a Battalion of the fourth regiment. The corps of guards being obliged to retire, succeeded, after considerable loss, in rallying and forming its Battalions on the heights which it had originally quitted; from whence it continued its movement upon Austerlitz, marching towards Krzenowitz. The enemy's cavalry again returned to the charge, but was checked by the horse-guards, and some squadrons of hussars belonging to the guards, who attacked the French with the greatest impetuosity at the very moment when they were about to charge the infantry during its retreat. The horse-guards valiantly attacked, and were closely engaged with the French horse grenadier guards, who, under the command of General Rapp, had arrived to reinforce the enemy's cavalry. From that moment the Russian guards effected their retreat upon Austerlitz, without farther molestation from the French, who remained on the heights in front of Blasowitz. Prince Repnin, a colonel of the horse-guards, was wounded and made prisoner, with some officers of the same corps. The Russian guards suffered severely, but had few taken prisoners.

While these things were passing on the left, Prince Bagration, it has been already stated, had advanced in front of Posorsitz, and had tried to occupy the heights of Dwaroschna. Lieutenant-general Uwarrow, with the cavalry under his command, was upon that Prince's left, near Holubitz; which village, as well as that of Krug, had been occupied in the manner before described; but Marshal Lannes arriving with his troops in column on Prince Bagration's left, and on the right of the cavalry under General Uwarrow, put a stop to the march of the right of the allies. In order to cover the left of the French army, and to secure its retreat in case of disaster, Marshal Lannes had posted eighteen pieces of cannon, protected by the twenty-seventh regiment of

infantry, upon the commanding height, situated between Lesch and Kowalowitz, to the left of the causeway leading to Brunn: it was the same height that was to have been occupied by Prince Bagration. This general was under the necessity of reinforcing his left (on which a heavy cannonade was opened), and of sending almost the whole of his cavalry to General Uwarrow, who, in consequence, had about thirty squadrons under his orders. The enemy succeeded, notwithstanding, in driving back General Ulanius from the villages of Krug and Holubitz, and continued to advance in column; their march being protected by a part of the cavalry under Prince Murat. This gave occasion to some fine charges on the part of both the Russian and French cavalry. General Ulanius, who commanded the cavalry with the greatest degree of intelligence and bravery, succeeded by his efforts in check-

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ing the rapid progress which the enemy would otherwise have made on the right of the allies. Prince Bagration, after having long maintained himself at Posorsitz, retired upon the heights of Rausnitz, at the moment when the Russian guards were quitting the heights in rear of Blasowitz; and, in the evening, received orders to march to Austerlitz. The high road to Wischau was in consequence left entirely uncovered, on which the chief part of the baggage of the army was afterwards captured by the enemy. Lieutenant-general Uwarrow, with the cavalry, protected this retreat; and Prince Bagration took post in rear of Austerlitz, at six o'clock in the evening, while the cavalry under Prince John de Liechtenstein still continued to occupy the heights in front of that place.

It now becomes necessary to revert to what was passing at Tellnitz and Sokolnitz. The first, second, and third columns, were left in the act of marching upon the points of attack fixed in the primary disposition, without thinking of the enemy's movements, and without having discrimination enough to give that direction to their columns, which the nature of the ground and the position of the enemy ought to have pointed out, at the very first glance. These three columns were composed of fifty-five Battalions (without including the Brigade under General Kamensky, which had not followed them), and were only opposed to the division under Legrand, not above five or six thousand strong, and to four thousand of

* Note by a French officer.—General Legrand had only one of his brigades with him; the other, commanded by General Levasseur, was posted in reserve, in front of the rivulet, and of the village of Hobesnitz, from whence it marched on the flank and rear of the enemy, when he at-

the corps under Marshal Davoust.* Had

the left of the allied army observed the enemy's movements during the battle, and reflected upon his intentions; had it taken advantage of the ground, and seized the means which it presented for again concentrating itself, in order to execute a bold manœuvre by the height on which the chapel above Aujest is situated, and which extends quite to Pratzen. Had this been done, the battle might yet have been prolonged, and at least have given a chance that the event of this day would have been less decisive. The offensive movement on the part of the French disconcerted the attack of the allies; and, from that moment, all concert ceased.

tempted to retake the heights of Pratzen; it was this unforeseen movement which greatly contributed to the defeat of that column. Levasseur's brigade fought during the remainder of the day, in conjunction with the divisions of St. Hilaire and Vandamme.

The second and third columns were left in Sokolnitz, through which the head of the latter had passed. It was also stated, that the two columns had become entangled during a thick fog that took place, and they were thrown into confusion, in this village, where they mutually embarrassed each other. At this time that part of the French which had been engaged in front of Tellnitz retired upon Sokolnitz; General Legrand having ordered that village to be turned by General Franceschi. When this took place, the centre of the allies had already been penetrated; and the French were in possession of the heights of Pratzen. The Russians who were in Sokolnitz, and those who had passed through it, when they saw themselves surrounded, immediately surrendered. Lieutenant-general Przibischewsky, who had the command of the third column, was made prisoner in the valley of Sokolnitz, together with 6,000 men,

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being a part of both columns, which likewise lost the whole of their artillery.

The relics of the second column retreated in disorder upon Aujest, and what continued embodied fell back upon the first column. This latter, informed, when too late, of the attack made by the French upon the centre, intended to move to its support; but took a wrong direction to be capable of making a diversion in its favour. The Austrian cavalry, which had been left beyond Tellnitz, retired through that village, which was now evacuated, leaving some Battalions of infantry, with a few cavalry on the hill fronting it, as a corps of observation, and to secure the march of M. de Buxhoevden, who was retiring upon Aujest, by the same route he had advanced. To protect the flank of the Russian infantry, the Szeckler hussars under Prince Maurice Liechtenstein, and O'Reilly's light cavalry, with two regiments of Cossacks, under Genneral Stutterheim, were advanced upon the plain, between the foot of the mountains and the villages of Tellnitz and Sokolnitz; General Nostitz, with the hussars of Hesse Homburg, marched with the column. The French, after their success in the centre, had already brought forward their reserve, consisting of 20 Battalions, and had extended along the crest of the heights that were occupied in the morning by the allies, from Pratzen to the chapel above Aujest, but, as yet, they were not in force, and had no cannon above that village.*

* Note by a French officer.—The first column had no longer the means of resuming the offensive. The reserve, composed of 20 Battalions of grenadiers, had reached the heights in rear of the divisions St. Hilaire and Vandamme. (The Emperor, with the cavalry belonging to the guards, was already descending from the chapel of St. Anthony.) The rear of the column was exposed to Marshal Davoust and General Legrand. Marshal Bernadotte, *alone*, had 18 If the first column of the allies, reinforced by some Battalions from the second, and at that time consisting of above 30 Battalions, had moved in full force upon these heights, and had attacked them; if, instead of passing through a defile, (the height above which was occupied by the enemy,) it had made a charge on the flank of the French, it is possible that a diversion might have been effected in favour of the centre; and a defeat in Aujest (which was to be anticipated) would at least have been avoided. In marching upon the height above Aujest, the left of the allies might, at least, give a

Battalions, not one half of which had burnt priming, and the remainder had been but little engaged.

The French would have gained the victory with 25,000 men less than they had, which is a subject of reflection for military men, and sufficiently shews the influence which the being well commanded has over the operations of war, chance in favour of the battle; while the left, being no longer liable to be put in confusion, would not have lost so many men. Even supposing it not to have succeeded in maintaining the height, still it had always a retreat open upon Scharoditz.

As soon as the column arrived in Aujest, the French rushed like a torrent down upon the village, in which a sharp fire of musketry at first took place, but which was of short duration, before they gained possession of the village. It was the division of Vandamme, which had formed the extreme right, on the heights of Pratzen, and which, in proportion as the French crowned that height, had gradually moved upon the chapel, above Aujest. The general of infantry, Buxhoevden, with a few Battalions, succeeded in passing through the village, and rejoined the army near Austerlitz; some confusion took place, and 4,000 men were taken prisoners in or about Aujest: they also

lost their artillery. Many of the fugitives betook themselves to the lake, which was frozen over, but not sufficiently so to prevent many from perishing in it. The enemy, who in the mean time had received his artillery, vigorously plied the fugitives with it, who afterwards passed through Satschan, and in the evening succeeded in regaining. the rear-guard of the army, on the heights of Neuhof. After the French had occupied Aujest, the centre and rear of the first column, which was so very strong, fell back under the orders of Lieut.-general Dochtorow, upon the plain between Tellnitz and the lake. This infantry was collected, but not in good order. Lieut.-general Dochtorow succeeded for a moment in re-establishing order, after which he considered only how to effect his retreat. This was very difficult in the execution, and could only be effected across a very narrow dike between the lakes, on which it was not possible to

march more than two men in front. There was also reason to apprehend that the French passing by Aujest and Satschan, round the lake, would thus cut off the dike, the only retreat now left to the Russians, which would have made it impossible to save this last wreck of the left wing of the allied army. Lieut.-general Kienmayer, with the hussars of Hesse Hombourg, was sent over in advance, for the purpose of securing this retreat, and posted himself upon the heights between Satschan and Ottnitz, in order to observe this point. Meanwhile, the Austrian cavalry continued to support General Dochtorow, and for that purpose advanced into the plain, between Aujest. and Sokolnitz. The generals who commanded O'Reilly's light cavalry and the Szeckler hussars, advanced to the attack of two French regiments of dragoons, who approached from Sokolnitz, but seeing that the Russian infantry was supported, the latter

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marched by their left, upon the height near Aujest, and posted themselves at the head of the division of Vandamme. The conclusion of this battle was very remarkable, since the French troops of the right wing were turning their backs upon Austerlitz to attack the remains of the left of the allies; to do which, the French were now quitting the same heights, whence the allies had marched in the morning, to attack them. When the first column had advanced, the lake was the point of appuy to the right of the French; at this moment it was the appuy to their left, while the Russians had their right upon it.

It was now about two o'clock in the afternoon; the action was decided and finished along the rest of the line, when the division of Vandamme advanced to complete it. In rear of Tellnitz, between that village and Menitz, was a hill of considerable elevation, the right of which was on the lake. To this

hill the Russian infantry retired, still under the protection of the Austrian cavalry, which was every instant mowed down by discharges of grape-shot. The village of Tellnitz, which has already been described as surrounded by ditches, presented the means of defence, which were taken advantage of; and to give time to the rest of the column to file off, a régiment of Russian infantry, under Major General Lewis, was posted behind these ditches, where it was attacked, but defended itself with resolution. From that time, General Dochtorow continued his retreat. The cavalry occupied the hill that has been mentioned, in order to save a great part of this column, which was again in the greatest possible confusion. The French got possession of Tellnitz (in which a great many Russian stragglers were taken prisoners), and bringing the light artillery of the guards down to the edge of the lake, for the purpose of driving the Austrian cavalry from their post on the hill, they opened a fire on the flank of O'Reilly's light cavalry, and destroyed a great part of it. Yet nothing could prevent this brave regiment from continuing to cover the retreat of the Russians with the greatest intrepidity.

Colonel Degenfeldt posted his light artillery, which commanded that of the French, with so much judgment as to damp the ardour of their fire. The colonel of the Szeckler hussars was desperately wounded in the head with a grape-shot.

The Russian infantry, fatigued and exhausted, retired very slowly, and the cavalry had a long time to support their post; at length, however, this famous dike, the only remaining retreat to the wreck of the first column of the allies, and which had justly been the subject of so much uneasiness, was happily passed; still, however, the French (who occupied the hill, before in possession of the cavalry, as soon as they quitted it) continued to fire on them, with their artillery, till they were completely out of reach. Having passed the dike, the two Austrian Generals, who protected General Dochtorow's retreat, halted on the heights in front of Neuhoff, and tried to restore order in the Russian Battalions, which yet formed a corps of at least 8,000 men. It was then about four o'clock, and already began to grow dark. The retreat was then continued by Boschowitz; the troops marched the whole night, under a heavy fall of rain, which completed the destruction of the roads; the remaining artillery sunk in the sloughs, and were abandoned. The Austrian cavalry formed the rear guard, without being pursued by the French, who halted on the dike. The regiment of O'Reilly brought off its artillery.

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The French army took up the position occupied by the allied army the preceding night; the latter, after the greatest exertion on the part of the two Emperors to remedy the general confusion on the field of battle, retired in the evening completely behind Austerlitz, into the position of Hodiegitz. But the very considerable loss it had sustained in killed and wounded, and the number of those who were prisoners, or missing; more especially of the first, second, third, and fourth columns, made this army, on its arrival in rear of Austerlitz, in a very feeble state; at least, as far as regards its disposeable force. The Austrian cavalry, commanded by General Prince Hohenlohe, (who was sent to replace Prince John de Liechtenstein that same night, on the latter being charged with a mission to the Emperor Napoleon:) this cavalry, alone, had some detachments in front of Austerlitz, and formed the rear guard of the army. Thus closed this ever-memorable day.

Should any errors of detail have crept into the foregoing narrative, those military men who have been engaged in actual service will know how to make allowances for them; they will know, from experience, how difficult it is to procure exact information, as to the minute particulars of a great battle. Two persons rarely see the same object in a similar point of view. But, as to the general arrangement, the plans, and the principal movements, their execution, and their result, my pen has been strictly guided by the love of truth, an accurate knowledge of what was done, and the utmost impartiality.

It will not have escaped the observation of the experienced soldier, that it is principally to the following causes that the loss of this battle is to be attributed. To the

want of correctness in the information possessed by the allies, as to the enemy's army; to the bad plan of attack, supposing the enemy to have been entrenched in a position which he did not occupy; to the movements executed the day before the attack, and in sight of the enemy, in order to gain the right flank of the French; to the great interval between the columns when they quitted the heights of Pratzen; and to their want of communication with each other. To these causes may be attributed the first misfortunes of the Austro-Russian army. But, in spite of these capital errors, it would still have been possible to restore the fortune of the day, in favour of the allies, if the second and third columns had thought less of the primary disposition, and attended more to the enemy, who, by the boldness of his manœuvre, completely overthrew the basis on which the plan of attack was founded: or, if the first column (which possessed the means of doing so), instead of retiring by Aujest, as before mentioned, had marched to the assistance of the two former, and, together with them (or at least with what remained of them) had moved upon the heights, of which the French had as yet but a precarious possession, so long as the left of the allies was unbroken, and their extreme right, which made only feeble demonstrations, continued at Posorsitz.

No computation has been made in this work, as to the loss of the two armies, at the battle of Austerlitz. It is impossible for any one, though actually bearing a part in the action, to calculate with any degree of accuracy the number of killed and wounded on each side.

The carnage made on the 2nd December was very great. The few Austrian troops there yet remained were not collected on one point; but, as we have seen, conducted,

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themselves every where with constancy and animation. The sixth Battalions of the regiments of Wurtemberg and Reuss-Graitz were the only corps that were in confusion at the time when the fourth column was defeated. The Russians, at the commencement, fought with intrepidity, and the guards and Hulans distinguished themselves for their courage. The French infantry manœuvred with coolness and precission, fought with courage, and 'executed its bold movements with admirable concert. After having made some efforts, without effect, the Russian Battalions began to waver; confusion and, finally, complete defeat were the consequences of the imprudent conduct of the second and third columns.

The fourth column of the allies abandoned a *part* of its artillery. The first, second, and third columns, lost the *whole* of theirs, with the exception of General Kienmayer's corps, which saved its cannon. The guns were entangled in the sloughs, as before mentioned, and the Russian horses, which are more calculated for speed than for draft, could not drag them out of the deep clay, into which they had sunk. The number of the Russian prisoners may be computed at 15,000 men; while their killed and wounded must have been very considerable; in addition to which, as always happens on such occasions, they had a great number of soldiers missing.

The loss of the French army must also, necessarily, have been very considerable. The fire, at the commencement of the action, was too warmly kept up, not to have done great execution; still, however, the French force was by no means diminished in the same proportion as that of the allies. The Generals who were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners are already well known.

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THE Austro-Russian army had experienced so many difficulties in regard to its subsistence, on the line of operations it had followed previous to these offensive movements, that it was abandoned, during the retreat, in order to direct its march upon Hungary. The allies quitted the position of Hodiegitz at 12 o'clock at night, and marched upon Czeitsch, where they arrived on the morning of the third of December. The column under General Dochtorow arrived at Niskowitz, on the road to *Hungary, where it found General Kienmayer then forming the rear-guard of

* Note by a French officer.-It is too ridiculous to suppose that the Russian army, without artillery, without baggage, and without provisions, would have preferred a retreat by its flank (which exposed it to the danger of being surrounded by the French army) to that upon Olmutz: but, in the course of this day, it lost its line of operation, which was the high road to Olmutz, and nothing remained for it but to move upon Goeding; and it did not gain much by that; for, had it not been for the too great clemency of the Emperor, and the armistice, which was concluded, the remains of the Russian army would have been entirely destroyed; as may be perceived from what the Austrian officer lets fall a little farther on .--- The loss of a battle is no proof of want of talent in a general: but the loss of his artillery and baggage, of his line of operations, and his retreat, are positive evidence that he is ignorant of the art of war.

An army, so commanded, never could make head against a French army in so great and difficult a warfare. The emperor took advantage of the faults committed by the enemy, who would have committed yet greater errors had the emperor retired behind Brunn : the latter would have

This Russian column contithe allies. nued its march, for the purpose of rejoining the army at Czeitsch; but lost a considerable number of men during the night, who had straggled and lost themselves in the woods and villages. The Austrian cavalry, which had protected the retreat of these wrecks of the left wing of the combined army, and which was a part of the corps under M. de Kienmayer, halted at Niskowitz. Lieut.-General Prince Bagration was a league in rear of this Austrian corps, occupying the heights of Urschutz. Between Niskowitz and Urschutz is a large wood, under cover of which, the French had it in their power to surround and cut off the

been in greater force; and had already planned new combinations, in the course of which, the general who possessed most experience, and the greatest genius for the art of war, must naturally have taken his adversary at a disadvantage.

corps under M. de Kienmayer, which was thus too much pushed forward. He thérefore remained in this position no longer than was necessary to give time to the stragglers of the army, and to some baggage to fall back upon Urschutz, and to obtain some knowledge of the enemy's movements. As soon as the French, who had entered Austerlitz in the morning, began to advance, General Kienmayer fell back upon General Bagration, and in front of Saruschitz formed the support of that Prince's corps. A detachment of O'Reilly's light cavalry, and some Cosacks, were sent to Stanitz, to watch that road. The corps under M. de Merveldt had received orders to retire from Lunenbourg, in the direction of Goeding, to observe the country on the left, and principally the two roads of Auspitz and Nicolsbourg.

On the third of December, the French army advanced in the following manner: The cavalry, under Prince Murat, which had pushed forward detachments upon Rausnitz and Wischau (on the evening of the same day on which the battle was fought) pursued that route, and made immense booty: it advanced beyond Prosnitz, and then sent out strong detachments upon Kremsir.

Marshal Lannes at first took the same road, and then moved by his right, to gain the right of the allies by Butschowitz and Stanitz. Marshals Soult and Bernadotte, the imperial guards, and the grenadiers of the reserve, were posted on the route towards Hungary, as soon as the Emperor Napoleon had received information of the direction taken by the allied army; they advanced, however, but slowly; probably with a view to give time to the extreme right of their army to gain ground on the left of the allies.

Marshal Dayoust marched upon the left

flank of the Austro-Russian army, by the route of Nicolsbourg, (in which was the division of Gudin,) and by that of Auspitz, in which was the remainder of that corps; these two roads unite within half a league of Goeding.

Prince Bagration had placed some outposts in the wood of Urschutz. The French, about two o'clock in the afternoon, began to reconnoitre it, obtained possession of the wood, and established themselves on the skirts of it. A trifling affair ensued, which lasted about two hours, and which terminated by General Bagration maintaining his post, which, however, he evacuated that evening, retiring towards Czeitsch; General Kienmayer posted himself in his front, upon the heights of Nasedlowitz, pushing forward his out-posts in the direction of Urschutz.

The 4th of December the allied army crossed the river March, and arrived at Hollitsch, much diminished in numbers, and with very few effectives, compared with the army to which it was opposed. The Emperor Alexander took up his quarters in the castle of Hollitsch, while the Emperor of Germany remained at Czeitsch, to be ready for the interview which was about to take place with the Emperor Napoleon.

An armistice had been agreed on, to take place at day-break on the 4th December. Prince John de Liechtenstein had returned from the head-quarters of the French the evening before with this intelligence. But their advanced guard, probably from not having received timely orders on this subject, advanced to attack the fore-posts of M. de Kienmayer's corps, which remained upon the heights of Nasedlowitz. Prince Bagration then retired quite behind Czeitsch. However, this misunderstanding, and the firing consequent upon it, were soon put a stop to. A suspension of arms took place, and the space of about a league and a half was left between the out-posts of the two armies. That of the French had advanced, and taken up its position in several lines, between Damborschutz, and Saruschutz, in front of Urschutz.

It was then that the famous interview, which gave peace to the two empires, took place between the Emperor Francis II. and Napoleon; it passed at a little distance from the village of Nasedlowitz, near a mill, by the side of the high-road, and in the open air. The conversation of these two sovereigns lasted some time, when the Emperor of Germany returned to Czeitsch, which he reached in the evening, and immediately set about informing his ally of the result of the interview.—For this purpose, an Austrian general was to be sent immediately to Hollitsch; and General Savary, aid-decamp to the Emperor Napoleon, was named

by his sovereign, in the first instance to attend the Emperor Francis II. and afterwards to accompany the general that should be sent to Hollitsch. In case his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, should consent to the conditions of the armistice, General Savary was empowered to countermand the march of Marshal Davoust's corps, and was afterwards to accompany the Austrian general, to acquaint the corps of M. de Merveldt with the suspension of arms. General Stutterheim, who was with the rear-guard of the corps, near which the interview took place, was charged by his sovereign with this commission. It was twelve o'clock at night before these two generals reached Hollitsch, where they had the happiness of obtaining immediate access to the presence of the Emperor Alexander, who received them with kindness, and threw no obstacle in the way of the armistice. Upon,

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this they again departed immediately to find out the corps under M. de Merveldt, and to countermand that under Marshal Davoust: the former they fell in with at two o'clock in the morning, retiring upon Goeding. M. de Merveldt, we have already seen, was charged with the protection of the left flank of the Russian army; but the whole force under his orders did not exceed 4,600 infantry and 500 cavalry, which made it impossible for him to impede the march of the right of the French army. The two generals succeeded in falling in with Marshal Davoust at Josephsdorf, at about four o'clock in the morning. General Gudin's advanced guard was at Neudorf. According to the agreement between the Emperor Francis II. and Napoleon, all the troops remained in the exact situation in which they were found upon the cessation of hostilities being made known to them. The

following day Prince John de Liechtensten returned to Austerlitz (which was the head-quarter of the Emperor Napoleon) for the purpose of negociating the boundary to be observed by the respective armies during the continuation of the armistice which preceded the peace concluded between Austria and France.

On the 4th December, the very day on which the armistice took place, the Archduke Ferdinand, who could not be made acquainted with it, and who had received orders to advance and observe the Bavarians that remained at Iglau, after the departure of Marshal Bernadotte: on this day, that prince attacked General Wrede (to keep him in check) with some troops, the remnant of his corps; with which he succeeded in driving him from Iglau.

The Archduke Charles, obliged to retreat in consequence of the unheard of catastrophe that happened to the German army, arrived in Hungary, with his army quite entire, after having at Caldiero incapacitated the French army of Italy from doing him any mischief.

It appears, then, that wherever their generals allowed the Austrian troops to fight, they fought well; and it would be a very rash, and a very false opinion, to impute the misfortunes of the war of 1805 to them. In that, as well as in all former instances, the Austrian army distinguished itself by its courage, its devotion to the cause, its constancy in supporting unheard of privations, and by its implicit obedience. It was at Ulm that these brave troops, victims to the conduct of M. Mack, were subjected to that heart-breaking fate which was the destruction of the German army. But, at Ulm, many regiments that had not fired a single shot were obliged to surrender, in

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consequence of the operations pursued, and in pursuance of orders given by that M. Mack, who talked of *burying himself in the* ruins of Ulm; who always talked of death, yet feared to die.

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