CHAP. III. cient to state, that the important fortresses of St. Sebastian, Pampluna, Figueras, and Barcelona, fell, without resistance, into the possession of the invaders, whose force in the northern provinces continued almost hourly to increase.

> The time, however, had not yet come when Napoleon considered it prudent to throw off the mask under which his designs were veiled from the Spanish monarch. He flattered the vanity of Charles, by sending him magnificent tokens of regard, and in his letters continued to express his ardent desire for the completion of the contemplated alliance of their families. Napoleon further stated his intention of visiting the Spanish capital, where, without the intervention of diplomatic forms, all matters of difference between them might be personally arranged.

> The promised visit, however, did not take place; but Izquierdo, the confidential agent of Godov at the court of Paris, was despatched on a mission to Madrid, bearing the proposals of the Emperor to the King of Spain. These were of a character undoubtedly somewhat startling and exorbitant. Assuming his own pretensions to the

sovereignty of Portugal, to be at once exclusive CHAP.III. and undisputed, Napoleon demanded in exchange for that country the kingdoms of Gallicia, Biscay, and Navarre, in order to prevent the necessity of maintaining a military communication through the territory of Spain. It was proposed, likewise, that France should participate in the commerce of the Spanish colonies on the same terms as the mother country; and it was signified to Charles, that the time had at length arrived when it was necessary that the succession to the Spanish throne should become the subject of a final and immediate settlement. Such were the terms on which it was intimated to the King of Spain, he could alone hope to avoid the dreaded hostility of Napoleon.

Of the events in Portugal, Godov had been no uninterested spectator. He saw that his star, which had long been declining, was at length fast approaching the aphelion. In weariness of heart, he would gladly have resigned that power, whose possession had been to him one long scene, not of enjoyment but of struggle. To the principality which had been assigned him by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, as affording the only chance of honourable retirement, he still looked

CHAP. III. forward with fondly cherished anticipations. But time passed on without bringing with it the expected gratification; and at length the public declaration that the undivided sovereignty of Portugal had been assumed by Napoleon, put an end for ever to his hopes.

> Under the deepest cloud of his misfortunes, it is impossible to compassionate Godov. whole efforts of his public life had been directed towards the single object, of promoting his own personal enjoyment. Never was a more ignoble purpose more perseveringly pursued, and never was there a failure more signal and complete. Disappointed in all his endeavours to secure the permanent enjoyment of his wealth and honours, his hopes were at length narrowed to passing the remainder of his life in some obscure and tranquil retreat. He already meditated the resignation of his public offices, and was restrained only by the consciousness, that by the loss of power he would be deprived of his only safeguard from the violence of an indignant people.

Amid the wreck of his hopes in the Old World, the views of Godoy were naturally directed to the New; and still anxious to escape the perils by which he saw himself environed, he proposed to Charles to consult the tranquillity of his declin- CHAP.III. ing years by transferring the seat of sovereignty to his transatlantic dominions. Charles, exhausted by infirmity, and hopeless of relief from the assistance of Napoleon, acceded to the advice of his minister, and, with all possible secrecy, preparations were set on foot for the departure of the Court. The army of Solano was recalled from Portugal, and directed to march for Seville. Troops were stationed along the road by which

the royal travellers were to pass, and the body guards were ordered to march from Madrid to Aranjuez. These preparatory movements, however, did not pass unnoticed by the people, whose fears were strongly excited by the prospect of the departure of their sovereign. Their discontent became clamorous and obtrusive; and a proclamation of the King, in which he denied being

The indignation of the populace was still further excited, by the circulation of reports, that, notwithstanding the assurances contained in the royal proclamation, preparations were still in

influenced by any intention of quitting the kingdom, had not the effect of restoring public con-

fidence and tranquillity.

CHAP.III. progress for the evasion of the Monarch. Among those who gave currency to such intelligence was the Prince of Asturias. Relying on the protection of Napoleon, whom he considered favourable to his views, Ferdinand had openly declared his aversion to the project of emigration, and this coincidence with the national feeling, had the effect of still further increasing his popularity.

Time brought new confirmation to the suspicions of the people, and the demonstrations of public discontent became daily more violent and tumultuous. On the 17th of March, Aranjuez was Mar. 17. surrounded by a multitude of peasants from the neighbouring villages, in a state of violent excitation. In the palace they found every symptom of preparation for a journey; and goaded almost to frenzy by this proof of royal duplicity, they seized arms and shouted for vengeance on Godoy. The Life-Guards were drawn out for the defence of the palace, and the people rushed in tumultuous confusion to the house of the favour-The servants of the Infant Don Antonio and the Count de Montijo were the first to raise the cry of " Death to Godoy! The King for ever!" In a moment it was simultaneously reverberated by many thousand voices. A squadron of the Prince's Guard advanced to protect CHAP.III. their leader; and in the execution of this duty were furiously assaulted by the mob. The brother of the favourite, Don Diego de Godov, then came up with his regiment of guards, and directed them to fire on the multitude. The troops refused to obey; and uniting with the populace, struck and insulted their colonel and joined in the onset. The doors of the house were burst open, the furniture broken to pieces, and the splendid contents of the mansion subjected to unsparing havoc. In the meanwhile, Godov had escaped; the Princess de la Paz, terrified and trembling, ran out into the street; yet so little was that injured lady the object of popular aversion, that she was escorted to the palace with every demonstration of respect.

This alarming exhibition of national feeling produced the desired effect. Godoy was instantly removed from his offices of Generalis- Mar. 18. simo and High Admiral; and Charles declared his resolution of assuming personally the command of his forces, both naval and military. At Madrid events of a similar character took place. Intelligence of what was passing at Aranjuez, had no sooner reached the capital, than the cry of

CHAP.III. " Death to Godoy" was echoed through all the streets and squares of the city. Crowds assembled round the houses of the Prince of Peace, his mother, his brother, and his sister. They were attacked and plundered, the furniture was thrown into the streets and burned, and all their inmates subjected to insult and abuse. The greater part of the garrison had been withdrawn to Aranjuez; and the few remaining troops were found altogether insufficient to preserve order. The riot continued for two days, during which no restraint was attempted to be imposed on the violence of the people. Tranquillity was at length only restored by the proclamation of the King declaring the deposition of Godov.

> Notwithstanding the deposition of the favourite, the appetite of the people for vengeance was yet unsated. The simple privation of that power which he had so flagrantly abused, appeared, in their ideas of retributive justice, to be a punishment altogether inadequate to his deserts. Nothing less than the gibbet or the block would satisfy the excited craving of the populace, who thirsted for his blood. The escape of Godoy was no sooner known, than pursui was made after him in every direction. On the

morning of the 19th he was found concealed in CHAP. III. a garret at Ocana, where he had remained without food for nearly two days. The populace dragged him from his hiding-place; and he would inevitably have fallen a victim to their fury, had not the Prince of Asturias, with a body of Life-Guards appeared to his rescue. The popularity of Ferdinand saved the life of Godov; and the multitude, on receiving the promise of the Prince, that the object of their hostility should be given up to justice, quietly dispersed.

The support of Charles was at last broken. Godov, in spite of the favour of the monarch, was in the power of his enemies; and Charles, in his declining years, at length knew himself to be friendless and alone. Suffering from the united inroads of age and infirmity, he felt

> - That like a column left alone, The tottering remnant of some splendid fane, 'Scaped from the fury of the barbarous Gaul, And wasting time, which has the rest o'erthrown, Amidst his house's ruins, he remained Single, unpropped, and nodding to his fall.

In the person of Godoy, the real, though vicarious sovereign, had already been dethroned,

CHAP, III, and the crown at once fell from the brows of the shadow which had hitherto worn the semblance of a monarch. On the evening of the day following, Charles notified, in a public decree, his abdication of the throne. "The habitual infir-

Mar. 20. mities," he said, "under which he had long laboured, rendered him incapable of supporting the heavy burden of government; the enjoyment of private life, and a climate more temperate than that of Spain, had become necessary for the restoration of his health; and, in these circumstances, he had resolved on abdicating the crown in favour of his beloved son. He, therefore, by this decree of free and spontaneous abdication, made known his royal will, that the Prince of Asturias should forthwith be acknowledged and obeyed as king and natural lord of all his kingdoms and dominions."

The joy of the nation on the abdication of their monarch was extreme. Charles had long ceased to be popular, and participated largely in the odium attached to his minister. Ferdinand was the idol of the nation: and to him alone did the people look with passionate ardour of expectation for deliverance from all their perils and oppressions. Never, in times of danger and of trou-

ble, did a monarch mount the throne under CHAP. III. loftier auspices. He carried with him the affections and devotion, of a proud and generous people. The seeds of resistance to foreign tyranny had been planted in the bosom of the nation, and were ready, at a breath, to have risen into a glorious harvest of armed men, prepared to sanctify the soil that bore them, by the outpouring of patriot blood. Never was the sacred cause of liberty and justice, more deeply injured and contaminated, by the folly and apostacy of its champion.

The Council of Castile is the only body in Spain which bears even the semblance of a constitutional assembly. The princes and nobles of whom, in former ages, it was composed, held their seats by hereditary tenure, and acted in a capacity somewhat similar to that of privy council to the king. In later times, it was constituted a judicial body; and, since the disuse of the Cortes, had succeeded to many of the functions of that national assembly, while the prerogative of nominating or displacing the members at his pleasure, had been assumed by the monarch. Notwithstanding this dependance on royal favour, the Council of Castile, in character of conservator

CHAP. III. of the laws of the monarchy, resolved, with becoming dignity, to withhold their sanction from the abdication of the King, until the highest legal authority should have pronounced it valid, and consonant to constitutional usage. The new sovereign, however, was little disposed to give time for any laborious investigation of his title; and issued an ordinance, enjoining the Council, without delay, to publish the abdication of Charles. The vicinity of the French army to the capital, and the danger and unpopularity of the duty they had assumed, induced them to comply with this peremptory mandate; and the abdication of the late monarch was publicly notified by the Council of Castile, unpreceded by the constitutional formalities.

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The first edict of the Crown tended still farther to increase the popularity of Ferdinand. It contained an order both for the confiscation of the property of Godoy, and the privation of his honours; and directed that, along with his brother, and the chief instruments of his malversations. he should be brought to immediate trial. The publication of this decree was the signal of public triumph and rejoicing. Te Deum was sung in the churches; and in almost every village in the

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kingdom, effigies of the favourite were burned, CHAP. III. or trampled under foot by the populace. At Salamanca, the professors and scholars of the university gave scholastic demonstration of their joy on the downfal of the favourite, by dancing round bonfires in the market-place; and even the magnificent Botanic Garden, of which Godoy had been the founder and the patron, containing perhaps the finest collection of Exotics in Europe, was destroyed by the blind impulse of popular fury.

After his accession, Ferdinand lost no time in promoting to office and honour, all those who had suffered in his cause in the affair of the Escurial. The Duke del Infantado was appointed commander of the Spanish Guards, and Governor of Castile. Don Miguel de Azanza was made Minister of Finance, and Don Gonzalo de O'-Farrel, Minister of War. Of all the counsellors of the late king, Cevallos and the Marquis Caballero alone retained their situations, and continued to enjoy the favour of the Court. The former, from motives of delicacy, arising from family connexions with the late minister, tendered his resignation to the king. This was not accepted; and Ferdinand, in a public decree,

CHAP. III. vindicated Cevallos from the suspicion of partici-

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Such were the domestic arrangements of the new monarch; with regard to the character of his foreign policy, the world were not long left in doubt. Immediately on the abdication of his father, Ferdinand had addressed a letter to the French Emperor, in which the notification of his accession to the crown was accompanied by a declaration, that the recent changes at Madrid would, in no degree, affect the political relations of his government with France; and this assurance was accompanied by an expression of his desire, to draw still closer the bonds of amity by which the two nations had been so long united. In the same communication, Ferdinand repeated his request, that the personal alliance with the family of the Emperor, of which he had long been ambitious, should be happily accomplished.

The chief command of the French armies in the Peninsula had been assumed by Murat. He was already approaching Madrid, when intelligence reached him of the commotions at Aranjuez. It is probable that both Napoleon and his commander had calculated on the departure of the Spanish Monarch before the arrival of the CHAP. III. army at the capital. The successful resistance of the people to this measure had not been foreseen; and it occasioned a considerable derangement of their schemes. It is certain that the subjugation of Spain could not have been more effectually promoted, than by the emigration of the reigning family to America. Disappointed, however, in the result thus confidently anticipated, Murat continued his advance, in order to take advantage of any political disturbances which might be made conducive to the interests of his master. On the 23d he Mar. 23. entered the capital, of which military possession was immediately taken by the troops under his command. This startling event was accompanied by assurances on the part of Murat, that the stay of his army would be of very limited duration, and that whenever public tranquillity should be restored at Madrid, it was his intention to continue his march towards Cadiz.

On the following morning Ferdinand made Mar. 24. his public entry into the capital, where he was greeted with tumultuous welcome, and received the homage of the nobility and great functionaries of the state. Of all the foreign Ambassa-

CHAP.III. dors, the French alone declined joining in any public demonstration of respect towards the new monarch, or in acknowledging his title to the Crown. The same line of conduct was adopted by Murat, and justified to the Spanish ministers by an equivocal explanation of its motives. He declared himself solely influenced by a desire to heal the divisions of the council; but likewise stated the propriety of awaiting the decision of the Emperor, before committing his government by any step which might imply an acknowledgment of the right of Ferdinand to the Crown.

> The letter of the new monarch to Napoleon was not the only communication from the parties, regarding the recent changes at Madrid. Charles likewise transmitted immediate intelligence to the Emperor of his abdication. In his letter he solicited a continuance of that protection which he had hitherto enjoyed, and expressed, like Ferdinand, his fervent hope, that the intimate alliance between the countries would continue firm and unbroken. Of the claim for protection thus doubly urged, Napoleon did not fail to take advantage. By the application of both parties, a right was apparently given to an interference in the internal government of Spain,

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too favourable to his views not to be exerted to CHAP. III. the utmost. The functionaries of France, in executing the designs of their master, assumed the tone, not of counsellors, but rulers, and exercised a paramount influence in everything connected with the internal policy of Spain. The voke of Napoleon was not easy, nor his burden light. Yet the government of Ferdinand was too unstable, and even the tenure by which he held the sceptre too precarious, to admit of his adopting any vigorous measures of resistance to the imperious dictation of a monarch, whose armies already girded his palace, and held possession of his capital.

A bolder monarch might have pursued a bolder policy. One more generous would have placed greater reliance, on the courage and devoted loyalty of his people. In the dictates of his own proud and daring spirit, in his own indignant impatience of foreign tyranny and dominion, he would have learned that the chivalrous energy of the Spanish character, though it had long slumbered, was not dead; that the voice of their monarch might yet rouse it into grand and irresistible action. A gallant people waited but for the signal to burst, by a

CHAP, III, mighty and unanimous effort, the chains of the oppressor. That signal was not given. It was not in the nature of their sovereign, either to appreciate the dictates of true wisdom, or to be influenced in his actions by generous and lofty impulses. The nation had not profited by their change of ruler. In power or elevation of intellect, Ferdinand was not superior to his father; and he possessed none of that benevolence which tended, in some measure, to redeem the weakness and the vices of Charles. Like Charles he was devoid of moral courage: but he was even more obtuse in his moral sympathies, more selfish, sensual, and not less ignorant. He bore the heart of a slave in the bosom of a monarch.

> While the French were in the capital, the Spanish government made no endeavours to resist the progressive encroachments which were gradually circumscribing both its power and independence. No effort was made by a concentration of military force to counteract their increasing ascendency in the capital. The division of Solano, which by its presence might have given confidence to the people, and have operated as a check on the measures of Murat, was ordered to

Badajos, and placed at the disposal of Junot. CHAP.III. The Spanish garrison in Madrid was trifling, when compared with the numerous army of the intruders, stationed in and around the city. The military force of Spain was dispersed in isolated divisions through the distant provinces, or cut up into petty garrisons, which could scarcely be made available to any immediate necessity of the government.

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It was not therefore from the rulers of Spain, it was not from an undisciplined and scattered army, devoid of munition, and officered by men ignorant of war in all its practical details, that any formidable opposition to his projects was anticipated by Murat. His fears were alone excited by the people. The occurrences at Aranjuez and Madrid, the enthusiastic devotion manifested by the whole nation to their new sovereign, could not but engender the conviction, that from a people thus powerfully actuated by one common sentiment of loyalty, he had yet to calculate on a fierce, strenuous, and protracted resistance to any scheme of foreign usurpation. He read in the proud independence of the national spirit, that the day of struggle was fast approaching. The horizon of Spain had been overcast, but the 1808.

March. III. stillness which pervaded her atmosphere, was yet unbroken. Murat was not deceived by this. In the unnatural hush of the elements, he beheld only an indication of the coming storm.

To intimidate the people, therefore, had now become the chief object of his policy. With this view measures were immediately taken for strengthening the position of the French army at Madrid. A large corps of infantry, with a numerous artillery, was posted on the height of Casa del Campo, in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Palace, which it commanded. Cannon were planted on all the eminences in the neighbourhood. New divisions were ordered instantly to direct their march on Madrid; and the troops were publicly reviewed, in order, by a formidable demonstration of military power, to impress the people with a conviction of the hopelessness of resistance. The command of the capital was then assumed by the intruders. By order of Murat, General Grouchy was appointed Governor, and the municipal regulations by which Madrid had hitherto been governed, were superseded by military law.

Intelligence of the occurrences at the Spanish capital no sooner reached Napoleon, than he set

out for Bayonne, in order to be nearer the scene CHAP. III. of action, and to maintain a more rapid communication with his armies. His final purpose of deposing the dynasty of the Bourbons had at length been adopted. Till now, it had probably been his intention that Ferdinand, united to his family by marriage, should have filled the throne of Spain. The Emperor well knew his intellectual weakness, his utter destitution of high and honourable principle, his timidity, and that ductile subserviency of character which adapted him for the servile instrument of a more powerful intelligence. Where could he have found a fitter or more submissive agent of vicarious tyranny than this? Why then, to dethrone a man so happily suited to his purposes, did Napoleon commit an act of perfidy incomparably greater than any by which his character had been stained, and which he could not be unconscious would be regarded throughout Europe with indignation?

To this question the answer is not difficult. It appeared necessary to Napoleon, in order to secure the subserviency of Ferdinand, that he should be dependent on his power. Had the new monarch, like his father, been an object of indifference to the nation, nay, had his assump-

CHAP. III. tion of the crown been generally unpopular, he might have found support in the armies of France. In such circumstances, it is probable, Napoleon would have seated him on the throne, and have stood forward as the champion of his right. It formed part of his policy that the Spanish nation should continue, as in the time of Charles, to be divided by parties, so nearly balanced, that the influence of France, when thrown into the scale, could give to either a decided preponderance. When he saw, therefore, that Ferdinand, weak and unworthy as he was, had become the object of a loyalty and devotion so deep and ardent, and already occupied a throne to which he had been raised by an influence altogether independent of his power, the views and policy of Napoleon were at once changed. The king who, by a single word, could rouse a nation into arms, who carried with him the full and undivided sympathies of a generous and brave people, was not the man by whom it suited his purposes that Spain should be governed. Contemptible as he might be, in all personal attributes, there was danger in the vicinity of such a neighbour. In the affections of the people, he possessed a mighty lever, by which Na-

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poleon was aware that the schemes of his am-CHAP, III. bition might at any time be overthrown. He knew it to be impossible that a sovereign, backed by an influence so powerful, could become the tame dependent on his will. Even the obedience of such a monarch would bear the character rather of voluntary compliance than of humble and enforced submission. This was not a state of things which the policy of Napoleon was directed to establish. It was indispensable to his purposes that the crown should be torn from the brows of a prince who reigned in the affections of his people; and the imperial fiat, which decreed the deposition of the Bourbons, was at length sent irrevocably forth.

It is difficult to believe that the sudden demission of the crown by Charles was altogether an independent and voluntary act. Connected with the preceding events, it certainly bore evidence of haste and compulsion. The act of abdication was unaccompanied by any future provision for the King and Queen, the place of the royal residence was not determined, and none of the stipulations, by which it is probable that such a document would be preceded, appear to have been proposed by the retiring monarch.

Napoleon was not slow in taking full advantage CHAP.III. of these suspicious circumstances. Murat was no sooner apprized of the intentions of his master than he despatched a messenger to Aranjuez, with assurances to Charles, that his cause would be supported by the arms of France. Naturally actuated by a deep sense of filial injustice, the deposed monarch instantly expressed his readiness to avail himself of the offers thus conveyed. He assured General Monthion that the revolution had been the consequence of a conspiracy: and vehemently complained that his son, in spite of his entreaty, was about to banish him to Badajos, the most unhealthy situation in the kingdom. The Queen, it was further stated, had entreated permission that their departure might, for a short time at least, be deferred, but this likewise had been refused. There is something pitiable in the bitter and helpless complaints of the aged Sovereign; and it is well they should be recorded, from the light they throw on the causes of that relentless hatred, by which Charles and the Queen appear to have been actuated towards Ferdinand, in the subsequent transactions at Bayonne.

The exile of the dethroned monarch was averted

by the intervention of Murat. Emboldened by CHAP.III. this act of favour, Charles placed in the hands of the French General, a formal protest, declaring, that the Deed of Abdication was invalid and compulsory. He likewise transmitted a letter to the Emperor, containing a statement of the facts connected with his resignation of the crown, and professing that he relied on the justice and magnanimity of Napoleon, to re-establish him in his rights.

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There was another object, however, on which the desires, both of Charles and the Queen, were even more deeply fixed than on the restoration of the Crown. From the time of the tumult at Aranjuez, the danger of Godoy seems to have haunted their imaginations like a frightful dream. They now besought Murat, with importunate solicitations, to exert his influence in behalf of this unworthy object. His only crime, they said, had been his attachment to his sovereign; and Charles, in the fulness of his heart, declared, that the death of Godoy would be but the harbinger of his own,-he could not survive him.

The intercourse thus carried on between Charles and Murat, was kept profoundly secret CHAP. III. from the government of Ferdinand. The agents

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of Napoleon had hitherto refrained from any acknowledgment of the new monarch. It was their policy to impress Ferdinand with a feeling of insecurity, and to induce him, by humiliating submissions, to court the favour and protection of France. A report was accordingly spread, that Napoleon had quitted Paris, and was already on his route to Madrid. It was notified to the French army, that the Emperor in person was about to become their leader. Ferdinand was likewise informed, that it would probably be considered by Napoleon, as an acceptable mark of respect, should the Infante, Don Carlos, be deputed to receive him on the frontier. The suggestion was immediately adopted, and the Infante, accompanied by the Duke del Infantado, set forward on the complimentary mission.

The policy of Murat was not limited to the attainment of this partial success. A still more delicate proposal was made to the Monarch. It was hinted, that if Ferdinand in person would advance from his capital for the purpose of welcoming the Emperor, a mark of consideration so distinguished could scarcely fail to influence the sentiments of Napoleon powerfully in his favour. The

suggestion of Murat was seconded by all the CHAP. III. influence of Beauharnois, the Ambassador of France; and the King was yet wavering in his resolution, when General Savary arrived in Madrid, and declared himself the bearer of a message from the Emperor.

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In his first audience of the King, the nature and extent of his mission were explained to Ferdinand. He had been deputed, he said, to convey the compliments of his master, and to express his desire to be informed whether the sentiments of Ferdinand towards France were similar to those of his father. Should his answer on this point be considered satisfactory, the Emperor was willing to cast a veil over the questionable proceedings connected with his accession to the throne, and at once to acknowledge him as King of Spain and the Indies.

Though Savary brought with him no credentials, nor was the bearer of any answer to the letter of Ferdinand notifying his accession, the terms of the communication were too gratifying not to be warmly welcomed by the Monarch. It had never been the intention of Ferdinand to separate his policy from that of CHAP.III. France, and assurances of unshaken fidelity were accordingly given to the Envoy.

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By Savary, Ferdinand was informed that Napoleon was already on his route to Madrid. He had in fact guitted Paris on the second of April. Instant preparations were accordingly made for his reception in the capital. Guards of honour were appointed to escort him in his progress; nor did it occur to the Spanish Monarch or his ministers to doubt the truth of intelligence thus apparently corroborated. The entreaties of Beauharnois and Murat, that the King should quit his capital to welcome his formidable ally, were again renewed, and at length successful. Ferdinand fell into the snare. He was assured it would be unnecessary to extend his journey beyond Burgos, where he would certainly be met by Napoleon. He accordingly set forth; and the Emperor not having yet entered the Spanish territory, Ferdinand was persuaded to extend his journey to Vittoria. On his arrival, he received a letter from Napoleon, and learned that he was still at Bayonne. The communication was in a very different spirit from what his hopes had led

Apr. 10.