

CHAP. IX. push them forward amid the dead and dying, to remove the bodies, and bring them away for interment. Even for this necessary office there was no truce, and it would have been certain death to the Aragonese who should have attempted to perform it; but the prisoners were in general secured by the pity of their own soldiers, and in this manner the evil was, in some degree, diminished.

1808.
August.

*Retreat of
the enemy.*

A council of war was held by the Spaniards on the 8th, not for the purpose which is too usual in such councils, but that their heroic resolution might be communicated with authority to the people. It was, that in those quarters of the city where the Aragonese still maintained their ground, they should continue to defend themselves with the same firmness: should the enemy at last prevail, they were then to retire over the Ebro into the suburbs, break down the bridge, and defend the suburbs till they perished. When this resolution was made public, it was received with the loudest acclamations. But in every conflict the citizens now gained ground upon the soldiers, winning it inch by inch, till the space occupied by the enemy, which on the day of their entrance was nearly half the city, was gradually reduced to about an eighth part. Meantime, intelligence of the events in other parts of Spain was received by the French, . . . all tending to dishearten them; the surrender of Dupont, the failure of Moncey before Valencia, and the news that the Junta of that province had dispatched six thousand men to join the levies in Aragon, which were destined to relieve Zaragoza. During the night of the 13th, their fire was particularly fierce and destructive; after their batteries had ceased, flames burst out in many parts of the buildings which they had won; their last act was to blow up the church of St. Engracia; the powder was placed in the subterranean church, . . . and this remarkable place, . . . this monument of fraud and of credulity, . . . the splendid theatre wherein

so many feelings of deep devotion had been excited, . . . which so many thousands had visited in faith, and from which unquestionably many had departed with their imaginations elevated, their principles ennobled, and their hearts strengthened, was laid in ruins. In the morning the French columns, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, were seen at a distance, retreating over the plain, on the road to Pamplona.

The history of a battle, however skilfully narrated, is necessarily uninteresting to all except military men ; but in the detail of a siege, when time has destroyed those considerations, which prejudice or pervert our natural sense of right and wrong, every reader sympathizes with the besieged, and nothing, even in fictitious narratives, excites so deep and animating an interest. There is not, either in the annals of ancient or of modern times, a single event recorded more worthy to be held in admiration, now and for evermore, than the siege of Zaragoza. Will it be said that this devoted people obtained for themselves, by all this heroism and all these sacrifices, nothing more than a short respite from their fate ? Woe be to the slavish heart that conceives the thought, and shame to the base tongue that gives it utterance ! They purchased for themselves an everlasting remembrance upon earth, . . . a place in the memory and love of all good men in all ages that are yet to come. They performed their duty ; they redeemed their souls from the yoke ; they left an example to their country, never to be forgotten, never to be out of mind, and sure to contribute to and hasten its deliverance.

One of the first cares of Palafox, after the delivery of the city, was, to establish a board of health to provide against the effects of putrefaction, . . . such was the number of French who were left dead in the houses and in the streets. Pamplona, whither the wreck of their army retreated, was for many days filled with carts full and horse-loads of wounded, who arrived

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faster and in greater number than they could be lodged in the hospitals and convents. It was equally shocking to humanity to behold their sufferings, and the cruel regardlessness of their comrades, who, while these wretches were fainting for want of assistance and of food, and literally dying in the streets, were exposing their booty to sale, and courting purchasers for church plate, watches, jewels, linen, and apparel, the plunder which they had collected in Navarre and Aragon; and which, in their eagerness to convert into money, they were offering at a small part of their value. There were, however, scarcely any purchasers except for the church-plate, which was bought for the purpose of restoring it, at the same cost, to the churches and monasteries from whence it had been stolen.

The temper of the Zaragozans after their victory was not less heroic than their conduct during the struggle. It might have been expected that some degree of exhaustion would have succeeded the state of excitement to which they had been wrought; and that the widowed, the childless, and they who were left destitute, would now have lamented what they had lost, or, at least, that they themselves had not perished also. This, however, was not so. Mr. Vaughan visited Zaragoza a little while after the siege, and remained there during several weeks: he saw (they are his own impressive words) “many a parent who had lost his children, and many a man reduced from competence to poverty, but he literally did not meet with one human being who uttered the slightest complaint: every feeling seemed to be swallowed up in the memory of what they had recently done, and in a just hatred of the French.” These are the effects of patriotism, aided and strengthened by religion: its influence, thus elevated and confirmed, made women and boys efficient in the time of action, and the streets of a city not less formidable to an invader, than the best constructed works of

defence. Let not the faith which animated the Aragonese be called superstition, because our Lady of the Pillar, Santiago, and St. Engracia, were its symbols. It was virtually and essentially religion in its inward life and spirit; it was the sense of what they owed equally to their forefathers and their children; the knowledge that their cause was as righteous as any for which an injured and insulted people ever rose in arms; the hope that by the blessing of God upon that cause they might succeed; the certain faith that if they fell, it was with the feeling, the motive, and the merit of martyrdom. Life or death therefore became to the Zaragozans only not indifferent, because life was useful to the cause for which they held it in trust, and were ready to lay it down: they who fell expired in triumph, and the survivors rather envied than regretted them. The living had no fears for themselves, and for the same reason they could have no sorrows for the dead. The whole greatness of our nature was called forth, . . . a power which had lain dormant, and of which the possessors themselves had not suspected the existence, till it manifested itself in the hour of trial.

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When the dead were removed, and the ruins sufficiently cleared, Ferdinand was proclaimed with all the usual solemnities; a ceremony, at other times attended with no other feeling than such as sports and festivity occasion, now made affecting by the situation of Ferdinand himself, and the scene which surrounded the spectators; walls blackened with fire, shattered with artillery, and stained with blood. The obsequies of the Spaniards who had fallen were next performed with military honours, and their funeral oration pronounced from the pulpit. The brave priest Santiago Sass was made chaplain to the commander in chief, and Palafox gave him a captain's commission. These were times when the religion of Mattathias and the Maccabees was required; and the priest of the altar was in the

August 20.

August 25.

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exercise of his duty, when defending it, sword in hand, in the field. A pension was settled upon Augustina, and the daily pay of an artilleryman. She was also to wear a small shield of honour embroidered upon the sleeve of her gown, with Zaragoza inscribed upon it. Tio Jorge was killed during the siege. Other persons, who had distinguished themselves, were rewarded; and the general reward which Palafox conferred upon the Zaragozaan people, is strongly characteristic of Spanish feeling. By his own authority, and in the name of Ferdinand, he conferred upon all the inhabitants of the city and its districts, of both sexes and of all ranks, the perpetual and irrevocable privilege of never being adjudged to any disgraceful punishment by any tribunal for any offence, except for treason or blasphemy.

CHAPTER X.

INSURRECTION IN PORTUGAL.

WHILE these events were passing in Spain, Portugal also was convulsed by this political earthquake. The first insurrection in Madrid had been no sooner known at Badajoz, than an anonymous proclamation from that city was circulated on the Portugueze border; and a lieutenant of the Walloon Guards, by name Moretti, was sent to consult at Lisbon with General Carraffa upon the means of withdrawing the Spanish troops. Carraffa thought it too hazardous to declare himself at that time; but though in other respect acting altogether in subservience to Junot, he did not make him acquainted with the transaction, and Moretti returned in safety.

Junot was now disturbed from his dreams of royalty; yet his head lay as uneasily as if it had worn a crown. Like the other French commanders, when the insurrectionary movement became general throughout Spain, he thought it impossible that any continued or formidable resistance could be opposed to the power of France: but his own situation was exposed to peculiar danger; he was farther removed from assistance than any of the other commanders in the Peninsula; there was an English squadron in sight, watching the course of events, and in defiance of all his vigilance, well informed of whatever was going on; and it was not to be doubted, that if a favourable opportunity offered, Great Britain would make an effort for the deliverance of Portugal. Pursuant to his instructions from Madrid, he had

1808.

May.

An agent sent from Badajoz to the Spaniards at Lisbon.

Neves, t. iii. 7.

Difficulties of Junot's situation.

CHAP. sent into Galicia the remains of Taranco's division, so that Car-
 X. raffa's was now the only one which remained; some 4000 of
 1808. these were at Porto, the rest were in detachments at Lisbon,
 Mafra, Santarem, and on the other side the Tagus at Setu-
 bal, Cezimbra, and other places. In the hope of exciting a
 national feeling against them, and thereby counteracting that
 sympathy which their common language, manners, and religion,
 and now a sense of their common interest, were producing
 between them and the Portuguese, rumours were spread, that
 by an arrangement made with Buonaparte, Portugal was to be
 governed by Spain till its fate should be determined at a general
 peace. But this artifice failed. The Spaniards were not to be
 deceived; from the time when they knew that Ferdinand had
 been inveigled to Bayonne, there was an end of all good under-
 standing between them and the French; and they were so ready
 to engage in personal quarrels, from the national indignation
 which possessed them, that it was found necessary to confine
 them to their quarters at an early hour in the evening. Care
 was taken to divide them into small detachments, and station
 every where with them a superior number of French. Many
 deserted, especially of those who were quartered beyond the
 Tagus. Some made their way to the Spanish frontiers in strong
 parties. The regiment of Murcia marched for Spain in a body,
 in defiance of its colonel; a detachment of 600 French was sent
 from Lisbon to intercept them; they met at Os Pegoens; this
 was a case in which individual strength and determination were
 of more avail than military discipline; the Spaniards were vic-
 torious, and proceeded on their way, receiving the utmost kind-
 ness from the people, and nearly two hundred wounded French
 were landed at Lisbon.

Neves, iii.
 67.
Observador
Portuguez,
 287.

Kellermann
takes the
command
in Alem-
Tejo.

Badajoz was the point to which the Spaniards repaired from
 Alem-Tejo and the south of Portugal, and the numbers who were

collected there made such an addition to the strength of the garrison, that General Kellermann, who was then at Elvas, felt himself ill at ease in the neighbourhood. That general had taken the command in Alem-Tejo upon Solano's departure, and so different was the spirit of his administration, that one of his first measures was by his own authority to impose an extraordinary contribution upon the exhausted province. Evora was to pay 10,000 *cruzados novos*, Elvas and Portalegre 8000 each, Villa Viçosa 6000, and other places in proportion. The sum was exacted within six hours after the demand: but it was restored without delay, in consequence of peremptory orders from Junot, when complaint was made to him of this unauthorized exaction. He was displeased with Kellermann for presuming to levy money at his own pleasure, and this was no time for exasperating the people by farther acts of oppression. Already they were in so perturbed a state, that it was deemed expedient to order all absent bishops and beneficed priests to return to their dioceses and cures, and there exert themselves in preserving order, and exhorting the people to submission. Buonaparte had reckoned upon the good services of the clergy; experience, he said, had shown him that countries where there were many friars were easily conquered; ∴ he was undeceived of both errors in the Peninsula.

In the hope of reviving old animosities, and exciting the Portugueze to act against the Spaniards, Kellermann called out the *Ordenanças*, and required the people of Elvas to take arms for the defence of their city, which, he said, the Spaniards, eternal enemies to the name and independence of Portugal, were preparing to attack from Badajoz. At the same time he sent a letter to the Spaniards of that place, exhorting them to return to their duty, and promising intercession, and pardon and protection. No answer was returned; he then put forth an argumentative address to the Commandant and the

CHAP.
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May.

*Observador
Portuguez,
p. 277.*

May 22.

*He attempts
to conciliate
the Spaniards at
Badajoz.*

June 1.

CHAP. Representatives of Extremadura, asking them what end they
 X.
 1808. could propose to themselves from the revolt in which they had
 June. blindly engaged? The House of Bourbon had renounced all its
 rights to Spain; Ferdinand was in France, and the right of ap-
 pointing a king for the Spaniards had been transferred to the
 Emperor. Did they wish to draw upon themselves the evils by
 which France had been ravaged during so many years? If that
 country had come with glory out of a struggle which would for
 ever be celebrated, it was owing to her internal strength, her
 valour, and above all the talents of that extraordinary man whom
 Heaven had sent to reign over her, for her happiness, and for
 the happiness of the Spaniards also, if they chose it. Could they
 expect a like issue? Would valour alone suffice to effect it?
 What was their position? Half Spain had declared for the new
 order of things. Their own countrymen would take the field
 against them. The French armies were in the midst of the land,
 under the greatest generals, without enemies, and abundantly
 supplied with all the means of war. On their part they had only
 some soldiers who had murdered their chiefs; a populace vain
 of their own strength, because they had met with no resistance;
 and a few miserable English, the eternal artists of discord, active
 in stirring up enemies to the French, and always ready, like
 cowards, to abandon the victims of their infernal policy. Nor
 was there any thing in the change which had taken place to pro-
 voke their opposition. At the commencement of the preceding
 century Spain had called Philip V. to the throne, for the pur-
 pose of establishing an invariable union with France. The
 establishment upon that throne of a prince of the new French
 dynasty was nothing more than a consequence of the system
 which Spain had then adopted, and which was now confirmed.
 There was yet time to choose. The sword was not yet drawn,
 the door was still open for reconciliation, .. and he requested

that they would not close the gate of their city against his communications. To this also no answer was vouchsafed. He made a third effort, telling them that he would suspend hostilities till they should be better informed, and desiring the Junta to meet him at the Caya, the little stream which there divides the kingdoms. No persons were there to meet him; and he then began to store the forts of Elvas, and to devise plans for attacking Badajoz, expecting, no doubt, that some of the troops in Spain would be ordered upon that service. Believing too that fêtes and rejoicings would have as much effect in Portugal as in France, he appointed a day of public thanksgiving for the benefits which Napoleon had promised to confer upon the Portuguese. They were not a people to be thus deceived. Their hearts were with the Spaniards, and so many repaired to Badajoz, where D. Joseph Galluzo, with great activity, was forming a camp, that they were incorporated in a legion of foreign volunteers, the command of which was given to Moretti. Many artillerymen escaped thither from Elvas; some hundred of the Portuguese troops whom the French had ordered away for foreign consumption, had been collected there; promotion was offered to all officers of that nation who should join them, and Kellermann's vigilance could not prevent the emigration which took place in consequence.

A considerable garrison was required in Elvas, as being the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and now of more importance because of the hostile attitude which the Spaniards at Badajoz had assumed. Strong garrisons were placed at Peniche and Setubal, for fear of the English. Almeida also had been occupied by the French. Except the troops in that place there were no other French in the whole north of Portugal than the small parties stationed upon the military road, a weak detachment at Figueira, and some fifty men at Coimbra. The great body

CHAP.
X.

1808.

June.

Neves, iii.
75.

*Distribu-
tion of the
French
troops in
Portugal.*

Neves, iii.
77.