

CHAP. of the money thus raised, gave the Junta of Campo-Mayor
 X. exaggerated notions of its own importance, and when tidings
 1808. arrived that a Junta of higher or equal pretensions had been
 July. formed at Estremoz, that of Campo-Mayor sent to propose a
 reciprocal alliance, as if one sovereign power were treating with
 another. But in reply a paper in the form of a decree was sent,
 declaring, that the primacy of the Junta of Estremoz should be
 acknowledged by all others in the province, because of the
 position of that place, and because it was a fortified town; that
 the members of that Junta should have the title of Highness,
 because they represented the august person of the Sovereign;
 and that there should be a subordinate Junta in every town, and
 one deputy from each sent as a representative to assist in the
 Supreme Junta of Estremoz. Obedience to this decree was
 required from Campo-Mayor, till a Supreme Junta should be
 established, as it was about to be, at Evora, whither head-
 quarters were to be removed.

Neves, iv.
 92—116.

*A Supreme
 Junta
 formed at
 Evora.*

The transfer of the supreme provincial authority to Evora was concerted by Moretti and by the Portuguese General Francisco de Paula Leite, who had refused to concur in the first hasty tumult at Villa-Viçosa, but who now, when the insurrection had become general throughout the province, felt himself bound to resume the charge with which the Prince Regent had entrusted him. The object of this transfer seems to have been a persuasion, that as Evora was the most populous city in the province, and the seat of the Archbishop, its authority would at once be acknowledged, and all disputes for precedency, which might otherwise prove so prejudicial to the common cause, would thus be terminated. This object was effected: in other respects the measure was incautious, and contrary to the judgment of the most judicious inhabitants; for when Moretti had by letter proposed it to them, they replied, that the richest city

of Alem-Tejo, lying as it did so near Elvas, ought not to declare itself, unless it could reckon upon a force of 8000 men for its defence. It was not that the will was wanting; this General Leite knew; and without farther demur, he and Moretti and Lobo, with 200 foot soldiers and 100 cavalry, entered Evora. They were received with enthusiasm; a Junta was formed under two presidents, Leite being one, and the Archbishop, D. Fr. Manoel do Cenaculo Villas Boas, the other, a man then in extreme old age, distinguished for his erudition and his exemplary virtues. Circular letters were dispatched to all the other Juntas in Alem-Tejo, requiring a recognition, and the troops which had been embodied were ordered to Evora. Before the new machine of government could be put in motion, Loison had crossed the Tagus on his way to destroy it.

Notwithstanding the contempt with which the French government, and its agents in Portugal, regarded the Portuguese, Junot knew how easily brave men might be made good soldiers, under due instruction; and he seems to have apprehended, that better officers would be found to train and command them than either Portugal or Spain at that time could supply. He apprehended that the force in Alem-Tejo would soon become strong enough not only to seize Setubal, but to occupy the heights of Almada, and render useless all the batteries on the left bank of the Tagus; while at the same time another division of their troops, acting higher up the river, would co-operate with the insurgents from Coimbra. To prevent this combination, he resolved to attack the weaker and nearer body first. For this purpose Loison had been recalled from Leiria, Solignac and Margaron were placed under his command, with 5000 men, and it was thought, that after quelling the insurgents in Alem-Tejo, he might send a supply of food to Lisbon, especially of meat, . . . victual Elvas, strike a blow against the Spaniards at Badajoz, and then, recross-

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July 20.

Neves, iv.
118—126.*Loison sent
into Alem-
Tejo.*

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 Thiebault, 156.

ing the Tagus at Santarem or Abrantes, proceed against Coimbra; operations from which, at any time, in case of need, he could speedily turn back to join the main body of the French at Lisbon. There was, in fact, so little combination among the Portugueze at this time, that the insurgents in the northern provinces, and those in Alem-Tejo, knew nothing whatever of each other's proceedings, and the first news which reached the latter of the insurrection at Porto was communicated to the people of Sines by an English frigate.

He advances against Evora.

The first tidings of Loison's movement which reached Evora were, that he had crossed the Tagus, and was in full march towards that city. No time was lost in transmitting this from Aldea Gallega; any previous intelligence had been rendered impossible by the secrecy with which the French prepared their measures. Moretti applied for reinforcements to Badajoz; orders were sent for the forces from Campo-Mayor and the other places in the north of the province, to hasten to Evora, and General Galluzo was requested to occupy the posts which would be left unprotected by their absence; but no assistance came from Badajoz, and Galluzo, instead of acting as was expected, forbade the Portugueze to leave Campo-Mayor. An advanced guard of 700 men had been stationed at Montemor o Novo, twenty miles from the city. General Leite ordered 400 men to reinforce this post. They met the corps which they had been sent to support in full retreat, the commander, not knowing that succours were on the way to him, having thought himself too weak to await * an attack. Instead of deriving confidence or hope from

* General Thiebault says, there was an action at Montemor, in which the Portugueze lost fifty men, and that Loison also took prisoners there some hundred peasants, *que les lois de la guerre condamnoient à la mort, mais qu'il se borna à desarmer et renvoya chez eux.*

the meeting, they hastened to Evora, and entered the city in alarm, exclaiming that they were betrayed. That cry, in such miserable times, is sure to be eagerly taken up. The people had been assured that the French who were coming against them did not exceed 800 men; this had been said either in a most erroneous policy, to keep up the spirits of the inhabitants, by deceiving them as to the extent of their danger; or more probably in good faith, all ranks being credulous in believing what they wished; the natural effect, when the truth now became known, was to give the populace apparent ground for believing the vague charge of treason; their tumultuous movements were with difficulty suppressed, and the Corregedor found himself so marked an object of suspicion, that, in the hope of securing himself, he secretly left the city. Order being in some degree restored, piquets of cavalry and patrols were stationed for the night. In the morning a company of Miquelets arrived from Villa-Viçosa, (that term having been borrowed from the Catalans), and the legion of Foreign Volunteers in the Spanish service, under Sargento-Mor D. Antonio Maria Gallego: both came by forced marches; the latter had left Jurumenha the preceding evening, a distance of four-and-forty miles. With these succours the whole force collected then amounted to 1770 men, of whom about half were regular troops, the others being volunteers newly-raised and undisciplined.

The city of Evora is so ancient, that fabulous history has laid its foundation more than two thousand years before the Christian era. Certain it is, that it was a flourishing city in the days of Viriatus. Sertorius chose it for his residence; some of the buildings with which he adorned it are still remaining, and the inhabitants are still supplied with water by his aqueduct, which Joam III. repaired. Cæsar made it a municipal town, and from

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126—131.*Evora.*

CHAP. him it was called Liberalitas Julia. Under the Visigoths it
 X. continued to flourish, and Sisebut coined money there. It was
 1808. recovered from the Moors in the reign of Affonso Henriquez,
 July. the first king, by the romantic enterprise of Giraldo the Fearless,
 then an outlaw. King Fernando rebuilt or repaired its walls ;
 and Cardinal Henrique founded an university and established
 an Inquisition there ; but the university had been suppressed.
 In the war of the Restoration it was besieged and taken by D.
 Juan de Austria, but it was soon recovered, and the Spaniards
 in retreating toward their own frontier suffered one of the most
 signal defeats which they sustained during that long contest.
 Its population, once amounting to 40,000, had declined to about
 half that number at the beginning of the eighteenth century ;
 since which time it had varied so little, that there had neither
 been any apparent diminution nor increase. The city was pu-
 pulous enough to have defeated the force which was now march-
 ing against it, if it had been prepared for a Zaragozan defence.
 There is courage enough for any thing in the Portugueze cha-
 racter ; but that individual and commanding genius was wanting
 by which alone the inhabitants of a large city can be made to
 act steadily with one will, and thereby capable of heroic valour.
 They prepared for a military defence in the field, which was ex-
 posing peasantry and half-disciplined troops to certain defeat.

*Action be-
 fore the city
 July 29.*

About seven in the morning the vedettes announced that the
 enemy were in sight, and the Portugueze took their ground in
 better order than might have been expected, considering the
 alarm and insubordination which had lately prevailed, and the
 real inequality of the contest. Their right rested upon the Mill
 of S. Bento, about a mile from the city, the centre was posted
 upon the Hill of S. Caetano, the left rested upon the Quinta dos
 Cucos. Having reconnoitred this position, Loison directed Ge-

neral Solignac to attack the enemy's right, and Margaron to break the centre with one part of his brigade, while the other attacked the left; they were to unite behind the city, occupy the roads to Arrayolos and Estremoz, and thus cut off the fugitives from all retreat, the cavalry being ready for pursuit upon the right and left, . . . so sure and easy a victory was anticipated. The action began about eleven. The Portugueze had four four-pounders in their right wing, one three-pounder in the centre, and two howitzers in the left; there was no want of artillerymen, and if the other troops had understood their business and performed their duty like these, the event might have been doubtful; but the cavalry could not by any exertion of their commanders be brought into action; they hung back and retired, while the infantry stood their ground. When the latter were defeated, instead of flying, as the French had expected, in all directions, they retreated into the town. The defeat, however, was thought so irreparable, that General Leite and his staff made the best of their way to Olivença, and Moretti hastened to the Archbishop, to bid him provide for saving his own life without delay, in the imminent danger which threatened it. The venerable prelate calmly told him in reply, to think of preserving his own, which might yet be useful and honourable to his country; for himself, he said, the remainder of his days, few and useless as they needs must be, did not deserve a thought. The city had five gates, three of which had been walled up; the breaches which time had made in the walls had also been closed, but the walls were old and ruinous, and the French forced their entrance at many points, and then most of the defendants took flight; . . . Moretti and the Spaniards to Jurumenha, the company from Villa-Viçosa to their own town; others dispersed; time was gained for them by the resistance which Lieutenant-Colonel Franco made at one of the gates, and the brave conduct of the foreign volun-

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Neves, iv.
132—138.
Observador
Portuguez,
382—387.
Thiebault,
158—165.

CHAP. teers under * Gallego, who fought desperately in the streets, and
 X. suffered great loss.

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*The city
 taken.*

*Inhumanity
 of the con-
 querors.*

The horrors which ensued will be remembered in Portugal while any record of past times shall be preserved there. Though even a military pretext was wanting for delivering up the city and the inhabitants to the will of the soldiers, the whole proceedings of the Portugueze and their Spanish allies having been those of regular war, to them it was abandoned. A resolution had been taken in the Junta that those persons who feared the event should provide for their safety by retiring in time; . . . from some unexplained cause, most probably from a well-grounded fear that any persons who attempted to remove would be regarded as traitors by the furious populace, few or none availed themselves of this ominous warning; when it was too late great numbers got over the walls, but the French horse surrounded the city, and showed as little mercy to the fugitives without, as the infantry did to the inhabitants within. The convents and churches afforded no asylum; not those who had borne arms alone, but children and old men, were massacred, and women were violated and slaughtered. The lowest computation makes the number of these victims amount to 900. The clergy and religioners were especial objects of vengeance: they were literally hunted from their hiding-places like wild beasts: eight-and-thirty were butchered; among them was the Bishop of Maranham.

* General Thiebault says, that after their defeat in the field the Portugueze wished to capitulate, but that the Spaniards shot those persons who by timely submission would have saved the town: whereas the fact is, that immediately after the defeat the Spaniards made the best of their way towards their own country. During the action, he says that several men dropt down dead, owing to the excessive heat, the blood gushing from their ears, nose, and mouth. He is mistaken in saying that General Leite (whom he calls Loti) fell in this action.

The Archbishop's intercession with Loison obtained only a promise that a stop should be put to these enormities; no attempt was made to restrain them that day, nor during the whole night, nor till eleven on the following morning, and then by an order of the General, what he called the lawful pillage was declared to be at an end; but he contented himself with issuing the order; no means for enforcing it were taken, and the soldiers continued their abominations till every place had been ransacked, and their worst passions had been *glutted.

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Observador
Portuguez,
387.
Neves, iv.
138—142.

* These facts are notorious in Portugal, and circumstantial accounts, too horrible to be repeated, are published of them. General Thiebault only says in his text, that there was a desperate conflict in the streets, and that "all who were found in arms were exterminated." He annexes the following note: "*Si l'on ne put de suite arrêter ces terribles représailles, si l'on ne put éviter le pillage de beaucoup de maisons, les officiers-généraux, supérieurs, et d'état-major, parvinrent du moins à faire respecter les églises, où les femmes, les vieillards, et les habitans paisibles s'étoient retirés, avec ce qu'ils avoient de plus précieux; ils firent plus, ils allèrent rassurer eux-mêmes tous ceux qui s'y trouvoient, et dès que l'ordre commença à se rétablir, ils firent escorter les femmes jusques chez elles, afin de les préserver de toute insulte.*" P. 164.

That there were some men of honour and humanity, who protected the inhabitants as far as they could, must be believed for the sake of human nature. But the Revolution and the school of Buonaparte had done all that was possible for eradicating both humanity and honour; and I affirm, on the testimony of the Portugueze, and of those British officers who have had full opportunities of ascertaining the truth, that the conduct of the French in Evora was marked with deliberate and sportive cruelty of the most flagitious kind. Concerning the conduct of the general officers, as respects their sense of honour, I happen to possess some rather curious information. Loison promised the Archbishop that his property should not be touched. After this promise, Loison himself, with some of his officers, entered the Archbishop's library, which was one of the finest in Portugal; they took down all the books, in the hope of discovering valuables behind them, they broke off the gold and silver clasps from the magnificent bindings of the rarest part of the collection, and in their disappointment at finding so little plunder, tore in pieces a whole pile of manuscripts. They took every gold and silver coin from his cabinet of medals, and every jewel and bit of the precious metals

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*Alarm at
Estremoz.*

According to the statement of the French, 8000 of the allies were killed or wounded in the battle and in the capture of the city, and 4000 made prisoners, the latter being chiefly peasants. Their own loss they stated at 90 killed, and more than 200 wounded. The intimidation of that part of the country which was within the immediate reach of the victors was such as might be expected after such a blow. At the first rumour that reached Estremoz, the populace became ungovernable; their first impulse was that of rage, which would willingly have found any victim on which to sate itself. An officer had just arrived from Portalegre; they fancied that he had prevented the coming of some regular troops, which they had looked for; an attempt was made to murder him in the hall of the Junta, whither he fled for refuge, and in the presence of the members; and there was no other means of saving him but by concealing him from the ferocious rabble. Presently a dispatch came, announcing the total defeat at Evora, the capture of the city, and the loss of every thing. Such was the temper of the people, that it was a service of the utmost danger to communicate this news; and the member who attempted to read the dispatch to them from a varanda found his life in danger, and drew back. But it was not possible either to conceal the fatal intelligence or to delay it. Estremoz would assuredly be the next object of the enemy, and Evora was only six leagues distant; if they had hitherto dreamt of defending the town, the fate of Evora was now before their eyes: they knew that even the unreasonable multitude would feel this near and imminent danger, though they would not endure to be told of it;

with which the relics were adorned, or which decorated any thing in his oratory. Loison was even seen in noon-day to take the Archbishop's episcopal ring from the table and pocket it. These circumstances are stated on the authority of the Archbishop himself.

and the members of the Junta determined to take measures for immediate submission. The melancholy manner with which they passed through the crowd confirmed the worst apprehensions of the people; and as they went along they spake each to those persons on whose prudence he could rely, telling them what had occurred, and what must now of necessity be done; thus they thought the news might pass from one to another with the least danger, and every one take such measures for himself as he deemed best. There was a cry of treason at first, when it was seen that of the three guns which had been mounted to defend the walls, one was cast into the ditch, and the other two sent off to Olivença. The Juiz de Fora became the object of suspicion, and could he have been found at that moment, would have been murdered; . . . so fickle is popular feeling, that this very man was presently sought for as the fittest person to give counsel. A meeting was held, and a messenger deputed to solicit Loison's clemency.

Loison received the messenger well, thinking that severity enough had been shown to secure the submission of Alem-Têjo. He constituted a provisional government in Evora, at the head of which the Archbishop was compelled to act, and he set off for Estremoz on the fourth day after the action. He raised no contributions there, permitted no pillage, and paid for every thing which the troops consumed; he also set at liberty some of his prisoners. But when he proceeded to Elvas he ordered two Swiss prisoners to be shot, condemned four others to work in chains for five years, threw the Spanish commander Gallego into a dungeon, and condemned the Portugueze Lieutenant-Colonel Franco to death, for bearing arms against the French. The Bishop of Elvas interceded earnestly for this officer, and finding all intercession vain, concluded by saying, if this favour were refused him, he had still one to ask, which was, that the

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Neves, iv.
145—149.*Loison proceeds to Elvas.**August 2.*