

men in the field. Lacy was at Cardona with Sarsfield's division, and some irregular forces; Colonel Green was organizing an experimental corps at Montserrat, near which place Eroles was also quartered; Rovira continued about the mountains of Olot; Juan Claros, who occupied Arenas de Mar when the French were not there, was now about the mountains of Hostalrich; Milans, Manso, and the brigand Gros, being driven from the coast line, kept the hills near Manresa; Gay and Miralles were on the Ebro. But the communication with the coast being cut off, all these chiefs were in want of provisions and stores, and the French were forming new roads along the sea line, beyond the reach of the English ship guns.

Lacy, thus debarred of all access to the coast, feeding his troops with difficulty, and having a great number of prisoners and deserters to maintain in Cardona and Busa, because Coupigny refused to receive them in the Balearic isles—Lacy, I say, disputing with the Junta and the generals, and abhorred by the people, in his spleen desired Captain Codrington to cannonade all the sea-coast towns in the possession of the French, saying he would give the inhabitants timely notice; but he did not do so, and when Codrington reluctantly opened his broadsides upon Mattaro, many of the people were slain. The Catalans complained loudly of this cruel, injudicious operation, and hating Lacy, affected Eroles more than ever, and the former sent him with a few men to his native district of Talarn, ostensibly to raise recruits, and make a diversion in Aragon, but really to deprive him of his division and reduce his power.

The distress in the Catalan army now became so great, that Sarsfield was about to force his way to the coast, and embark his division to commence a littoral warfare, when Eroles having quickly raised and armed a new division entered Aragon, whereupon Sarsfield followed him. The Baron having entered the valley of Venasque, advanced to Graus, menacing all the district between Fraga and Huesca; but those places were occupied by detachments from Bourke's brigade of the army of the Ebro, and at this moment Severoli arrived from Valencia, whereupon the Spaniards, instead of falling back upon Venasque, retired up the valley of the Isabena, to some heights above Roda, a village on the confines of Aragon.

Eroles had no more than a thousand regular infantry, three guns, and two hundred cavalry, for he had left five hundred in the valley of Venasque, and Bourke knowing this, and encouraged by the vicinity of Severoli, followed hastily from Benavarre, with about two thousand men of all arms, thinking Eroles would not stand

before him. But the latter's position, besides being very steep and rough in front, was secured on both flanks by precipices, beyond which on the hills all the partidas of the vicinity were gathered; he expected aid also from Sarsfield, and was obliged to abide a battle or lose the detachment left in the valley of Venasque. Bourke, keeping two battalions in reserve, attacked with the third, but he met with a stubborn opposition, and after a long skirmish, in which he lost a hundred and fifty men, and Eroles a hundred, was beaten, and being wounded himself, retreated to Monza, in great confusion. This combat was very honorable to Eroles, but it was exposed to doubt and ridicule, at the time, by the extravagance of his public despatch; for he affirmed that his soldiers, finding their muskets too hot, had made use of stones, and in this mixed mode of action had destroyed a thousand of the enemy!

Severoli now advanced, and Eroles, being still unsupported by Sarsfield, retired to Talarn, whereupon the Italian General returned to Aragon. Meanwhile Lacy, who had increased his forces, approached Cervera, while Sarsfield, accused by Eroles of having treacherously abandoned him, joined with Gay and Miralles, occupying the hills about Tarragona, and straitening that place for provisions. Milans and Manso, also uniting, captured a convoy at Arenas de Mar, and the English squadron intercepted several vessels going to Barcelona.

Decaen observing this fresh commotion came down from Gerona with his reserve. He relieved Tarragona on the 28th of April, and then marched with three thousand men upon Lerida; but on the way, hearing that Sarsfield was at Fuentes Rubino, near Villa Franca, he took the road of Braffin and Santa Coloma instead of Momblanch, and suddenly turning to his right defeated the Spanish General, and then continued his march by Cervera towards Lerida. Lacy in great alarm immediately abandoned Lower Catalonia, and concentrated Manso's, Milans', Green's, and Sarsfield's divisions in the mountains of Olot, and as they were reduced in numbers he reinforced them with select Somatenes, called the Companies of Preferencia. After a time however, seeing that Decaen remained near Lerida, he marched rapidly against the convent of Mattaro, with five thousand men and with good hope, for the garrison consisted of only five hundred, the works were not strong, and Captain Codrington, who had anchored off Mattaro at Lacy's desire, lent some ship guns; but his sailors were forced to drag them to the point of attack, because Lacy and Green had, in breach of their promise, neglected to provide means of transport.

The wall of the convent gave way in a few hours, but on the 5th, Lacy, hearing that Decaen was coming to succor the place, broke

up the siege and buried the English guns, without having any communication with Captain Codrington. The French found these guns and carried them into the convent, yet Lacy, to cover his misconduct, said in the official gazette, that they were safely re-embarked.

After this disreputable transaction, Manso, who alone had behaved well, retired with Milans to Vich, Lacy went to Cardona, the French sent a large convoy into Barcelona, and the men of Eroles' ancient division were, to his great discontent, turned over to Sarsfield, who took post near Molino del Rey, and remained there until the 5th of June, when a detachment from Barcelona drove him to the Campo de Tarragona. On the 14th of the same month, Milans was defeated near Vich by a detachment from the Ampurdan, and being chased for several days, suffered considerably. Lamarque followed Sarsfield into the Campo and defeated him again on the 24th, near Villa Nueva de Sitjes, and this time the Spanish General was wounded, yet made his way by Santa Coloma de Querault and Calaf to Cardona, where he rejoined Lacy. Lamarque then joined Decaen in the plains of Lerida, where all the French movable forces were now assembled with a view to gather the harvest; a vital object to both parties, but it was attained by the French.

This, with Lacy's flight from Mattaro, the several defeats of Milans and Sarsfield, and the discontent of Eroles, disturbed the whole principality; and the general disquietude was augmented by the increase of all the frauds and oppressions, which both the civil and military authorities under Lacy practised with impunity. Everywhere there was a disinclination to serve in the regular army. The Somatene argued, that while he should be an ill-used soldier, under a bad general, his family would either become the victims of French revenge or starve, because the pay of the regular troops was too scanty, were it even fairly issued, for his own subsistence; whereas, remaining at home, and keeping his arms, he could nourish his family by his labor, defend it from straggling plunderers, and at the same time always be ready to join the troops on great occasions. In some districts the people, seeing that the army could not protect them, refused to supply the partidas with food, unless upon contract not to molest the French in their vicinity. The spirit of resistance would have entirely failed, if Lord Wellington's successes at Ciudad and Badajos, and the rumor that an English army was coming to Catalonia, had not sustained the hopes of the people.

Meanwhile the partidas in the north, being aided by Popham's expedition, obliged Reille to remove to Navarre, that Caffarelli

might turn his whole attention to the side of Biscay and the *Montaña*. Decaen then received charge of the Lower as well as of the Upper Catalonia, which weakened his position; and at the same time some confusion was produced by the arrival of French prefects and councillors of state, to organize a civil administration. This measure, ostensibly to restrain military licentiousness, had probably the ultimate object of preparing Catalonia for a union with France, because the Catalans, who have peculiar customs and a dialect of their own, scarcely call themselves Spaniards. Although these events embarrassed the French army, the progress of the invasion was visible in the altered feelings of the people, whose enthusiasm was stifled by the folly and corruption with which their leaders aided the active hostility of the French.

The troops were reduced in number, distressed for provisions, and the soldiers deserted to the enemy, a thing till then unheard of in Catalonia; nay, the Junta having come down to the coast were like to have been delivered up to the French, as a peace offering. The latter passed, even singly, from one part to the other, and the people of the sea-coast towns readily trafficked with the garrison of Barcelona, when neither money nor threats could prevail on them to supply the British squadron. Claros and Milans were charged with conniving at this traffic, and of exacting money for the landing of corn, when their own people and soldiers were starving. But to such a degree was patriotism overlaid by the love of gain, that the colonial produce seized in Barcelona and other parts was sold by the enemy to French merchants, and the latter undertook both to carry it off, and pay with provisions on the spot, which they successfully executed by means of Spanish vessels, corruptly licensed for the occasion by Catalan authorities.

Meanwhile, the people generally accused the Junta of extreme indolence, and Lacy of treachery and tyranny, because of his arbitrary conduct in all things, but especially that after proclaiming a general rising, he had disarmed the *Somatenes*, and suppressed the independent bands. He had quarrelled with the British naval officers, was the avowed enemy of *Eroles*, the secret calumniator of *Sarsfield*, and withal a man of no courage or enterprise in the field. Nor was the story of his previous life calculated to check the bad opinion generally entertained of him. It was said that, being originally a Spanish officer, he was banished for an intrigue to the *Canaries*, from whence he deserted to the French, and again deserted to his own countrymen, when the war of independence broke out.

Under this man, the frauds which characterize the civil departments of all armies in the field, became destructive, and the extent

of the mischief may be gathered from a single fact. Notwithstanding the enormous supplies granted by England, the Catalans paid nearly three millions sterling for the expense of the war, besides contributions in kind, and yet their soldiers were always distressed for clothing, food, arms, and ammunition.

This amount of specie might excite doubt, were it not that here, as in Portugal, the quantity of coin accumulated from the expenditure of the armies and navies was immense. But gold is not always the synonyme of power in war, or of happiness in peace. Nothing could be more wretched than Catalonia. Individually the people were exposed to all the licentiousness of war, collectively to the robberies and revenge of both friends and enemies. When they attempted to supply the British vessels, the French menaced them with death; when they yielded to such threats, the English ships menaced them with bombardment and plunder. All the roads were infested with brigands, and in the hills large bands of people, whose families and property had been destroyed, watched for straggling Frenchmen and small escorts, not to make war but to live on the booty; when this resource failed they plundered their own countrymen. While the land was thus harassed, the sea swarmed with privateers of all nations, differing from pirates only in name; and that no link in the chain of infamy might be wanting, the merchants of Gibraltar forced their smuggling trade at the ports, with a shameless disregard for the rights of the Spanish government. Catalonia seemed like some huge carcass, on which all manner of ravenous beasts, all obscene birds, and all reptiles had gathered to feed.

CHAPTER III.

Operations in Valencia and Murcia—Suchet's able government of Valencia—O'Donnell organizes a new army in Murcia—Origin of the Sicilian expedition to Spain—Secret intrigues against Napoleon in Italy and other parts—Lord William Bentinck proposes to invade Italy—Lord Wellington opposes it—The Russian Admiral Tehtchagoff projects a descent upon Italy—Vacillating conduct of the English ministers productive of great mischief—Lord William Bentinck sweeps the money-markets to the injury of Lord Wellington's operations—Sir John Moore's plan for Sicily rejected—His ability and foresight proved by the ultimate result—Evil effects of bad government shown by examples.

OPERATIONS IN VALENCIA AND MURCIA.

SUCHET having recovered his health was again at the head of the troops, but the King's military authority was so irksome to him that he despatched an officer to represent the inconvenience of it to

the Emperor, previous to that monarch's departure for Russia. The answer in some degree restored his independence: he was desired to hold his troops concentrated, and move them in the manner most conducive to the interests of his own command. Hence, when Joseph, designing to act against Lord Wellington in Estremadura, demanded the aid of one division, Suchet replied that he must then evacuate Valencia; and as the natural line of retreat for the French armies would, during the contemplated operations, be by the eastern provinces, it would be better to abandon Andalusia first; an answer calculated to convince Joseph that his authority in the field was still but a name.

Suchet, from a natural disposition towards order, and because his revenue from the fishery of the Albufera depended upon the tranquillity of the province, took infinite pains to confirm his power; and his mode of proceeding, at once prudent and firm, was wonderfully successful. Valencia, although one of the smallest provinces in Spain, and not naturally fertile, was from the industry of the inhabitants one of the richest. Combining manufactures with agriculture, it possessed great resources, but they had been injured by the war, without having been applied to its exigencies; and the people expected that a bloody vengeance would be taken for Calvo's murder of the French residents at the commencement of the contest. Their fears were soon allayed; discipline was strictly preserved, and Suchet having suppressed the taxes imposed by the Spanish government, substituted others, which, being more equal, were less onerous. To protect the people from oppression in the collection, he published in every corner his demands, authorizing resistance to contributions which were not named in his list and demanded by the proper officers; and he employed the native authorities, as he had done in Aragon. Thus, all impolitic restrictions upon the industry and traffic of the country being removed, the people found the government of the invaders less oppressive than their own.

Napoleon, in expectation of Suchet's conquest, had however imposed a war contribution, as a punishment for the death of the French residents, so heavy, that his lieutenant imagined Valencia would be quite unable to raise the sum; yet the Emperor, who had calculated the Valencians' means by a comparison with those of Aragon, would not rescind the order. And so exact was his judgment, that Suchet, by accepting part payment in kind, and giving a discount for prompt liquidation, satisfied this impost in one year, without much difficulty, and the current expenses of the army were provided for besides; yet neither did the people suffer as in other provinces, nor was their industry so cramped, nor their

property so injured, as under their own government. Valencia therefore remained tranquil, and, by contrast, the mischief of negligence and disorder was made manifest.

The advantages derived from the conquest were even extended to the province of Aragon, and to the court of Joseph, for the contributions were diminished in the former, and large sums were remitted to the latter, to meet Napoleon's grant of one-fifth of the war contributions in favor of the intrusive government. This prosperous state of French affairs in Valencia was established also in the face of an enemy daily increasing in strength. For the Regent, Abispal, had given Blake's command to his own brother Joseph O'Donnell, who, collecting the remains of the armies of Murcia and Valencia, had raised new levies, and during Suchet's illness formed a fresh army of twelve or fourteen thousand men in the neighborhood of Alicant. In the Balearic Isles also Roche and Whittingham's divisions were declared ready to take the field, and fifteen hundred British troops, commanded by General Ross, arrived at Carthagea. To avoid the fever there, these last remained on shipboard, and were thus more menacing to the enemy than on shore, because they seemed to be only awaiting the arrival of a new army, which the French knew to be coming from Sicily to the eastern coast of Spain. And as the descent of this army was the commencement of a remarkable episode in the history of the Peninsular War, it is proper to give an exact account of its origin and progress.

Sir John Stuart had been succeeded in Sicily by Lord William Bentinck, a man of resolution, capacity, and spirit, just in his actions, and abhorring oppression, but of a sanguine, impetuous disposition. Being resolved to ameliorate the condition of the Sicilian people, after surmounting many difficulties, he removed the Queen from power, vested the direction of affairs in the Crown-Prince, obtained from the barons a renunciation of their feudal privileges, and caused a representative constitution to be proclaimed. Believing then that the court was submissive because it was silent; that the barons would adhere to his system, because it gave them the useful power of legislation, in lieu of feudal privileges alloyed by ruinous expenses and the degradation of courtiers; because it gave them the dignity of independence at the cost only of maintaining the rights of the people and restoring the honor of their country—believing thus, he judged that the large British force hitherto kept in Sicily, as much to overawe the court as to oppose the enemy, might be dispensed with; and that the expected improvement of the Sicilian army, and the attachment of the people to the new political system, would permit ten thousand men to be em-

ployed in aid of Lord Wellington, or in Italy. In January, therefore, he wrote of these projects to the English ministers, and sent his brother to Wellington to consult upon the best mode of acting.

Such an opportune offer to create a diversion on the left flank of the French armies was eagerly accepted by Wellington, who immediately sent engineers, artificers, and a battering train complete, to aid the expected expedition. But Lord William Bentinck was soon made sensible, that in large communities working constitutions are the offspring, and not the generators, of national feelings and habits. They cannot be built like cities in the desert, nor cast, as breakwaters, into the sea of public corruption, but gradually, and as the insect-rocks come up from the depths of the ocean, they must arise, if they are to bear the storms of human passions.

The Sicilian court opposed Lord William with falsehood and intrigue; the constitution was secretly thwarted by the barons; the Neapolitan army, a body composed of foreigners of all nations, was diligently augmented, with a view to overawe both the English and the people; the revenues and the subsidy were alike misapplied, and the native Sicilian army, despised and neglected, was incapable of service. Finally, instead of going to Spain himself, with ten thousand good troops, Lord William could only send a subordinate general with six thousand—British, Germans, Calabrese, Swiss, and Sicilians; the British and Germans only being either morally or militarily well organized. To these, however, Roche's and Whittingham's levies, represented to be twelve or fourteen thousand strong, were added, the Spanish government having placed them at the disposition of General Maitland, the commander of the expedition. Thus, in May, twenty thousand men were supposed ready for a descent on Catalonia, to which quarter Lord Wellington recommended they should proceed.

But now other objects were presented to Lord William Bentinck's sanguine mind. The Austrian government, while treating with Napoleon, was secretly encouraging insurrections in Italy, Croatia, Dalmatia, the Venetian States, the Tyrol and Switzerland. English, as well as Austrian agents, were active to organize a vast conspiracy against the French Emperor, and there was a desire, especially on the part of England, to create a kingdom for one of the Austrian Archdukes. Murat was discontented with France, the Montenegrins were in arms on the Adriatic coast, and the prospect of a descent upon Italy, in unison with the wishes of the people, appeared so promising to Lord William Bentinck, that supposing himself to have a discretionary power, he stopped the expedition to Catalonia, reasoning thus :

“In Spain, only six thousand middling troops can be employed

on a secondary operation, and for a limited period, whereas twelve thousand British soldiers, and six thousand men composing the Neapolitan army of Sicily, can land in Italy, a grand theatre, where success will most efficaciously assist Spain. The obnoxious Neapolitan force being thus removed, the native Sicilian army can be organized and the new constitution established with more certainty." The time, also, he thought critical for Italy, not so for Spain, which would suffer but a temporary deprivation, seeing that failure in Italy would not preclude after aid to Spain.

Impressed with these notions, which, it must be confessed, were both plausible and grand, he permitted the expedition, already embarked, to sail for Palma in Sardinia, and Mahon, in Minorca, yet merely as a blind, because, from those places, he could easily direct the troops against Italy, and meanwhile they menaced the French in Spain. But the conception of vast and daring enterprises, even the execution of them up to a certain point, is not very uncommon; they fail only by a little! that little is, however, the essence of genius, the phial of wit, which, held to Orlando's nostril, changed him from a frantic giant to a perfect commander.

It was in the consideration of such nice points of military policy that Lord Wellington's solid judgment was always advantageously displayed. Neither the greatness of this project nor the apparent facility of execution weighed with him. He thought the recovery of Italy by the power of the British arms would be a glorious, and might be a feasible exploit, but it was only in prospect; Spain was the better field, the war in the Peninsula existed, years had been devoted to the establishment of a solid base there, and experience had proved that the chance of victory was not imaginary. England could not support two armies. The principle of concentration of power on an important point was as applicable here as on a field of battle, and although Italy might be the more vital point, it would be advisable to continue the war already established in Spain; nay, it would be better to give up Spain, and direct the whole power of England against Italy, rather than undertake double operations, on such an extensive scale, at a moment when the means necessary to sustain one were so scanty.

The ministers, apparently convinced by this reasoning, forbade Lord William Bentinck to proceed, and they expressed their discontent at his conduct. Nevertheless their former instructions had unquestionably conferred on him a discretionary power to act in Italy, and so completely had he been misled by their previous despatches, that besides delaying the expedition to Spain, he had placed twelve hundred men under Admiral Freemantle, to assist the Montenegrins. And he was actually entangled in a negotie

tion with the Russian Admiral Greig, relative to the march of a Russian army; a march planned, as it would appear, without the knowledge of the Russian court, and which, from the wildness of its conception and the mischief it would probably have effected, deserves notice.

While the Russian war was still uncertain, Admiral Tchtchagoff, who commanded sixty thousand men on the Danube, proposed to march with them, through Bosnia and the ancient Epirus, to the mouths of the Cattaro, and, there embarking, to commence the impending contest with France in Italy. He was, however, without resources, and expecting to arrive in a starving and miserable condition on the Adriatic, demanded, through Admiral Greig, then commanding a squadron in the Mediterranean, that Lord William Bentinck should be ready to supply him with fresh arms, ammunition, and provisions, and to aid him with an auxiliary force. That nobleman saw at a glance the absurdity of this scheme, but he was falsely informed that Tchtchagoff, trusting to his good will, had already commenced the march; and thus he had only to choose between aiding an ally, whose force, if it arrived at all, and was supplied by England, would help his own project, or permit it, to avoid perishing, to ravage Italy, and so change the people of that country from secret friends into deadly enemies. It would be foreign to this history to consider what effect the absence of Tchtchagoff's army during the Russian campaign would have had upon Napoleon's operations, but this was the very force whose march to the Beresina afterwards obliged the Emperor to abandon Smolensko, and continue the retreat to Warsaw.

It was in the midst of these affairs that the English minister's imperative orders to look only to the coast of Spain arrived. The negotiation with the Russians was immediately stopped, the project of landing in Italy was relinquished, and the expedition, already sent to the Adriatic, was recalled. Meanwhile the descent on Catalonia had been delayed, and as a knowledge of its destination had reached Suchet through the French Minister of War, and through the rumors rife amongst the Spaniards, all his preparations to meet it were matured. Nor was this the only mischief produced by the English minister's want of clear views and decided system of policy. Lord William Bentinck had been empowered to raise money on bills for his own exigencies, and being desirous to form a military chest for his project in Italy, he had invaded Lord Wellington's money markets. With infinite trouble and difficulty that General had just opened a source of supply at the rate of five shillings and four-pence to five shillings and eight-pence the dollar, when Lord William Bentinck's agents offering six shillings and

eight-pence, swept four millions from the markets, and thus, as shall be hereafter shown, seriously embarrassed Lord Wellington's operations in the field.

This unhappy commencement of the Sicilian expedition led to other errors, and its arrival on the coast of Spain did not take place until after the campaign in Castile had commenced; but as its proceedings connected the warfare of Valencia immediately with that of Catalonia, and the whole with Lord Wellington's operations, they cannot be properly treated of in this place. It is, however, worthy of observation, how an illiberal and factious policy inevitably recoils upon its authors.

In 1807, Sir John Moore, with that sagacity and manliness which distinguished his career through life, had informed the ministers that no hope of a successful attack on the French in Italy could be entertained while the British army upheld the tyrannical system of the dissolute and treacherous Neapolitan court in Sicily. And as no change for the better could be expected while the Queen was allowed to govern, he proposed that the British Cabinet should either relinquish Sicily, or, assuming the entire control of the island, seize the Queen and send her to her native Austria. This he judged to be the first step necessary to render the large British army in Sicily available for the field, because the Sicilian people could then be justly governed, and thus only could the organization of an effective native force attached to England, and fitted to offer freedom to Italy, be effected.

He spoke not of constitutions, but of justice to the people, and hence his proposal was rejected as a matter of Jacobinism. Mr. Drummond, the English Plenipotentiary, even betrayed it to the Queen, a woman not without magnanimity, yet so capable of bloody deeds, that, in 1810, she secretly proposed to Napoleon the perpetration of a second Sicilian vespers upon the English. The Emperor, detesting such guilt, only answered by throwing her agent into prison, yet the traces of the conspiracy were detected by the British authorities in 1811; and in 1812, Lord William Bentinck was forced to seize the government, in the manner before recommended by Moore, and did finally expel the Queen by force. But because these measures were not resorted to in time, he was now, with an army of from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, sixteen thousand of which were British, only able to detach a mixed force of six thousand to aid Lord Wellington. And at the same time the oppression of Ireland required that sixty thousand fine soldiers should remain idle at home, while France, with a Russian war on hand, was able to overmatch the allies in Spain. Bad government is a scourge with a double thong!

CHAPTER IV.

Operations in Andalusia and Estremadura—Advantage of Lord Wellington's position shown—Soul's plans vast but well-considered—He designs to besiege Tarifa, Alicant, and Carthagena, and march upon Lisbon—Restores the French interest at the court of Morocco—English embassy to the Moorish Emperor fails—Soul bombards Cadiz, and menaces a serious attack—Ballesteros, his rash conduct—He is defeated at Bornos—effect of his defeat upon the allies in Estremadura—Foy succors the fort of Mirabete—Hill is reinforced—Drouet falls back to Azagua—Followed by Hill—General Slade defeated by Lallemand in a cavalry combat at Macquilla—Exploit of Cornet Strenowitz—General Barrois marches to reinforce Drouet by the road of St. Oillalla—Hill falls back to Albuera—His disinterested conduct.

OPERATIONS IN ANDALUSIA AND ESTREMADURA.

A SHORT time previous to Hill's enterprise against Almaraz, Soul, after driving Ballesteros from the Ronda, and restoring the communication with Granada, sent three thousand men into the Niebla, partly to interrupt the march of some Spaniards coming from Cadiz to garrison Badajos, partly to menace Penne Villemur and Morillo, who still lingered on the Odiel against the wishes of Wellington. The French arguments were more effectual. Those generals immediately filed along the frontier of Portugal towards Estremadura; they were hastily followed by the Spanish troops sent from Cadiz, and the militia of the Algarves were called out to defend the Portuguese frontier. Soul then remained on the defensive, for he expected the advance of Lord Wellington, which the approach of so many troops, the seeming reluctance of the Spaniards to quit the Niebla, the landing of fresh men from Cadiz at Ayamonte, and the false rumors purposely set afloat by the British General, seemed to render certain. Nor did the surprise of Almaraz, which he thought to be aimed at the army of the south, and not against the army of Portugal, alter his views.

The great advantage which Lord Wellington had gained by the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, was now very clearly illustrated; for, as he could at will advance either against the north or the south or the centre, the French generals in each quarter expected him, and they were anxious that the others should regulate their movements accordingly. None would help the other, and the secret plans of all were paralyzed until it was seen on which side the thunderbolt would fall. This was of most consequence in the south, for Soul's plans were vast, dangerous, and ripe for execution.

After the fall of Badajos, he judged it unwise to persevere in pushing a head of troops into Estremadura, while his rear and

flanks were exposed to attacks from Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Murcia; but it was essential, he thought, to crush Ballesteros before his forces should be increased, and this was not to be effected while that General could flee to Gibraltar on the one side and Tarifa on the other. Whereupon Soult had resolved first to reduce Tarifa, with a view to the ruin of Ballesteros, and then to lay siege to Carthagená and Alicant, and he only awaited the development of Wellington's menacing demonstrations against Andalusia, to commence his own operations. Great and difficult his plan was, yet profoundly calculated to effect his main object, which was to establish his base so firmly in Andalusia that, maugre the forces in Cadiz and the Isla, he might safely enter upon and follow up regular offensive operations in Estremadura and against Portugal, instead of the partial uncertain expeditions hitherto adopted. In fine, he designed to make Lord Wellington feel that there was a powerful army within a few marches of Lisbon.

Thinking that Carthagená and Tarifa, and even Alicant must fall, with the aid of Suchet which he expected, or that the siege of the first would bring down Hill's corps and all the disposable Spanish troops to save it, he desired that the army of Portugal and the army of the centre should operate so as to keep Lord Wellington north of the Tagus. He could then by himself carry on the sieges he contemplated, and yet leave a force under Drouet on the edge of Estremadura, strong enough to oblige Hill to operate in the direction of Carthagená instead of Seville. And if this should happen as he expected, he proposed suddenly to concentrate all his finely organized and experienced troops, force on a general battle, and, if victorious, the preparations being made beforehand, to follow up the blow by a rapid march upon Portugal, and so enter Lisbon; or by bringing Wellington in all haste to the defence of that capital, confine the war, while Napoleon was in Russia, to a corner of the Peninsula.

This great project was strictly in the spirit of the Emperor's instructions. For that consummate commander had desired his lieutenants to make Lord Wellington feel that his enemies were not passively defensive. He had urged them to press the allies close on each flank, and he had endeavored to make Marmont understand that, although there was no object to be attained by entering the north-east of Portugal, and fighting a general battle on ground favorable to Lord Wellington, it was contrary to all military principles to withdraw several days' march from the allies' outposts, and by such a timid defensive system, to give the English General the power of choosing when and where to strike. Now the loss of Badajos, and the difficulty of maintaining a defeu-

sive war against the increasing forces of the allies in the south of Andalusia, rendered it extremely onerous for Soult to press Wellington's flank in Estremadura; and it was therefore a profound modification of the Emperor's views, to urge the King and Mar-mont to active operation in the north, while he besieged Tarifa and Carthagená, keeping his army in mass ready for a sudden stroke in the field, if fortune brought the occasion, and if otherwise, sure of fixing a solid base for future operations against Portugal.

The Duke of Dalmatia wished to have commenced his operations by the siege of Tarifa in May, when Wellington's return to Beira had relieved him from the fear of an immediate invasion of Andalusia; but the failure of the harvest in 1811. and the continual movements during the winter, had so reduced his magazines, both of provisions and ammunition, that he could not undertake the operation until the new harvest was ripe, and fresh convoys had replenished his exhausted stores. His soldiers were already on short allowance, and famine raged amongst the people of the country. Meanwhile his agents in Morocco had so firmly re-established the French interests there, that the Emperor refused all supplies to the British, and even fitted out a squadron to insure obedience to his orders. To counteract this mischief, the Gibraltar merchant Viali, who had been employed in the early part of the war by Sir Hew Dalrymple, was sent by Sir Henry Wellesley with a mission to the court of Fez, which failed, and it was said, from the intrigues of the notorious Charmilly, who was then at Tangier, and being connected by marriage with the English Consul there, unsuspected; indeed, from a mean hatred to Sir John Moore, there were not wanting persons in power who endeavored still to uphold this man.

So far everything promised well for Soult's plans, and he earnestly demanded that all his detachments and sufficient reinforcements, together with artillery, officers, money, and convoys of ammunition, should be sent to him for the siege of Carthagená. Pending their arrival, to divert the attention of the allies, he repaired to Port St. Mary, where the French had, from the circumstances of the war in Estremadura, been a long time inactive. He brought down with him a number of the Villantroy mortars, and having collected about thirty gun-boats in the Trocadero canal, commenced a serious bombardment of Cadiz on the 16th of May. While thus engaged, a sudden landing from English vessels was effected on the Granada coast, Almeira was abandoned by the French, the people rose along the sea line, and General Freire, advancing from Murcia, intrenched himself in the position of Venta de Bahul, on the eastern frontier of Granada. He was, indeed

surprised and beaten with loss, and the insurrection on the coast was soon quelled, but these things delayed the march of the reinforcements intended for Drouet; meanwhile Hill surprised Almaraz, and Ballesteros, whose forces had subsisted during the winter and spring upon the stores of Gibraltar, advanced against Conroux's division then in observation at Bornos on the Guadalete.

This Spanish General caused equal anxiety to Soult and to Wellington, because his proceedings involved one of those intricate knots by which the important parts of both their operations were fastened. Lord Wellington judged, that while a large and increasing corps, which could be aided by a disembarkation of five or six thousand men from the Isla de Leon, menaced the blockade of Cadiz and the communications between Seville and Granada, Soult must keep a considerable body in observation, and, consequently, Hill would be a match for the French in Estremadura. But the efficacy of this diversion depended upon avoiding battles, seeing that if Ballesteros' army was crushed, the French, reinforced in Estremadura, could drive Hill over the Tagus, which would inevitably bring Wellington himself to his succor. Soult was for the same reason as earnest to bring the Spanish General to action, as Wellington was to prevent a battle, and Ballesteros, a man of infinite arrogance, despised both. Having obtained money and supplies from Gibraltar to replace the expenditure of his former excursion against Seville, he marched with eight thousand men against Conroux, and that Frenchman, aware of his intention, induced him, by an appearance of fear, to attack an intrenched camp in a disorderly manner. On the 1st of June the battle took place, and Conroux issuing forth unexpectedly, killed or took fifteen hundred Spaniards and drove the rest to the hills, from whence they retreated to San Roque. How this victory was felt in Estremadura shall now be shown.

The loss of Almaraz had put all the French corps in movement. A division of Marmont's army crossed the Gredos mountains, to replace Foy in the valley of the Tagus, and the latter General passing that river by the bridge of Arzobispo, moved through the mountains of Guadalupe, and succored the garrison of Mirabete on the 26th of May. When he retired, the partidas of the Guadalupe renewed the blockade, and Hill, now strongly reinforced by Lord Wellington, advanced to Zafra, whereupon Drouet, unable to meet him, fell back to Azagua. Hill, wishing to protect the gathering of the harvest, then detached Penne Villemur's horsemen from Llerena on the right flank, and General Slade with the third dragoon guards and the royals, from Llera on the left flank; General Lallemand, having a like object, came forward with the two

regiments of French dragoons, on the side of Valencia de las Torres, whereupon Hill, hoping to cut him off, placed Slade's dragoons in a wood with directions to await further orders. Slade hearing that Lallemand was so near, and no wise superior to himself in numbers, forgot his orders, advanced and drove the French cavalry with loss beyond the defile of Maquilla, a distance of eight miles; and through the pass also the British rashly galloped in pursuit, the General riding in the foremost ranks, and the supports joining tumultuously in the charge.

But in the plain beyond stood Lallemand with his reserves well in hand. He broke the disorderly English mass thus rushing on him, killed or wounded forty-eight men, pursued the rest for six miles, recovered all his own prisoners, and took more than a hundred, including two officers, from his adversary; and the like bitter results will generally attend what is called "*dashing*" in war, which in other words means courage without prudence. Two days after this event the Austrian Strenowits, whose exploits have been before noticed, marched with fifty men of the same regiments, to fetch off some of the English prisoners who had been left by the French under a slender guard in the village of Maquilla. Eighty of the enemy met him on the march, yet by fine management he overthrew them, and losing only one man himself, killed many French, executed his mission, and returned with an officer and twenty other prisoners.

Such was the state of affairs, when the defeat of Ballesteros at Bornos enabled Soult to reinforce Drouet, with Barrois' division of infantry and two divisions of cavalry; they marched across the Morena, but for reasons to be hereafter mentioned by the royal road of St. Olalla, a line of direction which obliged Drouet to make a flank march by his left towards Llerena to form his junction with them. It was effected on the 18th, and the allies then fell back gradually towards Albuera, where, being joined by four Portuguese regiments from Badajos, and by the fifth Spanish army, Hill formed a line of battle furnishing twenty thousand infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and twenty-four guns.

Drouet had only twenty-one thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry, with eighteen pieces of artillery; the allies were therefore the most numerous, but the French army was better composed, and battle seemed inevitable, for both generals had discretionary orders. However, the French cavalry did not advance further than Almendralejos, and Hill, who had shown himself so daring at Aroyo Molino and Almaraz, now, with an uncommon mastery of ambition, refrained from an action which promised him unbounded fame, simply because he was uncertain whether the

state of Lord Wellington's operations in Castile, then in full progress, would warrant one. His recent exploits had been so splendid that a great battle gained at this time would, with the assistance of envious malice, have placed his reputation on a level with Wellington's. Yet he was habituated to command, and his adversary's talents were moderate; his forbearance must therefore be taken as a proof of the purest patriotism.

Early in July the French cavalry entered Almendralejos and Santa Marta, cut off two hundred Spanish horsemen, and surprised a small British cavalry post; Hill, who had then received fresh instructions, and was eager to fight, quickly drove them with loss from both places. Drouet immediately concentrated his forces and retired to La Granja, and was followed by the allies; but the account of the transactions in Andalusia and Estremadura must be here closed, because those which followed belong to the general combinations. And as the causes of these last movements, and their effects upon the general campaign, are of an intricate nature, to avoid confusion the explanation of them is reserved for another place; meanwhile I will endeavor to describe that political chaos, amidst which Wellington's army appeared as the ark amongst the meeting clouds and rising waters of the deluge.

CHAPTER V.

Political situation of France—Secret policy of the European courts—Causes of the Russian war—Napoleon's grandeur and power—Scene on the Niemen—Design attributed to Napoleon of concentrating the French armies behind the Ebro—No traces of such an intention to be discovered—His proposals for peace considered—Political state of England—Effects of the continental system—Extravagance, harshness, and improvident conduct of the English ministers—Dispute with America—Political state of Spain—Intrigues of Carlotta—New scheme of mediation with the colonies—Mr. Sydenham's opinion of it—New constitution adopted—Succession to the crown fixed—Abolition of the Inquisition agitated—Discontent of the clergy and absolute monarchy men—Neglect of the military affairs—Dangerous state of the country—Plot to deliver up Ceuta—Foreign policy of Spain—Negotiations of Bardaxi at Stockholm—Fresh English subsidy—Plan of enlisting Spanish soldiers in British regiments fails—The councillor of state Sobral offers to carry off Ferdinand from Valençay, but Ferdinand rejects his offer—Joseph talks of assembling a Cortes at Madrid, but secretly negotiates with that in the Isla.

POLITICAL SITUATION OF FRANCE.

THE unmatched power of Napoleon's genius was now being displayed in a wonderful manner. His interest, his inclination, and his expectation were alike opposed to a war with Russia, but

Alexander and himself, each hoping that a menacing display of strength would reduce the other to negotiation, advanced, step by step, until blows could no longer be avoided. Napoleon, a man capable of sincere friendship, had relied too much and too long on the existence of a like feeling in the Russian Emperor; and misled, perhaps, by the sentiment of his own energy, did not sufficiently allow for the daring intrigues of a court, where secret combinations of the nobles formed the real governing power.

That the cabinet of Petersburg should be, more than ordinarily, subject to such combinations at this period, was the necessary consequence of the greatness of the interests involved in the treaties of Tilsit and Erfurth; the continental system had so deeply injured the fortunes of the Russian noblemen, that their sovereign's authority in support of it was as nothing. During the Austrian war of 1809, when Alexander was yet warm from Napoleon's society at Erfurth, the aid given to France was a mockery, and a desire to join a northern confederation against Napoleon was even then scarcely concealed at St. Petersburg, where the French ambassador was coldly treated. The royal family of Prussia were, it is true, at the same time, mortified by a reception which inclined them to side with France, against the wishes of their people and their ministers; but in Russia, Romanzow alone was averse to choose that moment to declare against Napoleon. And this was so certain that Austria, anticipating the explosion, was only undecided whether the King of Prussia should be punished or the people rewarded, whether she herself should befriend or plunder the Prussian monarchy.

At that time also, the Russian naval commander in the Adriatic, being ordered to sail to Ancona for the purpose of conveying Marmont's troops from Dalmatia to Italy, refused, on the plea that his ships were not seaworthy, yet secretly he informed the governor of Trieste that they would be in excellent order to assist an Austrian corps against the French! Admiral Tchtchagoff's strange project of marching upon Italy from Bucharest has been already noticed, and it is remarkable that this expedition was to be conducted upon popular principles, the interests of the Sicilian court being to be made subservient to the wishes of the people. At a later period, in 1812, Admiral Greig proposed to place an auxiliary Russian army under either Wellington or Lord William Bentinck, and it was accepted; but when the Russian ambassador in London was applied to upon the subject, he unequivocally declared that the Emperor knew nothing of the matter!

With a court so situated, angry negotiations once commenced rendered war inevitable, and the more especially that the Russian

cabinet, which had long determined on hostilities, though undecided as to the time of drawing the sword, was well aware of the secret designs and proceedings of Austria in Italy, and of Murat's discontent. The Hollanders were known to desire independence, and the deep hatred which the people of Prussia bore to the French was a matter of notoriety. Bernadotte, who very early had resolved to cast down the ladder by which he rose, was the secret adviser of these practices against Napoleon's power in Italy, and he was also in communication with the Spaniards. Thus Napoleon, having a war in Spain which required three hundred thousand men to keep in a balanced state, was forced, by resistless circumstances, into another and more formidable contest in the distant north, when the whole of Europe was prepared to rise upon his lines of communication, and when his extensive sea-frontier was exposed to the all-powerful navy of Great Britain.

A conqueror's march to Moscow, amidst such dangers, was a design more vast, more hardy, more astounding than ever before entered the imagination of man; yet it was achieved, and solely by the force of his genius. For having organized two hundred thousand French soldiers, as a prætorian guard, he stepped resolutely into the heart of Germany, and monarchs and nations bent submissively before him; secret hostility ceased, and, with the exception of Bernadotte, the crowned and anointed plotters quitted their work to follow his chariot-wheels. Dresden saw the ancient story of the King of Kings renewed in his person; and the two hundred thousand French soldiers arrived on the Niemen in company with two hundred thousand allies. On that river, four hundred thousand troops (I have seen the imperial returns) were assembled by this wonderful man, all disciplined warriors, and notwithstanding their different national feelings, all proud of the unmatched genius of their leader. Yet, even in that hour of dizzy elevation, Napoleon, deeply sensible of the inherent weakness of a throne unhallowed by time, described by one emphatic phrase the delicacy of his political situation. During the passage of the Niemen, twelve thousand cuirassiers, whose burnished armor flashed in the sun while their cries of salutation pealed in unison with the thunder of the horses' feet, were passing like a foaming torrent towards the river, when Napoleon turned and thus addressed Gouvion St. Cyr, whose republican principles were well known:

"No monarch ever had such an army."

"No, sire."

"The French are a fine people; they deserve more liberty, and they shall have it; but, St. Cyr, no liberty of the press! That army, mighty as it is, could not resist the songs of Paris!"

Such, then, was the nature of Napoleon's power that success alone could sustain it; success which depended as much upon others' exertions as upon his own stupendous genius, for Russia was far distant from Spain. It is said, I know not upon what authority, that he at one moment had resolved to concentrate all the French troops in the Peninsula behind the Ebro during this expedition to Russia, but the capture of Blake's force at Valencia changed his views. Of this design there are no traces in the movements of his armies, nor in the captured papers of the King, and there are some indications of a contrary design; for at that period several foreign agents were detected examining the lines of Torres Vedras, and on a Frenchman, who killed himself when arrested in the Brazils, were found papers proving a mission for the same object. Neither is it easy to discern the advantage of thus crowding three hundred thousand men on a narrow slip of ground, where they must have been fed from France, already overburthened with the expenses of the Russian war; and this when they were numerous enough, if rightly handled, to have maintained themselves on the resources of Spain, and near the Portuguese frontier, for a year at least.

To have given up all the Peninsula west of the Ebro, would have been productive of no benefit, save what might have accrued from the jealousy which the Spaniards already displayed towards their allies; but if that jealousy, as was probable, had forced the British General away, he could have carried his army to Italy, or have formed in Germany the nucleus of a great northern confederation on the Emperor's rear. Portugal was, therefore, in truth, the point of all Europe in which the British strength was least dangerous to Napoleon during the invasion of Russia; moreover, an immediate war with that empire was not a certain event previous to the capture of Valencia. Napoleon was undoubtedly anxious to avoid it while the Spanish contest continued; yet, with a far-reaching European policy, in which his English adversaries were deficient, he foresaw and desired to check the growing strength of that fearful and wicked power which now menaces the civilized world.

The proposal for peace which he made to England before his departure for the Niemen is another circumstance where his object seems to have been misrepresented. It was called a device to reconcile the French to the Russian war; but they were as eager for that war as he could wish them to be, and it is more probable that it sprung from a secret misgiving, a prophetic sentiment of the consequent power of Russia, lifted, as she then would be, towards universal tyranny, by the very arm which he had

raised to restrain her. The ostensible ground of his quarrel with the Emperor Alexander was the continental system; yet in this proposal for peace, he offered to acknowledge the house of Braganza in Portugal, the house of Bourbon in Sicily, and to withdraw his army from the Peninsula, if England would join him in guaranteeing the crown of Spain to Joseph, together with a constitution to be arranged by a national Cortes. This was a virtual renunciation of the continental system for the sake of peace with England; and a proposal which obviated the charge of aiming at universal dominion, seeing that Austria, Spain, Portugal, and England would have retained their full strength, and the limits of his empire would have been fixed. The offer was made also at a time when the Emperor was certainly more powerful than he had ever yet been, when Portugal was, by the avowal of Wellington himself, far from secure, and Spain quite exhausted. At peace with England, Napoleon could easily have restored the Polish nation, and Russia would have been repressed. Now, Poland has fallen, and Russia stalks in the plenitude of her barbarous tyranny.

Political state of England.—The new administration, despised by the country, was not the less powerful in Parliament; its domestic proceedings were therefore characterized by all the corruption and tyranny of Mr. Pitt's system, without his redeeming genius. The press was persecuted with malignant ferocity, and the government sought to corrupt all that it could not trample upon. Repeated successes had rendered the particular contest in the Peninsula popular with the ardent spirits of the nation, and war-prices passed for glory with the merchants, land-owners, and tradesmen; but as the price of food augmented faster than the price of labor, the poorer people suffered; they rejoiced indeed, at their country's triumphs, because the sound of victory is always pleasing to war-like ears, but they were discontented. Meanwhile all thinking men, who were not biased by factions, or dazzled by military splendor, perceived in the enormous expenses incurred to repress the democratic principle, and in the consequent transfer of property, the sure foundation of future reaction and revolution. The distresses of the working classes had already produced partial insurrections, and the nation at large was beginning to perceive that the governing powers, whether representative or executive, were rapacious usurpers of the people's rights; a perception quickened by malignant prosecutions, by the insolent extravagance with which the public money was lavished on the family of Mr. Perceval, and by the general profusion at home, while Lord Wellesley declared that the war languished for want of sustenance abroad.

Napoleon's continental system, although in the nature of a sumptuary law, which the desires of men will never suffer to exist long in vigor, was yet so efficient, that the British government was forced to encourage and protect illicit trading, to the great detriment of mercantile morality. The island of Heligoland was the chief point of deposit for this commerce, and either by trading energy, or by the connivance of continental governments, the Emperor's system was continually baffled; nevertheless its effects will not quickly pass away; it pressed sorely upon the manufacturers at the time, and by giving rise to rival establishments on the continent, has awakened in Germany a commercial spirit by no means favorable to England's manufacturing superiority.

But ultimate consequences were never considered by the British ministers; the immediate object was to procure money, and by virtually making bank-notes a legal tender, they secured unlimited means at home, through the medium of loans and taxes, which the corruption of the Parliament insured to them, and which, by a reaction, insured the corruption of the Parliament. This resource failed abroad. They could, and did, send to all the allies of England enormous supplies in kind, because to do so was, in the way of contracts, an essential part of the system of corruption at home; a system aptly described as bribing one half of the nation with the money of the other half, in order to misgovern both. Specie was however only to be had in comparatively small quantities, and at a premium so exorbitant, that even the most reckless politician trembled for the ultimate consequences.

The foreign policy of the government was very simple, namely, to bribe all powers to war down France. Hence to Russia everything save specie was granted; and hence also amicable relations with Sweden were immediately re-established, and the more readily that this power had lent herself to the violation of the continental system by permitting the entry of British goods at Stralsund; but wherever wisdom or skill was required, the English ministers' resources failed altogether. With respect to Sicily, Spain, and Portugal, this truth was notorious; and to preserve the political support of the trading interests at home, a degrading and deceitful policy, quite opposed to the spirit of Lord Wellington's counsels, was followed in regard to the revolted Spanish colonies.

The short-sighted injustice of the system was however most glaring with regard to the United States of America. Mutual complaints, the dregs of the war of independence, had long characterized the intercourse between the British and American governments, and these discontents were turned into extreme hatred by the progress of the war with France. The British government in

1806 proclaimed, contrary to the law of nations, a blockade of the French coast, which could not be enforced. Napoleon, in return, issued the celebrated decrees of Berlin and Milan, which produced the no less celebrated orders in council. The commerce of all neutrals was thus extinguished by the arrogance of the belligerents; but the latter very soon finding that their mutual convenience required some relaxation of mutual violence, granted licenses to each other's ships, and by this scandalous evasion of their own policy caused the whole of the evil to fall upon the neutral, who was yet called the friend of both parties.

The Americans, unwilling to go to war with two such powerful states, were yet resolved not to submit to the tyranny of either; but the injustice of the English government was the most direct and extended in its operations, and it was rendered infinitely more bitter by the violence used towards the seamen of the United States: not less than six thousand sailors, it was said, were taken from merchant vessels on the high seas, and forced to serve in the British men-of-war. Wherefore, after first passing retaliatory, or rather warning acts, called the non-intercourse, non-importation, and embargo acts, the Americans finally declared war, at the moment when the British government, alarmed at the consequences of their own injustice, had just rescinded the orders in council.

The immediate effects of these proceedings on the contest in the Peninsula, shall be noticed in another place; but the ultimate effects on England's prosperity have not yet been unfolded. The struggle prematurely told the secret of American strength; and it has drawn the attention of the world to a people who, [notwithstanding the curse of black slavery which clings to them, adding the most horrible ferocity to the peculiar baseness of their mercantile spirit, and rendering their republican vanity ridiculous,] do in their general government uphold civil institutions which have startled the crazy despotisms of Europe.

Political state of Spain.—Bad government is more hurtful than direct war; the ravages of the last are soon repaired, and the public mind is often purified and advanced by the trial of adversity; but the evils springing from the former seem interminable. In the Isla de Leon the unseemly currents of folly, although less raging than before, continued to break open new channels, and yet abandoned none of the old. The intrigues of the Princess Carlotta were unremitted; and though the danger of provoking the populace of Cadiz restrained and frightened her advocates in the Cortes, she opposed the English diplomacy with reiterated, and not quite unfounded accusations, that the revolt of the colonies was being perfidiously fostered by Great Britain:—a charge well calculated

to lower the influence of England, especially in regard to the scheme of mediation, which, being revived in April by Lord Castle-reagh, was received by the Spaniards with outward coldness, and a secret resolution to reject it altogether; nor were they in any want of reasons to justify their proceedings.

This mediation had been commenced by Lord Wellesley, when the quarrel between the mother country and the colonies was yet capable of adjustment; it was now renewed when it could not succeed. English commissioners were appointed to carry it into execution; the Duke of Infantado was to join them on the part of Spain, and at first Mr. Stuart was to have formed part of the commission, Mr. Sydenham being to succeed him at Lisbon; but finally he remained in Portugal, and Mr. Sydenham was attached to the commission, whose composition he thus described:

“I do not understand a word of the Spanish language, I am unacquainted with the Spanish character, I know very little of Old Spain, and I am quite ignorant of the state of the colonies; yet I am part of a commission composed of men of different professions, views, habits, feelings, and opinions. The mediation proposed is at least a year too late; it has been forced upon the government of Old Spain. I have no confidence in the ministers who employ me, and I am fully persuaded that they have not the slightest confidence in me.”

The first essential object was to have Bardaxi's secret article, which required England to join Old Spain if the mediation failed, withdrawn; but as this could not be done without the consent of the Cortes, the publicity thus given would have ruined the credit of the mediation with the colonists. Nor would the distrust of the latter have been unfounded; for though Lord Wellesley had offered the guarantee of Great Britain to any arrangement made under her mediation, his successors would not do so!

“They empower us,” said Mr. Sydenham, “to negotiate and sign a treaty, but will not guarantee the execution of it! My opinion is, that the formal signature of a treaty by plenipotentiaries is in itself a solemn guarantee, if there is good faith and fair dealing in the transaction; and I believe that this opinion will be confirmed by the authority of every writer on the law of nations. But this is certainly not the doctrine of our present ministers; they make a broad distinction between the ratification of a treaty and the intention of seeing it duly observed.”

The failure of such a scheme was inevitable. The Spaniards wanted the commissioners to go first to the Caraccas, where, the revolt being full blown, nothing could be effected; the British government insisted that they should go to Mexico, where the

dispute had not yet been pushed to extremities. After much useless diplomacy, which continued until the end of the year, the negotiation, as Mr. Sydenham had predicted, proved abortive.

In March the new constitution of Spain had been solemnly adopted, and a decree settling the succession of the crown was promulgated. The Infant Francisco de Paula, the Queen of Etruria, and their respective descendants, were excluded from the succession, which was to fall first to the Princess Carlotta, if the Infant Don Carlos failed of heirs, then to the hereditary Princess of the Two Sicilies, and so on, the Empress of France and her descendants being especially excluded. This exhibition of popular power, under the pretext of baffling Napoleon's schemes, struck at the principle of legitimacy. And when the extraordinary Cortes decided that the ordinary Cortes, which ought to assemble every year, should not be convoked until October, 1813, and thus secured to itself a tenure of power for two years instead of one, the discontent increased both at Cadiz and in the provinces, and a close connection was kept up between the malcontents and the Portuguese government, which was then the stronghold of arbitrary power in the Peninsula.

The local Junta of Estremadura adopted Carlotta's claims in their whole extent, and communicated on the subject, at first secretly with the Portuguese Regency, and then more openly with Mr. Stuart. Their scheme was to remove all the acting provincial authorities, and to replace them with persons acknowledging Carlotta's sovereignty; they even declared that they would abide by the new constitution, only so far as it acknowledged what they called legitimate power; in other words, the Princess was to be sole regent. Nevertheless, this party was not influenced by Carlotta's intrigues; for they would not join her agents in any outcry against the British; they acted upon the simple principle of opposing the encroachments of democracy, and they desired to know how England would view their proceedings. The other provinces received the new constitution coldly, and the Biscayans angrily rejected it as opposed to their ancient privileges. In this state of public feeling, the abolition of the Inquisition, a design now openly agitated, offered a point around which all the clergy, and all that the clergy could influence, gathered against the Cortes, which was also weakened by its own factions; yet the republicans gained strength, and they were encouraged by the new constitution established in Sicily, which also alarmed their opponents, and the fear and distrust extended to the government of Portugal.

However, amidst all the varying subjects of interest, the insane project of reducing the colonies by force remained a favorite with

all parties; nor was it in relation to the colonies only that these men, who were demanding aid from other nations in the names of freedom, justice, and humanity, proved themselves to be devoid of those attributes themselves. "The humane object of the abolition of the slave-trade has been frustrated," said Lord Castlereagh, "because not only Spanish subjects, but Spanish public officers and governors, in various parts of the Spanish colonies, are instrumental to, and accomplices in, the crimes of the contraband slave-traders of Great Britain and America, furnishing them with flags, papers, and solemn documents to entitle them to the privileges of Spanish cruisers, and to represent their property as Spanish."

With respect to the war in Spain itself, all manner of mischief was abroad. The regular cavalry had been entirely destroyed, and when, with the secret permission of their own government, some distinguished Austrian officers proffered their services to the Regency to restore that arm, they were repelled. Nearly all the field artillery had been lost in action, the arsenals at Cadiz were quite exhausted, and most of the heavy guns on the works of the Isla were rendered unserviceable by constant and useless firing; the stores of shot were diminished in an alarming manner, no sums were appropriated to the support of the foundries, and when the British artillery officers made formal representations of this dangerous state of affairs, it only produced a demand of money from England to put the foundries into activity. To crown the whole, Abadia, recalled from Galicia, at the express desire of Sir Henry Wellesley, because of his bad conduct, was now made Minister of War.

In Ceuta, notwithstanding the presence of a small British force, the Spanish garrison, the galley slaves, and the prisoners of war, who were allowed to range at large, joined in a plan for delivering that place to the Moors; not from a treacherous disposition in the two first, but to save themselves from starving, a catastrophe which was only staved off by frequent assistance from the magazines of Gibraltar. Ceuta might have been easily acquired by England at this period, in exchange for the debt due by Spain, and General Campbell urged it to Lord Liverpool, but he rejected the proposal, fearing to awaken popular jealousy. The notion, however, came originally from the people themselves, and that jealousy which Lord Liverpool feared, was already in full activity, being only another name for the democratic spirit rising in opposition to the aristocratic principle upon which England afforded her assistance to the Peninsula.

The foreign policy of Spain was not less absurd than their home policy, but it was necessarily contracted. Castro, the envoy at Lisbon, who was agreeable both to the Portuguese and British au-

thorities, was removed, and Bardaxi, who was opposed to both, substituted. This Bardaxi had been just before sent on a special mission to Stockholm, to arrange a treaty with that court, and he was referred to Russia for his answer, so completely subservient was Bernadotte to the Czar. One point, however, was characteristically discussed by the Swedish prince and the Spanish envoy. Bardaxi demanded assistance in troops, and Bernadotte in reply asked for a subsidy, which was promised without hesitation, but security for the payment being desired, the negotiation instantly dropped! A treaty of alliance was however concluded between Spain and Russia in July, and while Bardaxi was thus pretending to subsidize Sweden, the unceasing solicitations of his own government had extorted from England a grant of one million of money, together with arms and clothing for one hundred thousand men, in return for which five thousand Spaniards were to be enlisted for the British ranks.

To raise Spanish corps had long been a favorite project with many English officers; General Graham had deigned to offer his services, and great advantages were anticipated by those who still believed in Spanish heroism. Joseph was even disquieted, for the Catalans had formally demanded such assistance, and a like feeling was now expressed in other places; yet when it came to the proof only two or three hundred starving Spaniards of the poorest condition enlisted; they were recruited principally by the light division, were taught with care, and placed with English comrades, yet the experiment failed—they did not make good soldiers. Meanwhile, the Regency demanded and obtained from England, arms, clothing, and equipments for ten thousand cavalry, though they had scarcely five hundred regular horsemen to arm at the time, and had just rejected the aid of the Austrian officers in the organization of new corps. Thus the supplies granted by Great Britain continued to be embezzled or wasted; and with the exception of a trifling amelioration in the state of Carlos d'España's corps, effected by the direct interposition of Wellington, no public benefit seemed likely at first to accrue from the subsidy, for every branch of administration in Spain, whether civil or military, foreign or domestic, was cankered to the core. The public mischief was become portentous.

Ferdinand, living in tranquillity at Valençay, was so averse to encounter any dangers for the recovery of his throne, that he rejected all offers of assistance to escape. Kolli and the brothers Sagas had been alike disregarded. The councillor Sobral, who, while in secret correspondence with the allies, had so long lived at Victor's head-quarters, and had travelled with that Marshal to France, now proposed to carry the Prince off, and he also was baffled as his predecessors had been. Ferdinand would listen to no proposal save

through Escoiquez, who lived at some distance, and Sobral, who judged this man one not to be trusted, immediately made his way to Lisbon, fearful of being betrayed by the Prince to whose succor he had come.

Meanwhile Joseph was advancing towards the political conquest of the country, and spoke with ostentation of assembling a Cortes in his own interest; but this was to cover a secret intercourse with the Cortes in the Isla de Leon, where his partisans, called "*Afrancesados*," were increasing: for many of the democratic party, seeing that the gulf which separated them from the clergy, and from England, could never be closed, and that the bad system of government deprived them of the people's support, were willing to treat with the intrusive monarch as one whose principles were more in unison with their own. Joseph secretly offered to adopt the new constitution, with some modifications; and as many of the Cortes were inclined to accept his terms, the British policy was on the eve of suffering a signal defeat, when Wellington's iron arm again fixed the destiny of the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VI.

Political state of Portugal—Internal condition not improved—Government weak—Lord Strangford's conduct condemned—Lord Wellesley resolves to recall him and send Lord Louvaine to Rio Janeiro—Reasons why this did not take place—Lord Strangford's career checked by the fear of being removed—Lord Wellington obtains full powers from the Brazils—Lord Castlereagh's vigorous interference—Death of Linhares at Rio Janeiro—Domingo Scuza succeeds him as chief minister, but remains in London—Lord Wellington's moderation towards the Portuguese Regency—His embarrassing situation described—His opinion of the Spanish and Portuguese public men—His great diligence and foresight, aided by the industry and vigor of Mr. Stuart, supports the war—His administrative views and plans described—Opposed by the Regency—He desires the Prince Regent's return to Portugal without his wife—Carlotta prepares to come without the Prince—Is stopped—Mr. Stuart proposes a military government, but Lord Wellington will not consent—Great desertion from the Portuguese army in consequence of their distressed state, from the negligence of the government—Severe examples do not check it—The character of the Portuguese troops declines—Difficulty of procuring specie—Wellington's resources impaired by the shameful cupidity of English merchants at Lisbon and Oporto—Proposal for a Portuguese bank made by Domingo Souza, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Villiers—Lord Wellington ridicules it—He permits a contraband trade to be carried on with Lisbon by Soult for the sake of the resources it furnishes.

POLITICAL STATE OF PORTUGAL.

THE internal condition of this country was not improved. The government, composed of civilians, was unable, as well as unwilling to stimulate the branches of administration connected with military affairs, and the complaints of the army, reaching the Brazils, drew reprimands from the Prince; but instead of meeting the evil with suitable laws, he only increased Beresford's authority, which was already sufficiently great. Thus while the foreigner's power augmented, the native authorities were degraded in the eyes of the people; and as their influence to do good dwindled, their ill-will increased, and their power of mischief was not lessened, because they still formed the intermediate link between the military commander and the subordinate authorities. Hence, what with the passive patriotism of the people, the abuses of the government, and the double dealing at the Brazils, the extraordinary energy of Lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart was counterbalanced.

The latter had foreseen that the Regent's concessions at the time of Borel's arrest would produce but a momentary effect in Portugal, and all the intrigues at Rio Janeiro revived when Lord Wellesley, disgusted with Perceval's incapacity, had quitted the British Cabinet. But previous to that event, Mr. Sydenham, whose mission to Portugal has been noticed, had so strongly represented

the evil effects of Lord Strangford's conduct, that Lord Wellesley would have immediately dismissed him, if Mr. Sydenham, who was offered the situation, had not refused to profit from the effects of his own report. It was then judged proper to send Lord Louvaine with the rank of ambassador, and he was to touch at Lisbon and consult with Lord Wellington whether to press the Prince's return to Portugal, or insist upon a change in the Regency; meanwhile, a confidential agent, despatched direct to Rio Janeiro, was to keep Lord Strangford in the strict line of his instructions until the ambassador arrived.

But Lord Louvaine was on bad terms with his uncle, the Duke of Northumberland, a zealous friend to Lord Strangford; and for a government, conducted on the principle of corruption, the discontent of a nobleman, possessing powerful parliamentary influence, was necessarily of more consequence than the success of the war in the Peninsula. Ere a fit successor to Lord Strangford could be found, the Prince Regent of Portugal acceded to Lord Wellington's demands, and it was then judged expedient to await the effect of this change of policy. Meanwhile, the dissensions, which led to the change of ministry, arose, and occupied the attention of the English Cabinet to the exclusion of all other affairs. Thus Lord Strangford's career was for some time uncontrolled, yet after several severe rebukes from Lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart, it was at last arrested by a conviction that his tenure of place depended upon their will.

However, prior to this salutary check on the Brazilian intrigues, Lord Wellesley had so far intimidated the Prince Regent of Portugal, that besides assenting to the reforms, he despatched Mr. De Lemos from Rio Janeiro, furnished with authority for Beresford to act despotically in all things connected with the administration of the army. Moreover Lord Wellington was empowered to dismiss Principal Souza from the Regency; and Lord Castlereagh, following up his predecessor's policy on this head, insisted that all the obnoxious members of the Regency should be set aside and others appointed. And these blows at the power of the Souza faction were accompanied by the death of Linhares, the head of the family, an event which paralyzed the court of Rio Janeiro for a considerable time; nevertheless the Souzas were still so strong, that Domingo Souza, now Count of Funchal, was appointed Prime Minister, although he retained his situation as ambassador to the English court, and continued to reside in London.

Lord Wellington, whose long experience of Indian intrigues rendered him the fittest person possible to deal with the exactions and political cunning of a people who so much resemble Asiatics,

now opposed the removal of the obnoxious members from the Regency. He would not even dismiss the Principal Souza; for with a refined policy he argued, that the opposition to his measures arose as much from the national, as from the individual character of the Portuguese authorities, several of whom were under the displeasure of their own court, and consequently dependent upon the British power for support against their enemies. There were amongst them also persons of great ability, and hence no beneficial change could be expected, because the influence already gained would be lost with new men. The latter would have the same faults, with less talent, and less dependence on the British power, and the dismissed ministers would become active enemies. The Patriarch would go to Oporto, where his power to do mischief would be greatly increased, and Principal Souza would then be made Patriarch. It was indeed very desirable to drive this man, whose absurdity was so great as to create a suspicion of insanity, from the Regency, but he could neither be persuaded nor forced to quit Portugal. His dismissal had been extorted from the Prince by the power of the British government; he would therefore maintain his secret influence over the civil administration, he would be considered a martyr to foreign influence, which would increase his popularity, and his power would be augmented by the sanctity of his character as Patriarch. Very little advantage could then be derived from a change, and any reform would be attributed to the English influence, against which the numerous interests involved in the preservation of abuses would instantly combine with active enmity.

On the other hand, the government of Portugal had never yet laid the nature of the war fairly before the people. The latter had been deceived, flattered, cajoled, their prowess in the field extolled beyond reason, and the enemy spoken of contemptuously; but the resources of the nation, which essentially consisted neither in its armies, nor in its revenue, nor in its boasting, but in the sacrificing of all interests to the prosecution of the contest, had never been vigorously used to meet the emergencies of the war. The Regency had neither appealed to the patriotism of the population, nor yet enforced sacrifices, by measures which were absolutely necessary, because, as the English General honestly observed, no people would ever voluntarily bear such enormous, though necessary burthens; strong laws and heavy penalties could alone insure obedience. The Portuguese government relied upon England and her subsidies, and resisted all measures which could render their natural resources more available. Their subordinates on the same principle executed corruptly and vexatiously, or evaded, the mili-

tary regulations, and the chief supporters of all this mischief were the Principal and his faction.

Thus dragged by opposing forces, and environed with difficulties, Wellington took a middle course. That is, he strove by reproaches and by redoubled activity to stimulate the patriotism of the authorities; he desired the British ministers at Lisbon and at Rio Janeiro to paint the dangerous state of Portugal in vivid colors, and to urge the Prince Regent in the strongest manner to enforce the reform of those gross abuses, which in the taxes, in the customs, in the general expenditure, and in the execution of orders by the inferior magistrates, were withering the strength of the nation. At the same time, amidst the turmoil of his duties in the field, sometimes actually from the field of battle itself, he transmitted memoirs upon the nature of these different evils, and the remedies for them; memoirs which will attest to the latest posterity the greatness and vigor of his capacity.

These efforts, aided by the suspension of the subsidy, produced partial reforms, yet the natural weakness of character and obstinacy of the Prince Regent were insurmountable obstacles to any general or permanent cure; the first defect rendered him the tool of the court intriguers, and the second was to be warily dealt with, lest some dogged conduct should oblige Wellington to put his often repeated threat, of abandoning the country, into execution. The success of the contest was in fact of more importance to England than to Portugal, and this occult knot could neither be untied nor cut; the difficulty could with appliances be lessened, but might not be swept away; hence the British General, involved in ceaseless disputes, and suffering hourly mortifications, the least of which would have broken the spirit of an ordinary man, had to struggle as he could to victory.

Viewing the contest as one of life or death to Portugal, he desired to make the whole political economy of the state a simple provision for the war, and when thwarted, his reproaches were as bitter as they were just; nevertheless, the men to whom they were addressed were not devoid of merit. In after times, while complaining that he could find no persons of talent in Spain, he admitted that amongst the Portuguese, Redondo possessed both probity and ability, that Nogueira was a statesman of capacity equal to the discussion of great questions, and that no sovereign in Europe had a better public servant than Forjas. Even the restless Principal disinterestedly prosecuted measures for forcing the clergy to pay their just share of the imposts. But greatness of mind, on great occasions, is a rare quality. Most of the Portuguese considered the sacrifices demanded, a sharper ill than submission, and it was