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CHAPTER XXI.

ERRATA.—Page 365, for "CHAP. XV." read "CHAP. XVI." and, page 387, for "CHAP. XVI." read "CHAP. XVII."

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
SPANISH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

Native Courage of the Spanish Character—Baneful Influence of the Priesthood—Various Causes which operated to produce more liberal Views of political Rights—Collision of conflicting Principles—Short Retrospection of Events—Invasion of Portugal, and military Possession of Spain—Quarrel between King Charles the Fourth and his son Ferdinand—The former abdicates the Crown—Buonaparte decoys them both to Bayonne, where they renounce their Title to the Spanish Throne, and are sent into France.

IN all their struggles against foreign aggression, an invincible spirit of courage and independence has ever distinguished the Spanish people: and yet, perhaps, no nation has borne with such passive submission, during a period of three centuries, the galling tyranny of internal oppression. This apparent anomaly of character, however, may be easily reconciled, by distinguishing between their native energies when directed against foreign enemies, and their views and habits acquired from a misdirection of their minds, formed upon the basis of *divine right*, as resident in their spiritual superiors and civil governors. Instructed only in an implicit submission to the formula of the *celestial hierarchy*, the priesthood governed their conscience with supreme authority; and, taught to look only to the will of the monarch, as exhibited in the royal edicts, for the measure of their



obsequiousness, they had no conceptions of political rights or civil equality.*

Such was the moral and intellectual condition of Spain, when the French Revolution burst forth before the astonished world. Immediately joined to France in its geographical situation, the two monarchies assimilated in their political institutions, and cemented by ties which seemed to identify the interests of one with the other, Spain of course became deeply interested in the events which that important phenomenon exhibited. It is certain, however, that revolutionary principles and doctrines were more tardy in their progress, and less powerful in their influence, throughout Spain, than perhaps in the more remote states of Europe. The reasons of this fact may be found in the preceding remarks in reference to the people's extreme indisposition to adopt principles at variance with those they had been accustomed to entertain, and in the difficulty of divesting themselves of those predilections which it was the business and interest of their superiors to confirm.

It will not be controverted, however, that to this era must be ascribed the first visible change in the public opinion of Spain. In every nation, however generally sunk in mental imbecility or moral degradation, there are always to be found individuals of superior intellect and penetration, who have escaped the common prejudices, and raised them-

* A tolerable idea of the notions entertained by the clergy, of subserviency to authority, may be formed by the following instance adduced by Mr. Blaquier in his "Historical Review," and also of the grounds upon which those notions are formed. "A writer," says he, "to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, relates, that having once endeavoured to persuade a dignitary of the church of the advantages which would arise from establishing a greater degree of equality among the members of the body politic, he replied, 'Is it possible, my friend, that a man of your judgment can agree with those fools (alluding to the *Liberales*) who pretend to establish such a principle, forgetting that the inmates of heaven itself are not equal either as to happiness or pre-eminence, since they are divided into saints, archangels, seraphim, and cherubim!' This well-intentioned man," adds the writer, "is adorned with the purest moral and religious virtues; and so anxious was he to remove the delusion under which I laboured, that he repeatedly urged me to abjure my false notions, as the only means of avoiding perdition."

selves above the errors and superstitions, of their countrymen. The disgraceful transactions, indeed, which accompanied the early period of the French Revolution presented no very imposing specimen in favour of political change; yet the reflecting part of the Spanish nation would easily distinguish between the goodness of a cause, and the evils or excesses which had incidentally proceeded from it. A variety of publications, emanating from the French press, and which, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Spanish authorities, had found their way into the kingdom, exposed the vices of despotic governments, and bared to public inspection the misery and wretchedness of a people sacrificed to the interests and ambition of the privileged orders. The interdiction of publicity to these writings created, as it always must, an increased excitement for their perusal; while, in a very short time, several illustrious literary characters in Spain, among whom were Jovellanos and Cabarrus, attracted the national attention, by their patriotic publications, to the necessity and advantages of an improved government.

Another circumstance in preparing the Spanish nation for a due appreciation of the blessings of freedom, is to be found in the intercourse which the invasion by Napoleon introduced between his numerous armies and the inhabitants: for whatever hostility there might exist in a great portion of the Spanish population, against the military occupation of their country by a foreign enemy, yet the comparatively liberal constitution established by King Joseph, and the moderate course of his general policy, could not fail to produce a favourable impression, when they were viewed in contrast with their previous institutions, and the conduct of their despotic monarchs.*

* Buonaparte must have been well aware that it would be impracticable to establish a new dynasty in Spain without engaging the popular feeling, and bettering the condition of the people. The very first measure of the emperor proved that he was impressed with this conviction. I allude to the abolition of that tribunal of blood, to which the whole nation had long attributed all its evils. The time and place chosen for issuing the decree greatly enhanced its value in the estimation of the people, and shewed how well Napoleon knew how to secure

A third cause which powerfully operated in imbuing the people with a knowledge and love of constitutional freedom, and effecting a mental revolution, arose from the enlightened discussions in the Cortes of 1810, where many individuals distinguished themselves as the true friends of their country and of mankind.

From this short review, it will obviously appear how galling the base and treacherous proceedings of Ferdinand would be to the generality of the Spanish nation, after returning from an exile from which the courageous and persevering conduct of these patriots had rescued him; and how powerful the tendency to an alienation of attachment to his person and government, when they saw that the shafts of persecution and the weapons of superstition were directed with unrelenting fury against the very individuals who had been chiefly instrumental in delivering the throne from foreign usurpation, and the nation from domestic vassallage and degradation. It is true, these important acquisitions had been gained by sacrificing the baneful influence and personal interests of an imbecile aristocracy, and the hateful domination of an abominable priesthood; of the latter especially, who absorbed in themselves an immense revenue, no less injurious to the prosperity, than inimical to the liberties of the people.*

popular applause. Reaching Chamartin, within a few leagues of Madrid, on the second of December, 1808, the anniversary of his coronation, the decree was promulgated there on that very day, and is said to have had a wonderful effect in accelerating the cause of King Joseph. It was a saying of Buonaparte, in speaking of the Spanish people in reference to this famous decree, that their descendants would one day raise altars to his name. It is no more than an act of justice to say, that whatever measure of censure is attributable to the French ruler for his forcible possession of Spain, he is deserving of high praise for being the first who struck at the root of the evils which had long afflicted that country.

* Referring to the abuses existent in the old clerical system of Spain, a late publication places them in a most prominent point of light. The number of monks of all colours and denominations, barefooted and bareheaded, with their attendants, at the period of Spain's recent liberation, was little less than 90,000; while the secular clergy, including the various dignitaries and attendants, exceeded 80,000. This number is independent of 5000 nuns. According to an estimate

Under these circumstances, it became very evident to close observation, that the time was at hand when liberal principles of government, and an attachment to old abuses, would form the elements of conflicting warfare; and as the advocates of each had every thing that was deemed valuable to gain or to lose, the collision was likely to become ardent and obstinate: that it would elicit, on the one hand, all the exertions which jesuitical craft could employ upon weak and superstitious minds; and, on the other, the most determined efforts to rouse the patriotic feelings of the country in favour of national liberty. The operation of these causes was discernible in Spain as early as the year 1808; the struggle between the opposite principles was yet more clearly developed in 1814, when kingly and priestly despotism had at least a temporary but fatal triumph; and not less so from the latter epoch to the memorable period of 1820, when a brighter prospect opened itself to the hopes of the patriots. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, although the cause of Spanish independence then obtained a signal triumph, the enemies of the constitution have not ceased to put in motion all their machinations to bring back upon the country all the curses of regal tyranny and ecclesiastical domination.

by Cabarrus, presented to Joseph Buonaparte in 1809, the clergy possessed a fourth of the whole capital of the kingdom; while their annual revenue amounted to 750,000,000 of reals; that is to say, as much as it costs to support the army and navy, diplomatic agents, administration of justice, and collection of the revenue! But there were various and very considerable benefits, arising from donations, legacies, and what the mendicant orders collect, which are not included in the above sum. The system of plunder to which Spain has been exposed from the court of Rome, fully accounts for the efforts made to oppose the constitution in that quarter. What with the price paid for bulls, dispensations, plenary indulgences, fines on taking orders, pensions, &c. there is no possibility of calculating the real sum drawn from the people by this crying abuse. To give a distant idea of its extent, it need only be mentioned, that one of the pensions paid annually from the fund called *La Santissima Cruzada*, for supporting the establishment of the Vatican, amounted to no less a sum than 15,000 Spanish dollars! Various other sums, not much inferior to this, were also paid from the same source; though the money thus extracted from poor Spain was levied on the most indigent classes of the people.

These preliminary observations have been deemed necessary, in order to introduce the reader advantageously to the more immediate object of the work, which is to exhibit a succinct view of the interesting occurrences of Spain, especially in relation to its political struggles for constitutional freedom. The circumstances attendant on the French invasion—the history of the battles and sieges which occurred during the six years following, with the final expulsion of the enemy from the territory—have been recorded in innumerable publications. The recital of these transactions will therefore form no prominent part of the plan of the present work. But, though I thus exclude myself from a circumstantial narrative of the events of the Spanish invasion, it will be quite necessary to take a short retrospection—to review them in their commencement, advert to them in their progress, and shew their bearings on and connexion with the patriotic efforts of the great liberators of their country. Having premised my intention, it shall be my present business to glance at the situation and transactions of the country at a somewhat earlier period than that fixed upon for more extended historical notice.

After the French emperor had, by successful hostility in 1807, forced upon Russia and Prussia the peace of Tilsit, by which both these powers agreed to adopt the most rigorous anti-commercial measures against Great Britain, and while the whole of continental Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France, a favourable opening presented itself to Napoleon to possess himself of Spain and Portugal—a policy, however, which eventually proved fatal to that grand scheme he had obviously adopted, for universal empire.* The former kingdom, indeed, by the imbecility and treachery of the infamous Godoy, first minister of Spain, had given sufficient evidences of the most humiliating compliances with the designs of the French ruler, and did not appear indisposed to carry its submission so far as to com-

* Count Las Cases, in his "Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of Napoleon," puts into his mouth the following admission, in reference to the Spanish war:—"That unlucky war ruined me; it divided my forces, obliged me to multiply my efforts, and caused my principles to be assailed."

promise its own independence. As to Portugal, she was the ancient ally of Great Britain; and although, to satisfy the demands of France, and preserve her neutrality, she had at a great sacrifice closed her ports against England, an army of 40,000 Frenchmen were assembled at Bayonne to invade her, the talismanic denunciation had been pronounced by Napoleon—"The house of Braganza has ceased to reign," the troops advanced upon Lisbon, and the twenty-ninth of November presented a new spectacle to the world—that of an European monarch and his court flying from his capital to seek an asylum in his distant dominions. The Portuguese fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail, in which were embarked about 18,000 individuals, had scarcely quitted the Tagus, when the invading army made its appearance on the heights before the capital. It should be noted, that Napoleon had drawn Spain into an acquiescence with this measure, by a secret treaty concluded at Fontainebleau in the preceding October. To reward the devotedness and servility of Godoy to the French interests, it was stipulated in this treaty, that the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of Algarva should be allotted to him in sovereignty.

By the introduction of his army into Spain, Buonaparte had prepared his way for the accomplishment of his ulterior purposes. On various pretences, he obtained possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona; and, by the end of the year, had an army in the interior of not less than 70,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. He had besides drawn from that country, in virtue of existing treaties, about 16,000 of its best troops, and placed them in the north of Germany, where they were rendered incapable of interfering with his views.

The dissensions in which the court of Madrid was at this time involved, materially tended to serve the purposes of Buonaparte. The Prince of Asturias, the heir apparent, had seen with disgust the scandalous affection which the queen* had manifested for Don Manuel Godoy, and the

* The queen of Charles the Fourth, who was a daughter of the late Duke of Parma, appears in her general conduct to have paid little regard either to her sex or high station. Her amours long formed the subject of free observation in every court and every country of

decided influence which that favourite maintained over the weak mind of the king, as well as the unbounded authority that he had usurped in the Spanish dominions. The results of this disgust were the most inveterate quarrels between him and the royal parents. What tended to widen the breach was a proposal, thought to originate with the minister, that Ferdinand, having lost his first wife, should marry a niece of the wife of Godoy—a proposal which the prince resented; and he is said to have secretly written a letter to the French ruler, expressing a wish to marry one of his relations. A few days after he had taken this step, he was arrested and imprisoned, on a charge of conspiring against the sovereignty of his father, and of a design against his mother's life. This transaction is still involved in mystery. Godoy found, however, that the cause of Ferdinand was extremely popular with the people, and that he himself was becoming proportionably odious to them: he therefore prevailed upon the prince to make some kind of acknowledgments, induced the father and mother to accept them, and Ferdinand was set at liberty.

Europe. Doblado's "Letters from Spain," a work just published, exhibit her character for intrigue and gallantry in a very disgusting view. This author gives us a circumstantial history of her amours, not only with Don Manuel Godoy, but with three or four other favourites, with whom she intrigued, without paying much respect to outward decorum. The old king, however, does not seem to have been annoyed with any acute sensibility of feeling: his royal consort exercised a commanding influence over him, which furnished her with easy facilities in promoting the honours and interests of her paramours. The following anecdote, which is given in the tenth letter of Doblado's work, pretty strongly shews how confident and secure Charles felt in the fidelity of his consort.—"The old Duke de J— (on the authority of whose lady I give you the anecdote) was once, with other grandees, in attendance on the king, when his majesty, being in high gossiping humour, entered into a somewhat gay conversation on the fair sex. He descanted at some length on their fickleness and caprice; and laughed at the dangers of husbands in these southern climates. Having had his fill of merriment on the topic of jealousy, he concluded with an air of triumph, 'We crowned heads have this chief advantage over others, that our honour, as they call it, is safe; for supposing that queens were as much bent on mischief as some of their sex, where could they find kings and emperors to flirt with? Eh?'"

Buonaparte had so effectually wrought upon the fears of the old Spanish monarch, by a policy at one time directly offensive, and at another enveloped in mystery, as to induce him to attempt following the example of the King of Portugal, by emigrating to Mexico. In furtherance of this object, on the seventeenth of March, 1808, he had privately made all the necessary preparations, when, on a discovery of his intentions being made by the people, they ran in crowds, and surrounded the palace, determined to prevent the execution of the scheme. The populace were roused to fury, and a violent tumult ensued. Godoy was seized and imprisoned, as the supposed author of the plan; and, on the following day, the king announced, that he had permitted the minister to resign all his employments. On the nineteenth, his majesty promulgated a decree, stating, that, in consequence of his habitual infirmities, and his wish to enjoy a private life, he had abdicated the throne in favour of the Prince of Asturias, and commanded the nation thenceforward to obey Ferdinand as their sovereign.

All the foreign ministers, except those of France, hastened to congratulate the young king on his accession. The latter affected a sullen silence, excusing themselves by saying, they must wait instructions from their master. In the mean time, Murat received orders to march his troops on the Spanish capital: and, on the evening of the twenty-third of March, he entered Madrid with a numerous staff; the imperial guards, and a large body of cavalry and infantry, remaining encamped on the surrounding heights. From this moment, French policy was actively employed in alternate intimidations and flatteries towards Charles and Ferdinand. The former now affirmed, that his abdication was extorted, and appealed for justice against his son to Napoleon; while Ferdinand was assured by the French ministers, that if he would confide his interests to their master, a recognition of his title to the crown would immediately follow.

I shall not stop to notice the various diplomatic manoeuvres employed on the hopes and fears of the royal father and son, in order to effectuate an important object contemplated by the French ruler, which was no other than to draw them both into his own hands. Under an assurance

that Buonaparte was on his way to pay a visit to Madrid, which subsequently proved to be a deception, General Savary, who had been directed to decoy Ferdinand, prevailed upon him to advance towards the frontiers, and compliment his illustrious visitor and ally on his approach. The prince fell into the snare. He had been led to expect that he should meet Buonaparte at Burgos; but, on his arrival there, there was no appearance of the French emperor. He was pressed to proceed on to Vittoria; and when he reached that place, some suspicious movements among the French troops rendered it obvious to him and his retinue, that he had no alternative but to go on to Bayonne with the appearance of his own voluntary choice, or be compelled by force. On the twentieth of April, Ferdinand entered the latter city, where Buonaparte had already arrived; and, after some unmeaning compliments between them, Savary was commissioned to announce to the young prince, that the emperor had irrevocably determined, that the dynasty of the Bourbons should no longer reign in Spain—that it was to be succeeded by his own—and, consequently, his imperial majesty required, that Ferdinand should, in his own name and that of all his relations, renounce the crown of Spain, and of the Indies, in favour of the French emperor and his family. The resistance made by Ferdinand to this demand, through his ministers Cevallos and Labrador, determined Napoleon to draw the old king to Bayonne, with a view of extorting this renunciation from him. Accordingly, he directed Murat to cause Charles and his queen to set off for that city; and, as the former made the release of Godoy from prison a stipulation for his compliance, Murat, by his own authority, released the ex-minister, and Charles and his consort arrived at Bayonne on the thirtieth of April. Buonaparte was completely successful in bringing the royal father to his views: he prevailed upon him formally to renounce his title; and, subsequently, brought Ferdinand to an acquiescence in the same abandonment.* As soon as the different members

* The commonly reported infamy of the Queen of Spain, in declaring that Ferdinand was not the son of the king—the stratagems

of the royal family had answered the purpose for which they were brought together at Bayonne, they were successively dismissed to the interior of France, from the scene of Buonaparte's operations, in which other characters were destined to play the parts assigned to them.

imputed to Buonaparte, in fomenting the quarrels between Charles and his son—and the force said to have been used by Napoleon to induce Ferdinand to sign the act of abdication—are all denied by the French emperor. So, at least, says Barry O'Meara, in his 'Voice from St. Helena,' in the following extract taken from his diary.—“Had some conversation with him (Napoleon) relative to Spain. I asked, if it were true, that the queen had said to Ferdinand in his presence, that he was *her* son, but not the son of the king, thus proclaiming her own infamy? Napoleon assured me, that she had never made use of such expressions before him; that she had told him, he was not worthy to be the son of a king. I observed, that it had been asserted, that he had offered to give Ferdinand one of his relations in marriage, and make him king of Naples, to marry another of his relations to Don Carlos, and to grant him a sovereignty. Napoleon replied, 'All these assertions are false. Ferdinand himself repeatedly asked me to give him one of my relations in marriage; but I never asked him.' I said, that, in a publication of great circulation, it was broadly asserted, that he had given Ferdinand the choice between abdication and death; that in consequence of this, and the threats of King Charles against himself and his followers, he had abdicated. 'That is also false,' replied Napoleon; 'there was no threat made use of, or compulsion, * * * * * The fact is, that had it not been for their broils and quarrels among themselves, I should never have thought of dispossessing them.' I said, that some of the publications against him asserted, that he had been the contriver of the whole himself, that he might take advantage of it afterwards. 'A man like me,' replied the emperor, 'is always either *uno dio* or *un diavolo*, (a god or a devil.) It is as true as is the assertion, that I brought over Pichegru and Georges to Paris, purposely to ruin Moreau. When I saw those *imbecilles* quarrelling, and trying to dethrone each other, I thought that I might as well take advantage of it, and dispossess an inimical family; but I was not the contriver of their disputes. Had I known, at first, that the transaction would have given me so much trouble, or that it would ever have cost me the lives of two hundred men, I never would have attempted it; but being once embarked, it was necessary to go forward.'”

CHAPTER II.

Popular Ferment at Madrid—Massacre of the second of May—King Joseph proclaimed—Resistance of the Provinces to French Domination—Appointment of provincial Juntas—Central Junta of Seville—Its patriotic Addresses to the Nation—Succours from England—Takes Refuge in Cadiz—Military Operations against that Place—Assembling of the National Cortes—The patriotic Labours of this Body—Sketch of the Guerilla Chiefs—Mina—Legitimacy denied to the Spanish Constitution—Its principal Articles—Defence of it.

FROM the time that Ferdinand quitted Madrid, and especially when intelligence was received of his having passed the frontiers, the people of the capital manifested strong symptoms of suspicion and discontent. These irritations were further increased, after Charles and his consort had followed the same track; to which the circumstance of Godoy's liberation, under the authority of Murat alone, and against the will of the populace, greatly contributed.

Towards the latter end of April, either by means of private letters from the individuals in the retinue of Ferdinand, or some other sources of intelligence, the people of Madrid received obscure hints of the events passing on the other side of the Pyrenees. These intimations gradually laid open the true state of the case, until it was generally surmised that the French ruler intended to effect some important alteration in the government. The day fixed for the departure of the Queen of Etruria, daughter of Charles the Fourth, and her brother, Don Francisco, to Bayonne, was the second of May; but it had also been reported, that Don Antonio, president of the junta, was to accompany them; and when one of the carriages which was to convey the former illustrious personages drew up in the front of the palace, the people who were there assembled imagined that it was for Don Antonio. Under this misconception, they cut the traces of the carriage, and forced it back into the court-yard; but being assured that Don Antonio was not going to abandon them, they suffered the horses to be again put to it, and the carriages,