

with the Queen of Etruria and her brother, were permitted to proceed. Don Francisco, a boy of fourteen, was observed to weep bitterly—a circumstance which instantly awakened the sympathy of the populace, and roused their resentment, which manifested itself in a disposition to riot. A detachment of French soldiers now made its appearance on the spot; and dreadful confusion, attended with horrible carnage, ensued. The French discharged their pieces, and by these volleys a number of Spaniards were killed and wounded. An account of this procedure flew on the wings of indignation to all parts of the city; and the lower classes, seizing such weapons as they could find, rushed in multitudes through the streets to attack the objects of their enmity, of whom they killed considerable numbers, and seized their arms. All the French forces in Madrid were called out, and, by repeated discharges of musketry, and grape-shot from the artillery, cleared the squares and streets. The French cavalry also bore a distinguished part in this scene of slaughter, as they charged the populace several times. The people, broken and overcome by their opponents, fled in different directions, followed by the French, who fired down the cross-streets, as they passed along, and at the windows and balconies of the houses, from whence they had been galled by the fire of the Spaniards, after they had been driven from the streets. Many of the houses were broken open, and the fugitives were put to the sword. The havock was the greatest at the Sun-Gate, in the street of Alcalá, and in the great square. A body of Spaniards had made for the arsenal, where there were arms for ten thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. Before they could provide themselves with the muskets, they were attacked by a French regiment; but two officers of Spanish artillery, Vilorde and Doaiz, with a few artillery-men, had time to bring out a four-and-twenty pounder, which they pointed so as to enfilade a long narrow lane leading to the gate of the place. The discharge of grape from this piece occasioned such carnage amongst the assailants, that they were obliged to send for reinforcements; and two French columns came to their assistance. Vilorde perished by a musket-shot. Doaiz, although his thigh was broken, con-

tinued to encourage his men, and give the necessary orders with composure, till he received three other wounds, the last of which terminated his existence. The united force of the French at length subdued the Spaniards, and the arsenal was taken. About two o'clock in the afternoon, some kind of order was restored, by the exertions of the council of Castile and the other tribunals, who, attended by several Spanish noblemen, and some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry, both Spanish and French, rode along the streets, for the purpose of restraining the mutual animosity of the people and their sanguinary oppressors. The tumult was, in fact, suppressed; but not the work of death. Murat directed military tribunals to be formed, by which all the prisoners taken by the French were ordered to be shot. This sentence was executed in the evening of this lamentable day. At night, the inhabitants were compelled to illuminate their houses, to prevent the possibility of a new insurrection, attended with the horrors of darkness. The next morning, and for two succeeding days, numerous apprehensions of unfortunate individuals took place. These victims of cruelty were hurried before the bloody tribunals established by the French, condemned on the most doubtful evidence, and shot in groups in various parts of the city and its environs. It is impossible to ascertain the number of Spaniards who perished on the day of the insurrection, or by the subsequent massacres, though it must unquestionably have been great: as to the French, it was certainly considerable; but, according to the invariable custom of that people, when they relate their misfortunes, it was represented to be trifling.

I have been the more circumstantial in narrating the massacre of Madrid, as it was, in fact, the first occurrence that gave rise to that spirit of Spanish energy so eminently conspicuous in their subsequent conduct, and which not only directed itself against the invaders, but in organizing and maintaining an improvement in their internal affairs. If the first impulse given to the national feeling arose immediately from the treachery of foreign policy, there is no doubt but a determination for national reform very soon associated itself in the minds of the Spaniards. The junta

of government at Madrid, indeed, from the force of circumstances, offered no resistance to the domination of the enemy. Murat had caused himself to be appointed president; the junta yielded to necessity; and, in obedience to the extorted recommendation of Charles and Ferdinand, yielded to the demand of Buonaparte, that his brother Joseph should succeed to the crown. Napoleon convoked an assembly of the principal nobility and clergy at Bayonne, whom he easily prevailed upon to sanction his views, and brought them into an acquiescence with the basis of a new government. It was now that the French ruler thought it no longer necessary to conceal his ulterior designs: and he therefore published an address to the Spanish nation, announcing the new dynasty.

No sooner were these proceedings known in the different provinces of Spain, than a spirit of patriotic indignation pervaded the whole country. The idea of being tamely transferred, by their imbecile government at Madrid, to the dominion of a foreign family, stung the pride, and roused the dormant dignity, of the people. Although Asturias and Galicia first took measures to counteract the designs of the haughty oppressor, the other provinces became animated with the same ardour in such rapid succession, as to prove that one common sentiment of independence invigorated every division of the kingdom. In the principal cities of most of the provinces, juntas were speedily formed, for the provisional administration of affairs, and to direct the energies of the inhabitants. These assemblies published proclamations and addresses to their countrymen, inciting them to defend their rights, and vindicate their insulted honour. They recalled to their recollection the heroic actions of their ancestors, and the noble struggles they had maintained against the Moors, in the cause of freedom and religion. The daring and faithless conduct of Buonaparte was painted with all the correctness of truth, but in the most glowing colours. The artifices by which he had drawn the Spanish troops to the north of Europe, and decoyed the royal family to Bayonne, were placed in the strongest light.—“It were better,” said the junta of Galicia, “to die in defence of our religion and

fire-sides, and in our own country, than to be led bound to slaughter, in order to satisfy inordinate ambition."

In every part of Spain, except the two Castiles, Catalonia, and Navarre, the burst of patriotic feeling displayed itself. Some excesses were committed in different places, before regular assemblies were organized; but a spirit of order quickly succeeded to the appointment of proper authorities.

The account of the formation and conduct of the junta of Seville, is intimately connected with our history, as it formed the germ of the government, which was subsequently transferred to Cadiz, where the regency and national cortes, in spite of all the efforts of the whole power of France, maintained the national independence, and organized a code of laws denominated "The Spanish Constitution."

The junta of Seville was constituted on the twenty-seventh of May; and on this assembly, the other provisional authorities, by tacit consent, conferred the supreme direction of affairs. Seville was peculiarly well calculated to be the seat of government on this occasion, on account of many advantages which Andalusia had, at the time, over other provinces. It possessed the only foundry for cannon in the kingdom; it abounded in arms and military stores; more veteran troops were collected in it than in other parts; and, independent of its numerous population and wealth, it was remote from the presence and influence of the French armies. The junta having proclaimed Ferdinand as their king, in his name declared war against France. They established subordinate juntas in all cities and towns subject to their jurisdiction, consisting of 2000, or more, householders; and these corporations were to enlist all the inhabitants, from the age of sixteen to that of forty-five, for the service of the country. They next published their admirable rules for the conduct of the Spaniards in the hostilities that were to be commenced against the French, under the title of "Precautions." The first object which they recommended was, the avoidance of all general actions, and the adoption of a war of partisans, by embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies for want of provisions, by destroying bridges, throwing up entrench-

ments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its numerous mountains, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, they justly observed, pointed out this species of warfare as the most advantageous. The assembly addressed the people of Madrid in the most cordial terms. "Seville," said they, "has learned, with consternation and surprise, the dreadful catastrophe which has occurred in your city. She has seen with horror the weakness of a government which did nothing in your favour, and which ordered arms to be directed against you. The Spanish blood shed in Madrid calls aloud for vengeance! Comfort yourselves; we are your brethren. Assist us with your good wishes, and your continual prayers offered up to the Most High, who can never forsake us, because he never forsakes those whose motives are just. Should any favourable opportunity offer, exert yourselves, as valiant Spaniards, to shake off the ignominious yoke imposed on you, with the slaughter of so many of your innocent fellow-citizens, and with a perfidy detestable beyond example."

The Spaniards, in their present circumstances, looked towards Great Britain for assistance. Deputies from Asturias arrived in England on the 9th of June, to solicit succour. They did not solicit any military force to aid them, as they declared it was not requisite; but money, arms, ammunition, and clothing; and these were furnished by the British ministry in abundance, as well as with expedition. The English nation welcomed the deputies of Asturias, and those of the other Spanish provinces, who soon afterwards reached London, with every demonstration of hospitality and enthusiastic sympathy in their cause. The supplies which they required were furnished to them with friendly zeal by the government; and on the 4th of July, an order of council announced that all hostilities with Spain should immediately cease.

It has already been observed, that the present work is not designed to embrace the sanguinary struggles which characterized the Peninsular war. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that the skill and courage of the British army, aided by the spirited conduct of the Spanish



people,* and the confidence inspired by the persevering firmness of the cortes, finally prevailed over the gigantic efforts of Napoleon; and that at the close of the year 1813, not an enemy remained upon the soil, except such as were prisoners of war. It will be necessary, however, in order to arrive by a natural connection at the events at Madrid in the early part of the year 1814, when the Spanish constitution was proclaimed, to notice the military operations of the enemy before Cadiz, with a view of marking the occurrences of its liberation. To the patriotic addresses of the chief junta at Seville, and the noble defence made by the patriots of that city, the cause of Spanish independence is essentially indebted. In 1810, indeed, Seville yielded to the colossal power of France; but not until the energies and spirit of its legislators had been transferred to, and found a still more secure asylum in, the Isle of Leon.

* Obligated as I am, in pursuance of the plan I have prescribed to myself, to pass over innumerable instances of heroism displayed by the Spaniards, yet it would be almost unpardonable to omit, in any work that would admit its record, the noble and patriotic defence made by the city of Saragossa, under the brave Palafox. In this instance, I gladly avail myself of the labours of a gentleman, from whom I have already quoted, and to whose information I shall subsequently have frequent occasion to refer. He passed through this city in the year 1820, and thus alludes to the memorable event. "My approach to Saragossa naturally awakened all those recollections of wonder and admiration which its heroic efforts are so well calculated to call forth. The various and intrepid struggles made by this celebrated place, from the remotest periods of Spanish history down to its memorable defence in 1808, were present to my mind. When I reached the suburb, and perceived that there was not even a parapet to prevent the approach of an enemy, I could not help exclaiming to those around me, 'Is it possible, that this can be the place which stood two regular sieges, repulsed an army of thirty thousand men in the first instance, and was obliged to submit to a still greater force only through the effects of famine and disease?'—'Yes,' said one of the party, pointing to a height called Torrero, on the right, and then to the left bank of the Ebro, 'I myself witnessed a combined attack made from those two positions by the army of Marshal Lefebre, and repelled, after a most sanguinary conflict of ten hours' continued fighting; during which, we had not ten thousand regular troops, not one well-constructed battery, to oppose a force of more than double that number, fully provided, and prepared for conducting a formal

Some months passed, after the occupation of Seville by the French, before they quite obtained possession of the provinces of the south. Gibraltar supplied the patriots with arms and ammunition, and became a depôt for their prisoners, and an occasional point of support to their operations. Marshal Soult, however, ultimately succeeded in confining the Spanish troops in the Island of Leon; and to this important point his undivided efforts were subsequently directed.

The Island of Leon is of some extent; and, for the sake of illustration, may be called of a triangular form, two sides of it being washed either by the harbour or the ocean, and, consequently, secure from the attacks of a land force. The third side, about eight miles in extent, is merely separated from the continent by a channel from eighty to an hundred and fifty yards in width, called the San Pedro river. Over this channel, the only communication to the country connects

siege!—Owing to the events which succeeded the king's return in 1814, many parts of the city still present an undistinguishable heap of ruins. A decree of the supreme junta, promulgated soon after the first attack, awarded various honours and rewards to the brave defenders, and the town itself was to be exempted from the payment of taxes for ten years: but this, like all the other decrees of the patriotic government, was consigned to oblivion; and Saragossa has been suffered to feel all the evils arising out of a struggle, that can be compared only to those of Numantia and Saguntum. Most of the houses in the *Coso*, or main street, are perforated with innumerable bullets, fired by the contending parties. While the Spaniards possessed one side, and their opponents the other, it frequently happened, that a party of French and Spanish met, and disputed possession of the same house; and, on one occasion, fifteen hundred of the enemy, who had penetrated far into the *Coso*, were sacrificed in the course of two hours. If any traits could be cited, to mark the national character of Spain, they will be found in the resolution manifested by the females of Saragossa: not contented with performing all the duties of the soldiery—by serving the cannon, bearing arms, and throwing up works—they forced their children to co-operate in the defence; and but for these heroic women, little doubt is entertained that the city would have been much more easily reduced. As the people of Saragossa must be strongly imbued with the love of glory, it is some consolation for them to reflect, that, if not enriched by their heroism and constancy, they have acquired imperishable fame; while their defence will serve as a bright example to present times and future generations."

with a causeway artificially formed through a broad and difficult marsh, which every where bounds the land frontier of the island. At the apex of the triangle, or point furthest removed from the continent, a low narrow tongue of land stretches out four miles into the ocean, at the extremity of which stands the town of Cadiz, strongly fortified, and presenting to the attack of an enemy only one front of fortification, which occupies the whole breadth of the isthmus. The Spaniards collected 15,000 troops for the defence of the island, and an auxiliary force of 6000 or 7000 British and Portuguese soon came to their aid, under Sir Thomas Graham. That officer, with great labour and ability, constructed a line of defensive works behind the river San Pedro, occupying the Caraccas as an advanced post on the left, and extending to the ocean on the right. The French, on their part, spared no pains to secure their cantonments: they fortified with care Puerto Real, Puerto St. Maria, and Chiclana; formed entrenched camps in the intermediate spaces; but, above all, they strengthened the point of Trocadero, where they established batteries, which, at long and uncertain ranges, occasionally threw shells into the town. Against a place so well fortified, the French could carry their offensive operations no further; and their opponents were as incapable of offering annoyance.

Of the members of the central junta of Seville, who had fled from that place, three and twenty of them united at Cadiz, on the 29th of January, 1811, and attempted to resume their authority; but neither the local junta of that place, the army, nor the populace, seemed inclined to acknowledge their supreme authority: upon which, they resigned their power, and appointed a regency of five persons to carry on the government, till the cortes should be assembled. Much obloquy was cast upon the junta, and it has been thought undeservedly, for want of energy. The difficulties they had to contend with were indeed formidable, and such as a sanguine people, who looked to the accomplishment of their wishes, rather than to the probable means of realizing them, were ill prepared to appreciate.

The junta, on quitting the direction of public affairs,

published an address to the nation, from which the following passages are selected, to shew the nature of their apologies. —“When the government of the country was committed to our charge, our armies, half organized, were destitute of every thing; our treasury was empty, and our resources distant and uncertain. Before we had time to act, the despot of France poured through the Pyrenees the most formidable military force ever known; his veteran legions, better provided, and far the most numerous, surrounded our disjointed armies; and, in a moment, Spain lost half her defenders. The re-organization of those forces, and the creation of other armies, have absorbed all the resources since then at our command. Wherever our authority extended, there has perfect liberty and justice prevailed; and, even throughout the provinces occupied by the enemy, we have endeavoured, through many secret channels, to keep alive the fire of patriotism. We have upheld the national honour in the most delicate negotiations; always manfully bearing up against adversity, ever trusting that we should overcome it by constancy. It is true, we have committed many errors; and we would, were it possible, redeem them with our blood: but, in the various difficulties which encompassed us, who could have always acted right? Can it with justice be imputed to us, that one general possessed little prudence, and that another was deserted by fortune? that one army wanted courage, and another confidence? Much, O Spaniards, is to be attributed to your inexperience, and much to circumstances!”

The regency appointed by the junta was not more successful than the latter had been in securing public confidence, as they seemed more intent upon consolidating their own authority, than in hastening the assembling of the national cortes. To this measure, however, they were forcibly impelled, by a declaration of King Joseph, that he would convoke such an assembly at Madrid, in which he promised a representative government. The cortes assembled at Madrid in September: the regency was dissolved, and a new one instituted, of which General Blake was appointed the head. — This change gave a little activity to the Spanish military; and, in the spring of 1811, it was

resolved to make an offensive movement, to destroy the French works in front of the Island of Leon.

The enterprise seemed certain of success, as Marshal Soult had ventured on the bold measure of detaching a considerable portion of his force to besiege Badajoz; thereby reducing his troops in the lines to 10,000 or 12,000, whilst the army in the island mustered nearly 20,000. To remove all impediment to a well-combined exertion, General Graham consented to act under the orders of the Spanish general La Pena. In the execution of the main object, the battle of Barrosa occurred, in which the British forces, and the French under Marshal Victor, were principally engaged, and which terminated in the entire defeat of the enemy. But the solid advantages which should have accrued from this splendid victory were lost, by one of those misunderstandings so constant in combined operations, where neither of the commanders possess absolute authority. General Graham, having every reason to be dissatisfied with the Spanish general for not rendering the assistance his capabilities afforded, withdrew from under La Pena's command, and retired with the British, a few hours after the battle, into the Island of Leon. La Pena remained for several days on the Bermesa heights; he then recrossed into the island, without attempting injury to the enemy's works, though he had above 15,000 men under his command; and each party resumed its former attitude.

Marshal Soult afterwards, to banish the remembrance of Victor's defeat, and to gloss over his own inactivity before Cadiz, cast artillery of a peculiar construction, from which shells filled with lead ranged over great part of the town. The army in the Island of Leon did not return the compliment, because the principal sufferers from it would have been their countrymen or allies. Nevertheless, by a happy art the French possess, of giving importance to their military operations, their defensive position opposite the island has been magnified into a strict blockade and vigorous bombardment of the town, and, by an undue regard for national fame, is most frequently called by the English, the siege of Cadiz.*

* Colonel Jones, who has favoured the world with a history of the Peninsular war, indignantly repels the idea of the capital of Andalusia

Whilst the chief force of the French was occupied in Portugal and Andalusia, and there remained in the interior of Spain only a few weak corps, the Guerilla system took deep root, and in the course of 1811 attained its greatest perfection. Left to itself, the boldest and most enterprising of its members rose to command; and the mode of warfare best adapted to their force and habits was pursued. Each province boasted of a hero, in command of a formidable band:—Old Castile, Don Julian Sanchez; Arragon, Longa; Navarre, Espos y Mina;* the Asturias, El Marquirito; the

having sustained a siege. The following is a transcript of a note he has given on the subject.—“The piece of artillery lately mounted in St. James’s Park, considered as a monument of national success, is highly gratifying to every Englishman’s feelings: but those who wrote the inscription upon it, either not understanding the force of military terms, or under-rating the value of military character, have turned it into a monument of reproach, by making it a public memento that the French besieged Cadiz. Nothing could more disadvantageously contrast the difference of energy of the two nations, than the fact, that a French force, seldom exceeding ten or fifteen thousand men, had entered the Island of Leon, and carried on the siege of Cadiz, at the time when we were exerting our utmost strength to prevent it. As they did no such thing, but, on the contrary, entrenched their cantonments, and held a position, strictly speaking, more defensive than that of the army of the island, which maintained its picquets and advanced posts on the continent during the whole period in question—it surely would have been no more than justice to ourselves, and no disparagement to our enemy, if the inscription had been rather to the following effect:—That the French, intending to besiege Cadiz, were, by the powerful assistance of the English, prevented for two years from even setting a foot in the Island of Leon: that, alarmed for their own safety, they erected formidable lines of defence to secure their cantonments: that, not daring to approach sufficiently near the town to make use of artillery of the ordinary range, they endeavoured to increase its powers by casting mortars of a different construction from those in general use: that, when, by the victory of the Duke of Wellington at Salamanca, the French were forced to abandon their lines, these mortars fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who, in gratitude to the British for preserving Cadiz from the dangers and horrors of a siege, presented this to the Prince Regent,” &c. &c.

* Of the manners and character of this patriotic chief, who so highly distinguished himself against the French during their occupation of the country, and who now holds a command in the constitutional army, a tolerable idea may be formed from the subjoined

Guadalaxara Mountains, Juan Martin, the Empecinado; with innumerable others, renowned under some distinguishing appellatives, whose deeds spread a lustre over every part of the kingdom. These partisans separated and collected at any assigned rendezvous, at the command of their respective chiefs; and being assured of the inviolable faith of their countrymen, would frequently remain concealed for days together at the very gates of a town occupied by the French, and carry off the object of their search the moment it appeared. Nothing was secure from their activity and address;

sketch, drawn by a gentleman well qualified to judge, from personal observation. His account runs in the following terms:—"The activity and simple mode of living peculiar to the Guerilla chief, might be advantageously imitated by the military men of other countries. Having only reached Pamplona late in the evening, (August, 1820.) it was eight o'clock before I could wait on General Mina, who had gone out to take a walk, and pay some visits. Leaving my letters of introduction and address, I had not been more than half an hour at the Posado, before an aid-de-camp came to welcome my arrival, and invite me to dine with Mina on the following day: but he added, that his excellency would be happy to receive me between six and eight in the morning, to take chocolate. The novelty of the first-named hour induced me to prefer that; and as it was the first time I had ever been invited to the house of a great man so early, I determined not to keep him waiting. The palace of government, an old gothic edifice, is situated on the north side of Pamplona: it is washed by the river Arga, and commands a fine view of the Pyrenees, which rise in majestic grandeur within about ten miles of the city. The first object that attracted my attention, on ascending the great staircase leading to the apartment of the captain-general, was the following sentence, from the political code, inscribed in large gilt letters over the door:—'The Spanish nation is free and independent; it is not, nor can it be, the patrimony of any family or person.' On mentioning my name to an orderly, I was led through a long suite of rooms, furnished with the greatest simplicity, to a closet, where I found the hero, seated at a small deal table, smoking a segar; he wore a military undress, and had a black silk cap over one of fur. The general seemed to have been busily occupied in writing; but, on my entrance, he rose, and received me with the utmost cordiality, begging I would be seated; (there were only two chairs in the room;) when chocolate, its accompaniment a glass of spring-water, *los azucarillos*, and a segar, were served. We had a long conversation on the state of affairs in France and England; after which, I took occasion to congratulate his excellency on the recent accomplishment of his wishes, as well as on the part he had himself