

CHAP I. favour. The party opposed to the minister, emboldened by the accession of so powerful an auxiliary, had been active in establishing intrigues for the overthrow of the favourite, while Ferdinand endeavoured to strengthen the cause which he espoused, by securing in its favour the influence of Beauharnois, the French ambassador at Madrid. Through the latter a secret communication from the Prince was transmitted to Napoleon, in which he solicited the honour of an alliance with the imperial family of France. He entreated also that Napoleon would interfere to regulate the internal disorders of the government, and conveyed assurances, that to him alone could Spain look for deliverance from the evils under which she had long been suffering.

To the solicitations of the Prince no answer was returned; and Godoy having shortly afterwards become acquainted with the particulars of the transaction, Ferdinand, on the 28th of October,

App. No. 5. was arrested at the Escorial, and confined in the monastery of St. Laurence. On the 30th, a proclamation appeared charging him with high treason, in having organized a conspiracy for the purpose of dethroning the King. In a letter addressed to Napoleon, written on the 29th,

Charles made an additional charge against his son, of contemplating the assassination of the Queen.

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The people, however, considered these accusations as originating solely in the machinations of Godoy ; and this persuasion tended if possible still further to aggravate the hatred with which both his person and ministry were regarded by the nation. Godoy, alarmed at the tempestuous demonstrations of popular feeling, and aware of the evident perils which surrounded him, resolved, as usual, to retrace his steps, and become the instrument of reconciliation between the father and son. Ferdinand was accordingly induced to address a letter to the King, expressive of his contrition, and imputing the errors of his conduct to the influence and evil counsels of the Dukes del Infantado and San Carlos. This submission of the Prince produced the desired effect. Charles issued a second proclamation, extending pardon to his son, but stating that he had denounced the names of those principally concerned in the conspiracy, and directing a select commission of the council of Castile to assemble immediately for the trial of the offenders. By this tribunal the partisans of the Prince were acquitted of all

App. No. 6.

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CHAP. I. treasonable intention ; but being professedly hostile to the administration of Godoy, through his influence they were severally banished from the capital, by the arbitrary edict of the Sovereign.

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Oct. 29. The letter which was addressed to Napoleon by the King, on the imprisonment of the Prince of Asturias, was not more fortunate than that of his son, in eliciting a reply. It conveyed expressions of surprise, on the part of Charles, that the Emperor had not thought proper to consult him, in a matter so deeply interesting as the projected marriage of the heir-apparent. The remonstrance of his ally appears to have been treated by Napoleon with contemptuous neglect ; and the ominous silence of the French ruler, was regarded by Godoy as a symptom of alienation from his interests, the consequences of which he was not prepared to encounter. His apprehensions were still further excited by a communication from Murat, with whom he was on terms of confidential intercourse, informing him, that though the wishes of the Emperor prompted him to support his authority, yet the popularity of Ferdinand, and the near relation to himself in which that prince would be placed by the intend-

ed alliance with his family, rendered it impossible that he should take any prominent or open part in opposition to his interest or wishes.

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Godoy already felt that his power was in the wane. Without the support of Napoleon, he was too conscious of his own feebleness and unpopularity, not to be aware that he must soon fall before the covert intrigues and open assaults of his enemies. Anxious, therefore, to adopt whatever measures might tend to ingratiate him with his protector, he prevailed on Charles to address another letter to the Emperor, soliciting his consent to the alliance of the Prince of Asturias with a branch of his august family. Even this second communication produced no immediate reply; and leaving the Spanish Monarch and his minister in a state of painful solicitude, Napoleon set out for Italy.

While at Milan, he at length condescended to answer the King of Spain's letters. His communication contained assurances that he was entirely ignorant of the circumstances connected with the conspiracy of Ferdinand; and stated that his first intelligence of the transaction had been derived from the letter of the King. He denied likewise having received any proposal

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CHAP. I. from the Prince for an alliance with his family,
 1807. but expressed his sanction and approbation of the
 contemplated arrangement.

Such is a rapid and imperfect sketch of some
 of the more important events which preceded the
 hostile invasion of the Peninsula.

CHAPTER II.

INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

THE humiliating compliances of the Portuguese Government produced no beneficial consequences on the fortunes of the nation. Early in November, the army of the Gironde, commanded by Marshal Junot, who had formerly been ambassador at Lisbon, received orders to cross the Pyrenees, and advance on Salamanca. While thus threatening the territory of Portugal, the French Commander, so far from accompanying his advance with any profession of hostility, proclaimed his sole object to be the emancipation of her government from the yoke of England, and to enable it to assume the attitude of an independent power. Disposed as the Prince Regent might be, to yield ready credence to such flattering assurances, the return of his ambas-

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CHAP. II. 1807. sadors, who had been dismissed from Paris and Madrid, could not but appear an alarming indication of the hostile purpose for which the armament had been assembled.

The arrival in the Tagus of a Russian squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line and two frigates, contributed still farther to heighten the embarrassment of the government. The appearance of this formidable force, at a juncture so critical, appears to have been a coincidence entirely accidental, and unconnected, in any manner, with the operations by which the integrity of Portugal was then so imminently threatened. But it carried with it at least the appearance of design, and was naturally regarded, both by England and Portugal, as forming part of the great scheme of events, by which Napoleon was endeavouring to realize the gigantic projects of his ambition.

The injuries which foreign coercion had compelled the Portuguese government to inflict on England, had not excited the hostility of that power. The British government saw too plainly the magnitude of the dangers by which Portugal was surrounded, to resent a policy which had been forced on her rulers by difficulties

with which it was impossible to contend. But there are certain limits to forbearance, which cannot be overpassed without sacrifice of honour; and it was distinctly intimated, that, although the exclusion of British vessels from the ports, and the expulsion of British subjects from the territory of Portugal, had not, under all the circumstances, been regarded as a hostile proceeding, any further act of aggression would be treated as a declaration of war, and give rise to immediate reprisals.

In order to give greater authority to this representation, a squadron, commanded by Sir Sydney Smith, was sent to cruize off the Tagus; and, on the appearance of another proclamation, directing the seizure of the persons, and the confiscation of the property of all English residents in Portugal, Lord Strangford, the British Envoy, immediately quitted Lisbon, and retired on board the ship of the Admiral.

In such a state of things, the arrival of the Russian fleet could scarcely fail to add embarrassment and complexity to the difficulties by which the government of Portugal was environed. It was regarded by England as connected with the hostile proceedings of Napoleon; and

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CHAP. II. Lisbon was immediately declared in a state of
1807. rigorous blockade, and every effort was exerted to prevent all naval communication with the Tagus.

The army of the Gironde had already reached Alcantara, where, according to the stipulations of the convention, it was joined by the Spanish contingent. The sufferings of the troops, during the march from Salamanca, are described by the French officers to have been dreadful. The weather was stormy and inclement, and the roads, from the melting of the snow, rendered almost impassable. In proportion as the army advanced, its difficulties appeared to accumulate. The Spanish government was unprepared for the promptitude and rapidity of the march of the French army ; and no magazines had been formed for its supply. The want of provision introduced disorder into the ranks. The starving soldiers quitted their battalions, and roamed about the country in search of plunder ; and when the van of the army reached Alcantara, it was in a state of utter wretchedness and destitution.

Thiebault,
p. 19.

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From Alcantara, Marshal Junot issued a proclamation to the Portuguese nation, declaring, that his only object in entering their territory,

was to emancipate the government from the yoke of England. It called on the people to receive their invaders as friends engaged in hostilities against one common enemy, and denounced the severest punishments on all who should take arms on his approach.

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On the 19th of November, the army passed the frontier, and moved onward to Lisbon by the route of Castello Branco. On the 23d, the vanguard reached Abrantes, and the government had found itself utterly unable to organize any effective system of defence. The rapid advance of the enemy had taken the Prince Regent by surprise. None of the fortresses of his kingdom had been garrisoned or provisioned, and no proclamation of the government had given notice to the people in what light their invaders were to be regarded. Deceived, till too late, by the hope that hostilities might still be averted by a submissive compliance with the dictates of the Emperor, all defensive precautions had been neglected. It was only when the French army were within four days' march of the capital, that the Prince Regent received intelligence of the treaty of Fontainebleau, and became at length aware of the full extent and bearing of his danger.

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While yet undecided as to the course most advisable amid the instant perils which surrounded him, a flag of truce entered the Tagus, and the Prince Regent received assurances from Lord Strangford, that, notwithstanding the demonstrations of hostility to which his government had been compelled to resort, the British Admiral would readily co-operate in any measures that might contribute to the security of the Royal Family. These assurances were relied on; and, influenced by the counsels of the ambassador, he determined at once to quit the kingdom and embark for Brazil. No time was to be lost in carrying this resolution into effect. The enemy were already at the gates; and having nominated a council of regency, the Prince Regent, accompanied by the Queen and the other members of his family, embarked amid the tears of the suffering people whom necessity had compelled him to abandon.

The French took possession of Lisbon without opposition. The suddenness of the events by which the independence of the country had been sacrificed, seems to have cast the nation into a stupor from which it required some time to emerge. Junot, a man neither harsh in dis-

position nor repulsive in manner, appears at first to have studied the arts of popularity, not without partial success. On his entry into the city he was met by a deputation from the authorities, who presented an address congratulating him on his arrival, and soliciting his protection for the capital. Nothing, we are assured, could be more wretched than the appearance of the triumphant army by which the subjection of a kingdom had been thus rapidly achieved. Piquets of the Portuguese Royal Guard acted as guides to the French troops, and conducted them to their quarters. The imaginations of the people had been excited by the achievements of the heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, and they had expected to gaze on a race of beings superior in all noble and personal attributes to the rest of mankind. How then were they astonished to behold a long line of limping, emaciated, and ragged soldiers, enfeebled by incessant marching and privation, and devoid even of the ordinary appurtenances of military pomp, enter their city with lagging pace and in disorderly ranks! How rapidly the vision of glory must have vanished from their eyes!

Junot at first endeavoured to conciliate the

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Foy,
v. ii. p. 401.

CHAP. II. inhabitants by professions of friendly intention,
1807. and of a deep anxiety for the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom. The customary forms of government were observed in all his public decrees, and a politic respect was shewn to the prejudices and peculiar observances of the people. By such conduct, he succeeded in lulling for a time the more obtrusive demonstrations of innate hostility which pervaded the great mass of the population, and Lisbon remained for several weeks in a state of sullen though tranquil quiescence.

When Junot, however, had succeeded in reorganizing his army, broken down and enfeebled by the severity and privations of their hurried march; when he beheld the fortresses of the kingdom tenanted by French garrisons, the native population deprived of their arms, and many of those who by their talents and popularity were likely to incite resistance to his authority, despatched on a mission of compliment to Napoleon, he thought it no longer necessary to dissemble. He at once threw aside the mask under which he had hitherto disguised the tyrannical designs of his master, and publicly proclaimed that Portugal was no

longer to be considered an independent power, CHAP. II.
 but a mere appanage of France. It was declared,

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 that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign.

By abandoning the country, it had forfeited all App. No. 8.
 right to the allegiance of the people; and in
 the style of emphatic command peculiar to Na-
 poleon, the nation were informed, that “ the
 Emperor *willed* that Portugal should thereafter be
 governed in his name, by the General-in-chief of
 his army.” By another exercise of imperial despot-
 ism the estates of the crown were confiscated, and
 heavy contributions imposed on the country at
 large. The reins of supreme authority were then
 publicly assumed by Junot, and the ancient insigni-
 nia of the kingdom displaced by those of France.

Dated
 Milan,
 Dec. 23.

The cause of the invaders, contaminated as it was
 by acts of barbarous oppression, found many par-
 tisans among the aristocracy of the country, and
 even among the clergy. The Patriarch of Lis-
 bon issued a pastoral letter to his flock, begging
 them, in the name of *patriotism* and *religion*, to
 unite in establishing the authority of the intru-
 sive government, and in bringing those to punish-
 ment who should dare to disturb the tranquillity
 of the country by vain and contumacious resist-

App. No. 9.
 Dec. 8.

CHAP. II. ance. But it is unquestionable that the burden
1808. of foreign thralldom carried with it, an outrage on all the better and prouder feelings of the people. Unaccustomed to any yoke, save that of a native and domestic despot, they burned with desire to burst the galling shackles by which they had been suddenly enthralled, and to wreak their vengeance on the authors of the national misfortunes and degradation.

Yet the demonstrations of these feelings were not in proportion to their depth and ardour. Occasionally a tumult in the streets of Lisbon, and curses, not loud but deep, muttered on the French soldiery, as they passed on in the pomp and panoply of war, gave evidence how little amalgamation of feeling the government had been successful in inducing between the conquerors and the conquered—the oppressors and the oppressed. When insurrection stalked forth into open day, it was instantly punished and suppressed by a vigilant police, and the strong arm of military power: but for that alienation of heart, that deep-rooted though silent hatred of their invaders, which rankled in the bosoms of the people, a cure was not to be found by those who violated their prejudices, and outraged their religion.

It was in vain, therefore, that Junot endeavoured to captivate the nation, by dazzling pictures of the prosperity which was about to dawn on the oppressed and suffering country. It was in vain that he promised roads, canals, commerce, an improved government, and the wide diffusion of intelligence. To the value of such blessings the people were insensible. The shadowy glories of this visionary perspective were gazed on with indifference or incredulity. All their wants and aspirations were concentrated in one single word—*Freedom*. Not indeed freedom in its wider and more valuable acceptation ; but freedom from the tyrannical yoke of foreign dominion ; freedom again to become the slaves of a government, adapted, by its own limited intelligence, to the prejudices of the nation over which it ruled.

One of the first steps which the policy of Junot led him to adopt, in order to secure the peaceable occupation of the country, was that of disbanding a large portion of the native army, and employing the remainder in foreign service. Accordingly, the thirty-seven regiments which constituted the standing force of the kingdom, were reduced to seven regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, and of these a large proportion

CHAP. II. was immediately organized, and sent off to France,
1808. under the command of the Marquis de Alorna.

The superior officers of this corps were selected from the number of those who possessed the highest character and influence among their countrymen. They were proud, we are assured, of serving under the banners of Napoleon, of enjoying an opportunity of sharing those laurels which had hitherto been so plentifully gathered by his victorious soldiers. But such feelings did not extend to the great body of the army. To them, the path of military distinction appeared less strewn with flowers than thorns. Animated, perhaps, with feelings of deeper patriotism than those who led them to the field, they felt also more deeply the pang of separation from their country, and saw, with a clearer view, the difficulties, the dangers, and the privations, to which, in their destined service, they could not fail to be exposed.*

* Of the aversion of the Portuguese to embark in the service of France, the following striking facts, narrated by General Foy, afford sufficient proof. When the army of Alorna began its march, it was between eight and nine thousand strong. In passing through Spain, more than four thousand deserted and returned home. Five or six hundred remained in the hospitals. Some

In the invasion of Portugal the Spanish troops appear to have played altogether an insignificant part. Their leaders were allowed to assume no command over the provinces which had been allotted them by treaty, and the authority of Junot was that by which alone all public acts were promulgated or enforced. Even this circumstance brought with it some alleviation to the fears of the nation. The terms of the treaty of Fontainebleau had filled the people with despair. The dismemberment of their country, was the misfortune of all others which they regarded with the deepest dismay. The assumption, therefore, of the supreme authority by Junot, abhorrent as in other respects it might be to their feelings, carried with it the belief that the stipulations which decreed the separation and dismemberment of Portugal were no longer intended to be enforced. If the future presented but a choice of evils, it seemed at least the smaller and less formidable, to become the dependent of France, than to be cut up and

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were killed at the first siege of Saragossa; and, out of the whole number, only three thousand two hundred and forty arrived at Bayonne.



CHAP. II. parcelled out into sovereignties, too limited in
 1808. extent, resources, and population, to afford the
 means of effective repulsion to foreign insult or
 aggression.

Another circumstance contributed to confirm and to augment the hopes of the people, that the integrity of the country at least, would be saved from violation. The deputation from Lisbon which had been sent to congratulate the Emperor, were received by that monarch with a degree of flattering condescension, which led them to augur too favourably of his intentions towards Portugal. In consequence of this interview the
 April 27. deputies addressed a letter to their countrymen, which was made public in Lisbon. It was signed by the Bishop of Coimbra, by the Marquis of Abrantes, president of the council of regency, nominated by the Prince on his departure, and by Don Nuno Caetano de Mello, connected by blood with the reigning family, and by many others of powerful influence in the state.
 App. No. 10. In this document the nation were assured, that the mighty genius of Napoleon could be equalled only by the elevation of his soul, and the disinterested generosity of his principles; that the army of France had entered Por-

tugal not as conquerors but friends; that in occupying the kingdom, Napoleon had not been influenced by enmity to their former Sovereign, but by the wish to enable the nation to cast off the trammels of England, and unite itself with the great continental system established over Europe. The deputies further stated, that the Emperor knew and lamented the privations which Portugal, in common with other nations, had endured from the temporary suspension of her commerce, and conveyed the Imperial assurance, that these would speedily be succeeded by great and lasting prosperity. The nation, they affirmed, stood absolved from all allegiance to the house of Braganza, which had forsaken them in the time of danger and difficulty; and they assured the people, that the only course by which the honour and integrity of the country could be secured, was that of unlimited submission to their great and magnanimous deliverer.

This address of the deputies was not without its influence on the people. The hope of the restoration of their ancient dynasty, for a time had died in their hearts. Their sovereign was already in another hemisphere; and the course of events seemed to hold out no prospect

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CHAP. II. of his future restoration. In such circumstances, it is scarcely possible to doubt, that, had the government of France been moderated in its action on the nation by the dictates of humanity and prudence, the prejudices of the people would have gradually yielded, and their attachment to the fugitive sovereign have progressively diminished. To such a consummation, however, the abuses and oppression of the new government certainly did not tend. Contributions of unexampled magnitude were levied on the people; and the severity of the measures by which these inordinate exactions were enforced, brought home at once to the bosoms of the people, a deep consciousness of the rapacity of their rulers. They beheld the plate torn by sacrilegious hands from their churches; the palaces of their nobles plundered; while even the humble dwellings of the poor were robbed of the little hoard that industry had enabled them to amass.

Was it possible that a government which sanctioned such detestable proceedings could ever acquire a footing in the affections of the nation? Or, was it possible by any measures of insult and outrage, to rouse into more

vehement resistance, the whole passions of a
people? Human action is the offspring more
frequently of impulse than of reason. A na-
tion may be subdued, but it can seldom be
trampled on with impunity. Notwithstanding
the hopelessness of resistance, the spirit of na-
tional animosity was continually breaking forth
in acts of isolated rebellion against the power
of their oppressors.

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CHAPTER III.

INVASION OF SPAIN.

CHAP. III. WHILE Portugal had thus become the prey of
1807. the spoiler, a deeper and more hazardous game was playing by Napoleon in Spain. The sluices of war had now been opened; and the French armies swept onward into the Peninsula, like a mighty torrent, covering and overwhelming the land.

It was stipulated, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, that, exclusive of the force destined more immediately for the reduction of Portugal, a *corps de reserve*, of forty thousand men, should be assembled at Bayonne, ready to repel any hostile demonstration of England for the relief of her ally. The army of the Gironde, therefore,

had no sooner crossed the Pyrenees, than another corps, of twenty-four thousand of the anticipated conscriptions of 1808, was assembled on the frontier. The commander of this force was General Dupont, an officer who was destined, in Spain, to blight the laurels which, under a happier star, he had acquired in other fields. Arrangements were speedily made for the advance of this second army of the Gironde; and, having crossed the frontier, its march was directed on Valladolid, in which city the head-quarters of General Dupont were established. The situation was in all respects happily chosen. Valladolid is a position which commands the roads both to Lisbon and Madrid, and thus, without any unequivocal demonstration of his views, Dupont was prepared to advance on either capital as circumstances might require.

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But the warlike preparations of France had not yet attained their full development. A third army, consisting of twenty-five thousand Infantry, three thousand cavalry, and forty-one pieces of artillery, was assembled on the Garonne. On the 9th of January, the vanguard of this force, commanded by Marshal Moncey, crossed the Bidassoa, and pushed onward into Spain, over-

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January.

CHAP. III. running Biscay and Navarre in its advance.

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January.

Even this was not all. Another force was collected at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenean chain, consisting of twelve thousand men of different arms, intended for the occupation of Catalonia. Independently of all other circumstances, the congregation of this force should at once have opened the eyes of Charles and his minister to the hostile schemes of Napoleon. All resistance in Portugal to the usurpation of France was already at an end, yet the reinforcement of the armament in that kingdom, formed the only pretence on which the introduction of large and successive armies into the western provinces of Spain, was attempted to be justified. The views of the French ruler in thus assembling an army on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom, admitted, however, of no such colouring or excuse. It carried with it an indication of hostile intention, too palpable to admit of fallacious interpretation. But all measures of spirit and vigour seem to have been alien to the character of Charles and his minister. No energetic steps were taken to repress the invaders; no call was made to rouse the loyalty and patriotism of the people; and the des-

picable rulers of this unhappy country were contented to behold the progress of insult and aggression, in silence and submission. So blunted and obtuse were the perceptions of the government of Spain, that it could neither appreciate nor understand the moral energy of the people whom it governed, when roused into powerful and consentaneous resistance.

Though the character of Napoleon's views on the Peninsula had, in a great measure, been denuded of disguise, it is probable that, even at this period, they were apprehended by none, in their full bearing and extent. The independence of Spain indeed, thanks to the fatuity of her rulers, was gone. The yoke was on her shoulders, and the iron bit of the oppressor in her mouth. But none could calculate the erratic course of an ambition, which was continually subject to the operation of a thousand unknown influences. The measures, however, by which the projects of the French Emperor were to be carried into effect, had become no longer secret. On the great roads from France nothing was to be seen but convoys of ammunition and provisions, trains of artillery, the marching of battalions, and officers riding post in the execution of military duty.

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Foy, ii. 123.

CHAP. III. From the Bidassoa to the Douro the country was covered with soldiers. The convents were converted into hospitals and barracks, forts and batteries were erected on the more commanding stations, and in all the principal towns even the functions of the civil magistrate were assumed by the intruders.

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The character of the troops thus profusely poured into the Peninsula, is represented, by competent authority, to have been of the worst description. The officers were either veterans, disqualified by age and infirmities for the arduous duties thus involuntarily imposed on them, or ignorant boys, prematurely taken from school, to be intrusted with the discharge of functions to which from youth and inexperience they were inadequate. The soldiery was composed of men of all countries, returned deserters, and recruits from the hospitals. It was impossible that masses composed of elements so dissimilar, should be inspired with any corporate spirit, or sentiment of collective honour. Disunited by diversity of language, prejudice, and education, the soldiers of an army, thus thrown fortuitously together, could be animated by no common remembrances of former achievements, nor participate

in the feeling of confidence and brotherhood which emanates from the anticipated fellowship of future glory. Strangers to each other ; unconnected by community of interest ; united by no bond but that of military command ; unknown to their officers, by whom their comfort was neglected ; irregularly provisioned, and still more irregularly paid ; these were apparently not the men from whom any great or brilliant achievement could be rationally expected.

On the return of Napoleon from Italy, orders were instantly issued for summoning into service a new conscription of eighty thousand men. These were speedily assembled, and Murat having been appointed to the command, they pushed forward into Spain, and remained concentrated in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, ready, on the earliest signal, to advance on Madrid.

It would, perhaps, be little interesting—it would, at all events, be incompatible with the narrow limits of the present work—to enter on a detailed and minute account of the measures of disguised hostility and open fraud, by which, at this period, the projects of the French ruler made rapid advances to completion. It is suffi-

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