quate force and an inefficient general. All night the bells of CHAP. all the churches were ringing the alarm; the churches were filled with supplicants, the streets with a multitude, who wasted in 1809. furious demonstrations that strength which should have been reserved for the defence of their streets, and houses, and chambers. At midnight a storm of wind and rain and thunder broke over the city, and while the lightnings flashed above, a useless discharge of cannon and musketry was kept up by the Portugueze along the line, at which the enemy gazed as at a spectacle, for not a shot could reach them. Soult had given orders that the works should be attacked at six on the ensuing morning, which was Good Friday. Napoleon and Glory was the word. The storm ceased about three, and the attack was post- operations, &c. 168-9. poned till seven, that the soil might have time to dry, so as not to impede the troops in their movements.

General Parreiras before the attack was made had lost all Porto taken hope of opposing a successful resistance. Yet when the enemy attacked the Prelada, a quinta, or country-seat, about a mile from the city, where the lines formed an angle, they did not force it without a loss of 500 men, including two chefs de bataillon. Having forced it, they flanked the greater part of those troops who did their duty. The right and left were attacked also; a panic soon spread: in less than an hour after the commencement of the action, the General, seeing that all was lost, had crossed the bridge, and the French were in the town. A tremendous carnage ensued: the cavalry charging through the streets, and slaughtering indiscriminately all whom they overtook: for an officer who accompanied General Foy the preceding day had been killed, having attempted to defend himself when the General surrendered, and the circumstance of his death was made a pretext for this butchery. But the greatest destruction took place in the passage of the river; the inhabitants rushed to the bridge of

1809. March.

CHAP, boats in such numbers, that the first pontoon sank under their weight; the crowd from behind still pressed on, forcing those who were foremost into the stream, and themselves in like manner precipitated in their turn; the French meantime keeping up a fire of grape-shot upon the affrighted and helpless fugitives. From three to four thousand persons are supposed to have perished thus; and not satisfied with this, the enemy kept up a fire from the most commanding points upon those who were endeavouring to cross in boats. Of the numbers who were thus killed a large proportion consisted of women and children. But in this miserable day neither sex, age, nor innocence could obtain mercy, nor manly and heroic courage command respect from the inhuman enemy. The men, and they were not few, who did their duty, singly or in small parties where a handful of brave Portugueze had got together, were put to the sword. About two hundred, whom the French praised in reality when they intended to depreciate them by calling them the most fanaticised, collected near the Cathedral, and fought till the last man was cut down. The scenes which ensued were more odious and more opprobrious to humanity than even the horrors of this carnage; the men, however, were not allowed to commit enormities of every kind till they were glutted, as they had been at Evora. Marshal Soult exerted himself to check their * excesses with an earnestness

Col. Jones's

* Marshal Soult's historian expresses himself upon this subject in a manner altogether worthy of such a writer: "Le Français, si passionné pour la beauté, sacrifia ses plaisirs à l'honneur de protéger les femmes qui reclamerent son appui,"

VOL. II.

I believe that no other portion of history was ever so entirely and audaciously falsified as that of the peninsular war has been by the French. This writer asserts that few days have been so brilliant for the French arms as that on which Porto was taken; that they were astonished at their own success when they saw how many obstacles they had overcome; for that des officiers du genie Portugais et Anglais s'étaient occupés à reunir à l'avantage de la position, tout ce que l'art a inventé pour la defense

which, even if it proceeded from mere motives of policy, must CHAP. be recorded to his honour. And he had some officers to second, him with true good will in this good work; for though the mis- 1809. creants were with him who had disgraced their country and their profession by the atrocities which they had perpetrated or permitted at Evora and Leiria, there were others who abhorred the iniquitous service in which they were engaged, and who were members of a secret society, the object of which was to throw off Buonaparte's voke, and restore peace to France and Europe.

Complete as his success had hitherto been, and little as it had Soult recost him, Marshal Soult did not find it advisable to push on for Porto. Lisbon. He now knew what was the spirit of the nation, and he was without any intelligence from Lapisse and Victor, whose movements were to be combined with his. He applied himself therefore to securing what he had won, and endeavoured to conciliate the Portugueze, and raise a party among them in favour of the ambitious designs which, like Junot, he appears now to have formed. For this purpose a newspaper was published at

d'un camp; and that these formidable works were manned by 70,000 men determined to defend them to the last extremity. Pp. 159-60-77.

There is another statement of this writer's which deserves notice. He says that the former campaign in Portugal had been distinguished by cruelties on the part of the inhabitants (p. 56); and that in the present "pour animer le peuple contre les Français, on avait répandu les bruits les plus absurdes. La haine les peignait aux yeux de la superstition et de la crédulité, comme des hérétiques qui foulaient aux pieds tous les principes religieux, commes des barbares qui au mépris des lois divines et humaines, dévoraient les enfans, livraient le sexe à tous les outrages, et envoyaient les hommes dans le nord pour renforcer leurs armées."-(P. 119.) The charges against which this contemptuous indignation is affected are true to the very letter, with the exception of that of eating the children, which, be it remembered, was never made. They did not eat children; .. they only butchered them sometimes, and sometimes (as will be shown hereafter) let them die of hunger before their eyes.

XIX. 1809. April.

CHAP. Porto a week only after its capture, and the first number opened with a panegyric upon the conqueror because he had not totally destroyed the city. While the streets were yet stained with the blood of the carnage, and there was mourning in every house. and bodies were every day cast up by the river and along the sea-beach, .. while it was stated officially in the Madrid Gazette that the whole garrison had been put to the sword, .. Marshal Soult was panegyrized for clemency! The dreadful catastrophe which Porto had suffered, said his writers, might serve as a warning for all who undertook great enterprises without calculating the means, or looking on to the end. But amid the horror with which so severe an example affected every feeling heart, there was abundant matter of consolation for minds capable of weighing things in the balance of philosophy. Towns carried by assault had invariably, among the most civilized nations, paid with their total destruction the penalty of their contumacy. This was the fate which Porto had had to apprehend; and from this it had been spared by a hero who always listened to the voice of mercy, and in whose heart valour and humanity contended for the ascendance!

Disposition of the inhabitants.

Operations, &c. 183.

Do. 206.

The Portugueze are not so light a people as to be thus easily They had seen the tender mercies of the French too recently to be duped by their professions, and not more than a sixth part of the inhabitants remained in Porto under their government. If this proof of their disposition augured ill for the French, it lessened the difficulty of providing for the city, which was an object of no small anxiety to the captors. They who had undertaken to supply the troops went into the country by night to make their bargains with persons whom they could trust, and the supplies were brought in darkness at a stated hour to a stated place; for if any person had been seen engaged in thus administering to the enemy, his life would have been the penalty of his treason. When the English property was put up to sale, CHAP. not a person would bid for it: an individual at last ventured to offer about a third part of its value for certain goods, but before 1809. four-and-twenty hours had elapsed he absconded, either for the fear of being marked as one who had dealt with the French, or unable to bear the shame of having been the only Portugueze in Operations, &c., 205, Porto who had thus disgraced himself.

There were, however, in Portugal, as in every country, men Marshal who have no other principle than the determination of promoting views retheir own interest by any means; and there were some few who Liberals entertained that abject and superstitious faith in Buonaparte's Jews. fortune which his partizans and flatterers every where endeavoured to promote. Some also there were who, in their vehement abhorrence for the besotted despotism and the filthy superstition which degraded their country, had renounced their national feeling and their Christian faith. The scheme of Soult's policy was to make such persons (whom he supposed more numerous than they were) stand forward as a party, engage them in the irremissible offence of swearing fidelity to Napoleon and obedience to his representative, and employ them in corrupting their countrymen, and in watching and subjugating those whom they could not seduce. For this purpose he had his emissaries in the capital and in the provinces to spread disaffection by representing the abuses and evils both of the civil and ecclesiastical system, . . abuses which it was hardly possible to exaggerate, and evils which in themselves and in their consequences were only more tolerable and less pernicious than the iron tyranny which Buonaparte would have substituted in their place. Marshal Soult had also conceived the strange intention campaign of making the Jews, whose number in Portugal he estimated at the Penin-200,000, avow their religion under the protection of France, Do. Appendix A. and hold upon an appointed day a general feast for the success

1809.

CHAP. of the Emperor's arms. It is probable that he overrated them as greatly as he mistook their character; but if they had been mad enough to act in conformity to his wishes, a general massacre would have been the certain consequence. For the old inhuman prejudice against this persecuted race, when yielding to wiser laws and the spirit of the age, had been revived by the manner in which Buonaparte courted them. It was observed by some of the Spanish journalists, that when the Turks were the terror of Christendom, they had derived their information from the Jews, who were their instruments every where; and the promise of Buonaparte to abolish the Inquisition provoked only from the Spaniards the remark that this measure must have been suggested by some Israelite of the Sanhedrim.

His hopes of becoming King of Northern Lusitania.

Among the Portugueze who, from the perversion of good feelings, or the original prevalence of base ones, were open to corruption, persons were found to forward the design which Soult had now formed of becoming King of Northern Lusitania. Buonaparte's formation of new principalities and kingdoms for his brothers and favourites had made the generals of this new Alexander suppose that his conquests would be divided among them, and a petty kingdom under this title had been carved out in the secret treaty of Fontainebleau. A deputation of twelve principal inhabitants of Braga, as they were represented to be, waited upon the Marshal, and published in his gazette an account of their interview with him, and an address in consequence to the Portugueze people. They assured their countrymen that Marshal Soult had conversed with them at great length upon the produce, commerce, and interests of the province between the rivers, in a manner which formed a striking contrast to the conduct of their old government. That government, they said, had been indifferent about all things except the raising of its revenues. The flight of the Prince Regent amounted to a voluntary abdication of the throne, and a happy futurity might now be CHAP. anticipated under a better dynasty. The House of Braganza, said these traitors, no longer exists. It is the will of Heaven 1809. that our destinies should pass into other hands; and it has been the peculiar favour of Divine Providence to send us a man exempt from passions, and devoted to true glory alone, who desires to employ the force entrusted to him by the great Napoleon only for our protection and deliverance from the monster of anarchy which threatened to devour us. Why do we delay to assemble round him, and proclaim him our father and deliverer? Why do we delay to express our anxiety to see him at the head of a nation, of whose affections he has made so rapid a conquest? The sovereign of France will lend a gracious ear to our supplications, and will rejoice to see that we desire one of his lieutenants for our King, who, in imitation of his example, knows how to conquer and to pardon.

Such an address could not have been published in a journal which was under French superintendence unless it had been in unison with Soult's designs. On another occasion, when he gave audience to a second deputation from Braga, and to the civil, religious, and military authorities of Porto, the obsequious traitors requested that till the supreme intentions of the Emperor should be ascertained they might be allowed to swear fidelity to his most worthy representative, who had so many claims upon the love, respect, and gratitude of the Portugueze. The Marshal expatiated as usual in reply upon the felicities which were about to be showered upon Portugal under a French master: "As to what concerns myself," he added, "I feel obliged by the frank expressions which you have used relating to my person; but it does not depend upon me to answer them." He had, however, depended so much upon realizing this dream of ambition, that proclamations were prepared, announcing him as King. It was

CHAP. fortunate for the parties concerned that they went no farther; for one of his staff, who was supposed to be a principal agent in the 1809. scheme, was recalled to Paris, and Buonaparte, addressing him by name at a grand levee, said to him, "Take care how you draw Col. Jones's up proclamations! My empire is not yet sufficiently extended war, i.199, for my generals to become independent. One step farther, and I would have had you shot."

He visits the church

Expecting no such impediment to his hopes, the "worthy of N. Sen-hor de Bou- representative" of Buonaparte proceeded, as his master had done in Egypt, to show his attachment to the religion of the people whom he came to govern. There is a famous crucifix, known by the name of Nosso Senhor de Bouças, in the little town of Matosinhos, upon the coast, about a league from Porto. According to tradition it is the oldest image in Portugal, being the work of Nicodemus; and though the workman neither attempted to represent muscle nor vein, it is affirmed that there cannot be a more perfect and excellent crucifix. Antiquaries discovered another merit in it, for there has been a controversy concerning the number * of nails used in the crucifixion, and in this image four are represented, agreeing with the opinion of St. D. Rodrigo Gregory of Tours, and the revelation made to the Swedish St. Bridget. The sea cast it up, and its miraculous virtue was soon attested by innumerable proofs. One of the arms was wanting when it was found; the best sculptors were employed to supply this deficiency; but in spite of all their skill not one of them could produce an arm which would fit the place for which it was

da Cunha, Cat. dos Bispos do Porto, pp. 393, 4.

^{*} The matter is of more importance than may be immediately perceived by a protestant. For more than three of these nails are shown as relics in different churches; and, therefore, if only three, according to the prevailing opinion, were used, the fourth must be spurious, and thus, as all cannot be genuine, a doubt would be cast upon the authenticity of each.

designed. One day a poor but pious woman, as she was gather- CHAP. ing shell-fish and drift-wood for fuel, picked up upon the beach a wooden arm, which she, supposing that it had belonged to 1809. some ordinary and profane image, laid upon the fire. The reader will be at no loss to imagine that it sprung out of the flames, ... that the neighbours collected at the vociferations of the woman, . that the priests were ready to carry it in procession to the church of N. Senhor; and that the moment it was applied to the stump whereto it belonged, a miraculous junction was effected. Our Lord of Bouças became from that time one of the most famous idols in Portugal; and on the day of his festival five-and- Corografia Portugueza, twenty thousand persons have sometimes been assembled at his t. i. 361. church, coming thither in pilgrimage from all parts.

To this idol Marshal Soult thought proper to offer his devotions. He and his staff visited the church, and prostrating themselves before the altar, paid, says his journal, that tribute of respect and reverence which religion requires from those who are animated with the true spirit of Christianity. "There cannot," continued the hypocritical traitor who recorded this mummery, .. "there cannot be a more affecting and interesting spectacle, than to see a Great Man humbling himself in the presence of the King of kings and Sovereign Disposer of empires. All the inhabitants of Matosinhos who were present at this religious solemnity were wrapt in ecstasy!" The French Marshal testified his great concern at hearing that the plate and jewels and ornaments of the church had been carried off; and he promised the rector that he would offer two large silver candlesticks to Nosso Senhor, and dedicate a silver lamp to him, and assign funds to keep it burning night and day, and, moreover, that he would double the stipend of the rector and the sacristan. "Let this fact," said his penman, "be contrasted with what we have been told respecting the irreligion of the French troops and