

could see and understand that the moral government of the world is neither less perfect, nor less certain in its course, than that material order which science has demonstrated, . . . they perceived in this dreadful visitation the work of retribution. The bloody conquests of the Portugueze in India were yet unexpiated ; the Spaniards had to atone for extirpated nations in Cuba and Hayti, and their other islands, and on the continent of America for cruelties and excesses not less atrocious than those which they were appointed to punish. Vengeance had not been exacted for the enormities perpetrated in the Netherlands, nor for that accursed tribunal which, during more than two centuries, triumphed both in Spain and Portugal, to the ineffaceable and eternal infamy of the Romish church. But the crimes of a nation, like the vices of an individual, bring on their punishment in necessary consequence, . . . so righteously have all things been ordained. From the spoils of India and America the two governments drew treasures which rendered them independent of the people for supplies ; and the war which their priesthood waged against knowledge and reformation succeeded in shutting them out from these devoted countries. A double despotism, of the throne and of the altar, was thus established, and the result was a state of degradation, which nothing less than the overthrow of both, by some moral and political earthquake, loosening the very foundations of society, could remove. Such a convulsion had taken place, and the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children. Madrid, the seat of Philip II., “that sad intelligencing tyrant,” who from thence, as our great Milton said, “mischieved the world with his mines of Ophir,” that city which once aspired to be the mistress of the world, and had actually tyrannized over so large a part of it, was now itself in thralldom. The Spanish cloak, which was the universal dress of all ranks, was prohibited in the metropolis of Spain, and no Spaniard was allowed to walk abroad

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*Condition
of Madrid.*

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in the evening, unless he carried a light. All communication between the capital and the southern provinces, the most fertile and wealthiest of the kingdom, was cut off. Of the trading part of the community, therefore, those who were connected with the great commercial cities of the south coast were at once ruined, and they whose dealings lay with the provinces which were the seat of war were hardly more fortunate. The public creditors experienced that breach of public faith which always results from a violent revolution. The intrusive government acknowledged the debt, and gave notice of its intention to pay them by bills upon Spanish America: for this there was a double motive, the shame of confessing that the Intruder was unable to discharge the obligations of the government to whose rights and duties he affected to succeed, and the hope of interesting the holders of these bills in his cause: but so little possibility was there of his becoming master of the Indies, that the mention of such bills only provoked contempt. While commercial and funded property was thus destroyed, landed property was of as little immediate value to its owner. No remittances could be made to the capital from that part of Spain which was not yet overrun; and the devastations had been so extensive every where as to leave the tenant little means of paying the proprietor. These were the first-fruits of that prosperity which the Buonapartes promised to the Spaniards, . . . these were the blessings which Joseph brought with him to Madrid! He, meantime, was affecting to participate in rejoicings, and receiving the incense of adulation, in that city where the middle classes were reduced to poverty by his usurpation, and where the wives whom he had widowed, and the mothers whom he had made childless, mingled with their prayers for the dead, supplications for vengeance upon him as the author of their miseries. The theatre was fitted up to receive him, the boxes were lined with silk, the municipality

attended him to his seat, he was presented with a congratulatory poem upon his entrance, and the stage curtain represented the Genius of Peace with an olive-branch in his left hand, and a torch in his right, setting fire to the attributes of war. Underneath was written, "Live happy, Sire! reign and pardon!" At the very time when this precious specimen of French taste complimented the Intruder upon his clemency, an extraordinary criminal Junta was formed, even the military tribunals not being found sufficiently extensive in their powers for the work of extermination which was begun. It was "for trial of assassins, robbers, recruiters in favour of the insurgents, those who maintained correspondence with them, and who spread false reports." Persons apprehended upon these charges were to be tried within twenty-four hours, and sentenced to the gallows, and the sentence executed without appeal.

Another of the Intruder's decrees enjoined that the Madrid Gazette should be under the immediate inspection of the Minister of Police, and copies of it regularly sent to every Bishop, parochial priest, and municipality, that the people might be informed of the acts of government, and of public events. Joseph's ministers, under whatever self-practised delusion they entered his service, conformed themselves in all things now to the spirit of Buonaparte's policy, and employed force and falsehood with as little scruple as if they had been trained in the revolutionary school. While they affected to inform the people of what was passing, they concealed whatever was unfavourable, distorted what they told, and feigned intelligence suited to their views. They affirmed that the English goods taken at Bilbao, S. Andero, and the ports of Asturias, would defray the expenses of the war; and that England itself was on the point of bankruptcy. Such multitudes, it was affirmed, had repaired to Westminster Hall to give bail for their debts, that it seemed as if all London had been there; numbers

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*February.**Feb. 18.**False intel-
ligence pub-
lished by the
intrusive
government.*

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*Unwilling-
ness of the
Spaniards
to believe
that Morla
was a trai-
tor.*

were thrown down by the press, and trodden under foot, . . . many almost suffocated, and some were killed. Such falsehoods were not too gross for the government where it could exclude all truer information ; where this was not in its power, it resorted to the more feasible scheme of exciting suspicions against England ; and here the Buonapartes had a willing agent in Morla.

Prone as the Spaniards were in these unhappy times to suspect any person, and to act upon the slightest suspicion, they were slow in believing that Morla had proved false. The people of Cadiz would hardly be convinced that their governor, whose patriotic addresses were still circulating among them, could possibly have gone over to the Intruder. So many measures of utility, so many acts of patriotism and of disinterested vigilance in his administration, were remembered, that the first reports of his perfidy were indignantly received ; a fact so contrary to all their experience was not to be credited, and they felt as if they injured him in listening to such an accusation. He had established among them a reputation like that which a Cadi sometimes enjoys in Mahommedan countries, where his individual uprightness supplies the defects of law, and resists the general corruption of manners. A peasant, whom he had acquitted upon some criminal charge, brought him a number of turkeys, as a present in gratitude for his acquittal. Morla put him in prison, consigned the turkeys to the gaoler for his food, and set him at liberty when he had eaten them all. There was neither law, equity, nor humanity in this, . . . yet it had an extravagant, oriental ostentation of justice, well calculated to impress the people with an opinion of his nice honour and scrupulous integrity. But this man, who in all his public writings boasted of his frankness and of his honourable intentions, was in reality destitute both of truth and honour ; and the revolution, which developed some characters and corrupted

others, only unmasked his. Early in these troubles Lord Col-
 lingwood and Sir Hew Dalrymple had discovered his duplicity.
 He had signed, and was believed to have written Solano's ill-
 timed and worse-intended proclamation, in which the English
 were spoken of with unqualified reprobation, and as the real
 enemies against whom all true Spaniards ought to unite; and
 when warned by Solano's fate, he joined in the national cause,
 the desire of injuring that cause by every possible means seems
 to have been the main object of his crooked policy. When
 Castaños wanted the assistance of General Spencer's corps, he
 threw out hints to that General that it would be required for the
 defence of Cadiz; though, from jealousy of the English, at that
 very time he prevented the Junta from bringing the garrison of
 Ceuta into the field, and had given it as his decided opinion that
 no English troops should be admitted into any Spanish fortress.
 And while he endeavoured to make the Junta of Seville sus-
 picious of English interference, he recommended to the accre-
 dited agents of England, that they should interfere early and
 decidedly in forming a central government, and appointing a
 commander-in-chief, and that their influence should be strength-
 ened by marching an army into Spain.

But the most prominent feature of Morla's sophisticated
 character was his odious hypocrisy. In the letter which an-
 nounced to the Central Junta the capitulation of Madrid he
 bestowed the highest eulogiums upon the Intruder and himself.
 "Yesterday," said he, "as a Counsellor of State I saw Prince
 Joseph, our appointed King, and the object of the rabble's con-
 tumely. I assure you, with all that ingenuousness which belongs
 to me, that I found him an enlightened philosopher, full even to
 enthusiasm of the soundest principles of morality, humanity, and
 affection to the people whom his lot has called him to command.
 My eulogies might appear suspicious to those who do not know

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*Proofs of
 his prior
 treachery.*

*Morla's let-
 ter to the
 Central
 Junta;*

CHAP. me well; I suppress them therefore, and only say thus much,
 XVI. that the Junta, according to circumstances, may regulate its
 1809. own conduct and resolutions upon this information. My whole
January. aim and endeavour will always be for the honour and integrity
 of my country. I will not do myself the injustice to suppose
 that any of the nation can suspect me of perfidy; my probity is
 known and accredited, and therefore I continue to speak with
 that candour and ingenuousness which I have always used." He
 also delivered his opinion as an individual who was most anxious
 for the good of the nation, that the governor of Cadiz should
 be instructed not to let the English assemble either in or near
 that city in any force; but that, under pretext of securing
 himself from the French, he should throw up works against them,
 reinforce the garrison, and secretly strengthen the batteries
 toward the sea. And that advices should be dispatched to the
 Indies, for the purpose of preventing treasure or goods from
 being sent, lest they should fall into the hands of these allies,
 who having no longer any hope of defending the cause, would
 seek to indemnify themselves at the expense of the Spaniards.
 The Junta published this letter as containing in itself sufficient
 proofs of perfidiousness and treason in the writer. And they
 observed that at the very time when this hypocrite was
 advising them to distrust the English, and arm against them,
 large sums had been remitted them from England, farther
 pecuniary aids were on the way, their treasures from America
 had been secured from the French, by being brought home in
 British ships, and Great Britain had given the most authentic
 proof of its true friendship with Spain, by refusing to negotiate
 with Buonaparte.

*and to the
 governor
 of Cadiz.*

Shortly afterwards a letter of Morla's was intercepted, written
 in the same strain to D. Josef Virues, the provisional governor
 of Cadiz. The thorough hypocrite talked of the good which he

had done in surrendering Madrid, and the consolation which he derived from that reflection; he lamented over his beloved Cadiz and its estimable inhabitants, who had given him so many proofs of their confidence and affection, and wished that he could avert the dangers that impended over them with the sacrifice of his own blood. "If it became an English garrison," he said, "it would be more burdensome to the nation than Gibraltar, and the commerce of the natives would be ruined: much policy as well as courage would be required to prevent this. I need not," he concluded, "exhort your excellency to defend Cadiz with the honour and patriotism which become you; but when you have fulfilled this obligation, honourable terms may save the city, and secure its worthy inhabitants." In consequence of this letter it became necessary to remove Virues from the command, more for his own sake than for any distrust of his principles, though he had at one time been Godoy's secretary, and though Morla had been his friend and patron. Unwilling, and perhaps unable to believe that one whom he had so long been accustomed to regard with respect and gratitude was the consummate hypocrite and traitor which he now appeared to be, Virues attempted to excuse Morla as having acted under compulsion, an excuse more likely to alleviate for the time his own feelings than to satisfy his judgement. But he felt that under these circumstances it was no longer proper for him to remain in possession of an important post: high as he stood in the opinion of his countrymen, the slightest accident might now render him suspected; and at this crisis it was most essential that the people should have entire confidence in their chiefs. He therefore gladly accepted a mission to England, and D. Felix Jones, who had distinguished himself in the operations against Dupont, was appointed governor. Instead of additional defences toward the sea, new works were begun on the land side, to protect the city

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*Arrest and
cruel im-
prisonment
of the
French at
Cadiz.*

against its real enemies, and Colonel Hallowell came from Gibraltar to direct them. Ammunition and stores in abundance were sent from Seville. The new governor began by taking measures of rigorous precaution. No person whatever, not even an Englishman, was permitted to go a mile beyond the city without a passport. Every Frenchman in the place was arrested and sent on board the ships. This was intended for their own security as well as the safety of the city; for so highly were the people incensed against that perfidious nation, and such was their fear of treachery in every person belonging to it, that they purposed putting all whom they should find at large to death; and it was said that three hundred knives had been purchased at one shop, to be thus employed. Had there been leisure, or had the Spaniards been in a temper for humane considerations, these persons ought to have been supplied with means of transport to their own country; instead of which they were consigned to a most inhuman state of confinement. The property also of all French subjects, under which term the natives of all countries in subjection to France were included, was confiscated; . . . and in consequence above three hundred shops were shut up, and more than as many families reduced to ruin. Thus it is, that in such times injustice provokes retaliation, wrongs lead to wrongs, and evil produces evil in miserable series.

*Death of
Florida
Blanca.*

At this juncture, when every hour brought tidings of new calamities and nearer danger, Florida Blanca, the venerable president of the Central Junta, died, at the great age of eighty-one; fatigue, and care, and anxiety having accelerated his death. When the order of the Jesuits was abolished, he was ambassador at Rome, and is believed to have been materially instrumental in bringing about that iniquitous measure; and it was under his ministry that Spain joined the confederacy against

Great Britain during the American war. These are acts of which he had abundant reason to repent; but there were specious motives for both; and this must be said of Florida Blanca, that of all the ministers who have exercised despotic authority in Spain, no other ever projected or accomplished half so much for the improvement of the people and the country. Whatever tended to the general good received his efficient support, and twenty years of subsequent misrule had not been sufficient to undo the beneficial effects of his administration. It was Godoy's intention that his exile from the court should be felt as a disgrace and a punishment; but the retirement to which it sent him suited the disposition and declining years of the injured man, and he passed his time chiefly in those religious meditations which are the natural support and solace of old age. Many rulers and statesmen have retired into convents when they have been wearied or disgusted with the vanities and vexations of the world; few have been called upon, like Florida Blanca, in extreme old age, to forsake their retirement, their tranquillity, and their habits of religious life, for the higher duty of serving their country in its hour of danger. The Central Junta manifested their sense of his worth by conferring a grandee-ship upon his heir, and all his legitimate descendants who should succeed him in the title. He was succeeded as president by the Marques de Astorga, a grandee of the highest class, and the representative of some of the proudest names in Spanish history. The education of this nobleman had been defective, as was generally the case with Spanish nobles, and his person excited contempt in those who are presumptuous and injurious enough to judge only by appearances. But he had not degenerated from the better qualities of his illustrious ancestry: they who knew him best, knew that he possessed what ought to be the distinctive marks of old nobility: he was generous, mag-

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January.*Marques de
Astorga
president of
the Junta.*