

CHAP. name which might give colour to the proceedings of Junot; the
 II. Juiz do Povo was little more; but one name served well in array
 1808. against another, and moreover this had a popular sound with it,
May. favouring that order of things which these persons were properly
 desirous of restoring. Accordingly when the deputies of the
 clergy and the various bodies corporate assembled in the mock
 Junta, and some person, after the Conde da Ega's speech,
 would have answered for the Juiz do Povo, Campos spoke
 boldly and honestly for himself. He declared that he did not
 assent to what was going on, and that he had no authority to
 assent, for he was not a representative of the people. What
 was proposed could not be their wish, as the paper with which
 he had been entrusted would show. He then, amid the con-
 fusion which his unlooked-for opposition occasioned, produced
 and read a paper to this effect: that the Portugueze, looking
 upon France as their mother country, inasmuch as the first con-
 querors of Portugal from the Moors were French, and mindful
 of the aid which they had received from France when they
 recovered their independence in 1640, acknowledged with all
 gratitude the protection which the greatest of monarchs at this
 time offered them: they desired a constitution and a consti-
 tutional king, who should be a prince of the imperial family;
 the constitution with which they should be content was one in all
 things like that which had been given to the duchy of Warsaw,
 with only an alteration in the mode of electing the national re-
 presentatives, which should be by chambers. The better to con-
 form with their ancient customs, they desired that the Catholic
 and Apostolic Roman religion might be the religion of the
 state, requiring the admission of all the principles established
 by the last Concordat with France, whereby the free and public
 enjoyment of all modes of worship was tolerated: that there
 should be a minister specifically charged with the department of

public instruction: that the liberty of the press should be established as it then was in France, because ignorance and error had caused their decay: that the legislative power should be divided into two houses, and communicate with the executive: that the judges should be independent, and the Code Napoleon established: that causes should be publicly tried with justice and dispatch: that all property held in mortmain should be set free: that the public debt should be paid, for which means were not wanting: and that the number of public functionaries, who in the general change must be displaced, should all receive decent and equitable pensions, and upon every vacancy be preferred, provided they were duly qualified.

CHAP.
II.
1808.
May.

*Neves, T.
ii. C. 42.*

*Fate of the
mover of
this scheme.*

Junot and the sycophants who hoped to figure at his court were incensed at this opposition to their project. They easily overpowered the Juiz do Povo in the meeting, and the Intendant of Police was then instructed to find out the persons who had instigated him. M. Verdier in consequence was sent back to Thomar in disgrace. This was what he would most have wished, could he have returned to that tranquillity and domestic happiness which he was wont to enjoy. But the crimes of his countrymen were visited upon him. In the tumults which ensued, the people among whom he had lived so long, and by whom he had been deservedly loved and respected, imagined that as a Frenchman he must needs be a partizan of France, and he was compelled to return to Lisbon for safety. There, as long as the French continued in Portugal, he remained under the inspection of the police, a prisoner by Junot's orders in his own house. Upon the restoration of the legitimate government, the part which he had taken was remembered as a crime, and he was ordered to leave the kingdom. The forms of justice had long been dispensed with in Portugal; and a man who had violated no allegiance, who had broken no law, who had



CHAP. II. offended in no point of honour or of duty, was marked for punishment, when those who had sinned in every point were overlooked. Junot however had little leisure to enjoy his dreams of royalty; he was roused from them by the events in Spain, to which it is now necessary to recur.

1808.
 May.

May 1.
 1808.



CHAPTER III.

AFFAIR OF THE ESCURIAL. SEIZURE OF THE SPANISH
FORTRESSES. TUMULTS AT ARANJUEZ. FERDINAND
MADE KING IN HIS FATHER'S STEAD.

THE six months which had now elapsed since the treaty of Fontainebleau had been the most eventful in Spanish history. On the 30th of October, a few days after the signature of that treaty, and a few weeks after Prince Ferdinand had written to Buonaparte, a proclamation was issued from the Escorial, in which the King of Spain accused his eldest son of conspiring to dethrone him. "God," said he, in this extraordinary paper, "who watches over his creatures, does not permit the consummation of atrocious deeds when the intended victims are innocent; thus his omnipotence has saved me from the most unheard-of catastrophe. An unknown hand has discovered a conspiracy carried on in my own palace against my person. My life was too long in the eyes of my successor, who, infatuated by prejudice, and alienated from every principle of Christianity that my parental care had taught him, had entered into a project for dethroning me. Being informed of this, I surprised him in my room, and found in his possession the cipher of his correspondence and of the instructions he had received from the vile conspirators. The result has been the detection of several malefactors, whose imprisonment I have ordered, as also the arrest of my son." In a letter to Buonaparte, written

1807.

*Affair of
the Escu-
rial.*

*Ferdinand
accused of
plotting to
dethrone his
father, and
attempting
his mother's
life.*

CHAP. III.
 1807.
 November.

the day before this proclamation was published, the King made a more horrible charge against the Prince, whom he accused of having attempted the life of his mother. "An attempt so frightful," said he, "ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. The law which calls him to the succession must be revoked: one of his brothers will be more worthy to replace him on my throne and in my heart. . . I thought that all the plots of the Queen of Naples would have been buried with her daughter!" This alluded to an opinion that the Prince's late wife had first instigated him to cabal against his father. She doubtless detested Godoy and her infamous mother-in-law, and they therefore would not fail to indispose the King toward her.

Persons implicated in the charge.

Ferdinand confesses himself faulty, and intreats forgiveness.

The persons chiefly implicated in this accusation were the Duke del Infantado and D. Juan Escoiquiz, formerly tutor to the Prince, and author of an heroic poem upon the conquest of Mexico; the latter had acted as Ferdinand's agent with the French Ambassador; and the former had received from him an appointment with a blank date and a black seal, authorizing him to take the command of the troops in New Castille upon the event of the King's death. Six days after the first proclamation another was issued, in which two letters from the Prince were contained. The first was in these terms, addressed to the King: "Sire and father, I am guilty of failing in my duty to your majesty; I have failed in obedience to my father and king. I ought to do nothing without your majesty's consent, but I have been surprised. I have denounced the guilty, and beg your majesty to suffer your repentant son to kiss your feet." The other was to the Queen, asking pardon for the great fault which he had committed, as well as for his obstinacy in denying the truth; and he requested her mediation in his favour. In consequence of these letters, the King said, and of the Queen's

entreaty, he forgave him, "for the voice of nature unnerved the hand of vengeance." The Prince, he added, had declared who were the authors of this horrible plot, and had laid open every thing in legal form, consistent with the proofs which the law demanded in such cases. The Judges therefore were required to continue the process, and submit their sentence to the King, which was to be proportioned to the magnitude of the offence, and the quality of the offenders. Meantime, at the request of his Council, he ordered a public thanksgiving for the interposition of Divine Providence in his behalf.

This mysterious affair has never been clearly elucidated: it has been believed to be partly the work of Godoy, partly the intrigue of French agents: but there seems to be no ground for the latter supposition; and whatever part Godoy may have taken in it, he was clearly acting on the defensive. It is one of those transactions in which some disgrace attaches to all the parties concerned. The King cannot be acquitted of extreme rashness in so precipitately accusing his son, and bringing so perilous a subject before the public; nor of extreme credulity in advancing the shocking and most improbable charge of having attempted his mother's life. On the other hand, the fact that Ferdinand so soon afterwards actually did dethrone his father, renders it very difficult to exculpate him from having attempted it at this time: if he did not, it was only because the opportunity did not invite him, not from any sense of duty. In the lame justification which he afterwards published of himself and his partizans, it is said that the letter by which he requested pardon of his father was brought to him by Godoy for signature; and that he signed it because he would not refuse that new proof of filial respect to his august parents. But the letter was more than a mark of filial respect; it professed repentance, it implored forgiveness, and it impeached his friends.

CHAP.
III.

1807.
November.

*Disgraceful
to all
parties.*

CHAP.

III.

1807.

*November.**Not insti-
gated by
Buonaparte**His con-
duct.*

Buonaparte stood in no need of an intrigue of this kind, with its plot and counter-plot; his plan had already been formed and his means prepared: and Godoy was at that time held in such close dependence upon Buonaparte by his hopes and fears, that he would not have ventured upon so bold a measure without his concurrence, likely too as it was to draw down his displeasure. The secret denunciation may probably have come from the Queen, who realized in her feelings toward her son all that has ever been feigned in tragedy of unnatural mothers. There is a point at which any evil passion becomes madness, and it was afterwards evinced that her passion had reached that height. Fearing and hating her son, it may well be supposed that she would narrowly watch his conduct; enough might be discovered to excite a well-founded suspicion of his intentions; and the more atrocious part of the accusation might be prompted by her wickedness or her fears. If Buonaparte had instigated the proceedings against Ferdinand, they would have been carried to greater lengths; he was not a man to have drawn back in deference to popular opinion, even if at that time there had been any channel by which the popular feeling of the Spaniards could have been expressed. But on this occasion he acted as a friendly sovereign would have done. Without any appearance of interfering publicly, he instructed the Ambassador, Beauharnois, to mediate in favour of the Prince, and put a stop to proceedings which could only bring disgrace upon the royal family: thus keeping aloof from all parties, he made them all look to him with trembling dependence, while he steadily pursued his plans for the destruction of all. He did not however neglect to take advantage of the circumstance for furthering those nefarious plans; but on the receival of the dispatches, affecting the most violent anger that a suspicion of his ambassador should have been entertained, ordered 40,000 men to Spain, to be prepared, as he

afterwards said, for every event, and to support the army of Portugal, and to counteract the policy of England, by which he pretended to believe these intrigues were put in motion.

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III.

1807.

*Anxiety of
Godoy.*

Meantime Junot took possession of Lisbon. One part of the secret treaty having been thus fulfilled, Godoy was anxiously expecting to be installed in his new kingdom of the Algarves, where he flattered himself with the thought of being secure from Ferdinand's resentment, to which in his present situation he would otherwise be exposed upon the King's death. He relied upon the good offices of Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, who had married one of Buonaparte's sisters, the widow of General Le Clerc. With him he communicated through D. Eugenio Izquierdo, his agent at Paris; and if money to any amount should be necessary to expedite his wishes, the treasure which he had amassed during his administration enabled him to disburse it at command. Murat however informed him that the business was now become very delicate, owing to the extraordinary attachment which the Spaniards manifested toward the Prince of Asturias, the consideration due to a princess of the royal family, and the part taken by her relation, the Ambassador Beauharnois. Godoy now fully believed that the projected marriage was agreeable to Buonaparte, and yielding to every new circumstance with the facility of weakness, persuaded Charles to write and solicit an alliance which he had so lately dreaded. But Buonaparte assumed an air of displeasure towards Izquierdo, and kept him at a distance, in order to cut off the direct mode of communication; and he set off for Italy, giving to his journey an affected importance, which excited the expectation of all Europe. There carrying into execution those parts of the secret treaty which were to his own advantage, he expelled from Tuscany the widow Queen of Etruria and her children; and seized the public funds of a court who were ignorant of the very existence of the

December.

*The Q. of
Etruria ex-
pelled from
Tuscany.*

CHAP. compact by virtue of which they were called upon to surrender
 III. not only what he had given them, but those dominions which
 1807. they had possessed before he and his family were banished from
 December. Corsica. It was in vain for this poor Queen to demand time
 for dispatching a courier to her father's court, or to plead that
 no communication had been made to her upon a subject in which
 the rights and interests of her son were vitally concerned; she
 was desired in reply to hasten her departure from a country
 which was no longer hers, and to find consolation in the bosom
 of her family. On the journey they informed her that she was
 to receive a part of Portugal as a compensation. This only
 increased her affliction, for she neither wished for, she says, nor
 would accept of dominion over a state belonging to any other
 sovereign, still less over one which belonged to a sister and a
 near relation of her own. To this trial the Queen of Etruria
 was not exposed: upon reaching her parents and inquiring
 respecting the treaty, she was told that they also had been
 deceived, and that no such treaty was in existence!

*Memoir of
 the Q. of
 Etruria, p.
 20.*

*Buonaparte
 writes to the
 King of
 Spain.*

*Troops
 marched
 into Spain.*

From Italy Buonaparte answered the King of Spain's letters; assured him that he had never received any communication from the Prince of Asturias, nor had had the slightest information of the circumstances respecting him which those letters imparted; nevertheless, he said, he consented to the proposed intermarriage. In a letter afterwards written to Ferdinand himself, he acknowledged the receipt of that letter which he now denied. Holding out these hopes to the Prince, and yet, at the same time, by his long silence, and his reserve towards Izquierdo, keeping him, his father, and the favourite, equally in suspense and alarm, he was, meantime, marching his armies into Spain. That they should enter it had been stipulated by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau; and the court was not in a state to insist upon the condition that the two contracting powers were to

come to a previous agreement upon that point. It was essential to his views that he should make himself master of the principal fortresses ; and his generals were instructed to obtain possession of them in whatever manner they could. The wretched court, fearing they knew not what, were now punished by their own offences ; the treaty into which they had entered for the destruction of Portugal was turned against themselves ; and they had neither sense nor courage to take those measures for their own security which the people would so eagerly have seconded ; on the contrary they gave the most positive orders that the French should be received every where, and treated even more favourably than the Spanish troops. Thus were the gates of Pamplona, St. Sebastian, Figuieras, and Barcelona thrown open to them.

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The next object of these treacherous guests was to get possession of the citadels. Pamplona was the first place where the attempt was made. General D'Armagnac having taken up his quarters in the city, received orders from Marshal Moncey, whose head-quarters were at Burgos, to make himself master of the citadel in any manner, and at whatever cost. Moncey had commanded the French army in Biscay in the year 1794, and at that time when the republican soldiers were accustomed to boast of acts of sacrilegious rapacity, left even among the people whom he had invaded the reputation of a just and generous and honourable man. It was his ill fortune now to be in the service of Buonaparte, and to be employed in acts like this ! D'Armagnac first tried a stratagem ; he requested permission from the Marquis de Vallesantoro, captain-general of Navarre, to secure two Swiss battalions in the citadel, under pretence that he was not satisfied with their conduct : the Marquis however perceived that such a permission would put one of the strongest bulwarks of Spain in the power of the French, and made answer

*Seizure of
Pamplona.
Feb. 9.*