impossible to unite entire obedience to the will of the British authorities, with an energetic, original spirit, in the native government. The Souza faction was always violent and foolish; the milder opposition of the three gentlemen above mentioned, was excusable. Lord Wellington, a foreigner, was serving his own country, pleasing his own government, and forwarding his own fortune; final success was sure to send him to England, resplenent with glory, and beyond the reach of Portuguese ill-will. The native authorities had no such prospects. Their exertions brought little of personal fame, they were disliked by their own Prince, hated by his favorites, and they feared to excite the enmity of the people by a vigor, which, being unpleasing to their sovereign, would inevitably draw evil upon themselves; from the French, if the invasion succeeded, from their own court, if the independence

of the country should be ultimately obtained.

But thus much conceded, for the sake of justice, it is yet to be affirmed, with truth, that the conduct of the Portuguese and Brazilian governments was always unwise, often base. Notwithstanding the Prince's concessions, it was scarcely possible to remedy any abuses. The Lisbon government, substituting evasive for active opposition, baffled Wellington and Stuart, by proposing inadequate laws, or by suffering the execution of effectual measures to be neglected with impunity; and the treaty of commerce with England always supplied them a source of dispute, partly from its natural difficulties, partly from their own bad faith. The General's labors were thus multiplied, not abated, by his new powers, and in measuring these labors, it is to be noted, so entirely did Portugal depend upon England, that Wellington, instead of drawing provisions for his army from the country, in a manner fed the whole nation, and was often forced to keep the army magazines low, that the people might live. This is proved by the importation of rice, flour, beef, and pork from America, which increased, each year of the war, in a surprising manner, the price keeping pace with the quantity, while the importation of dried fish, the ordinary food of the Portuguese, decreased.

In 1808 the supply of flour and wheat from New-York was sixty thousand barrels; in 1811, six hundred thousand; in 1813, between seven and eight hundred thousand. Ireland, England, Egypt, Barbary, Sicily, the Brazils, parts of Spain, and even France, also contributed to the consumption, which greatly exceeded the natural means of Portugal; English treasure, therefore, either directly or indirectly, furnished the nation as well as the

armies.

The peace revenue of Portugal, including the Brazils, the colo-

nies, and the islands, even in the most flourishing periods, had never exceeded thirty-six millions of crusado novas; but in 1811 although Portugal alone raised twenty-five millions, this sum, added to the British subsidy, fell very short of the actual expenditure; yet economy was opposed by the local government, the Prince was continually creating useless offices for his favorites, and encouraging law-suits and appeals to Rio Janeiro. The troops and fortresses were neglected, although the military branches of expense amounted to more than three-fourths of the whole receipts; and though Mr. Stuart engaged that England, either by treaty or tribute, would keep the Algerines quiet, he could not obtain the suppression of the Portuguese navy, which always fled from the barbarians. It was not until the middle of the year 1812, when Admiral Berkeley, whose proceedings had at times produced con siderable inconvenience, was recalled, that Mr. Stuart, with the aid of Admiral Martin, who succeeded Berkeley, without a seat in the Regency, effected this naval reform.

The government, rather than adopt the measures suggested by Wellington, such as keeping up the credit of the paper-money by regular payments of the interest, the fair and general collection of the "Decima," and the repression of abuses in the custom-house, in the arsenal, and in the militia, always more costly than the line, projected the issuing of fresh paper, and endeavored, by unworthy stock-jobbing schemes, to evade instead of meeting the difficulties of the times. To check their folly the General withheld the subsidy, and refused to receive their depreciated paper into the military chest; but neither did this vigorous proceeding produce more than a momentary return to honesty; and meanwhile the working people were so cruelly oppressed, that they would not labor for the public, except under the direction of British officers. Force alone could overcome their repugnance, and force was employed, not to forward the defence of the country, but to meet particular interests and to support abuses. Such also was the general baseness of the Fidalgos, that even the charitable aid of money, received from England, was shamefully and greedily claimed by the rich, who insisted that it was a donation to all, and to be equally divided.

Confusion and injustice prevailed everywhere; and Wellington's energies were squandered on vexatious details; at one time he was remonstrating against the oppression of the working people, and devising remedies for local abuses, at another, superintending the application of the English charities and arranging the measures necessary to revive agriculture in the devastated districts; at all times endeavoring to reform the general administration; and in nc case was he supported. Never during the war did he find an

appeal to the patriotism of the Portuguese government answered frankly; never did he propose a measure which was accepted without difficulties. This opposition was at times carried to such a ridiculous extent, that when some Portuguese nobles in the French service took refuge with the curate Merino, and desired from their own government a promise of safety, to which they were really entitled, the Regency refused to give that assurance; nor would they publish an amnesty, which the English General desired for the sake of justice and from policy also, because valuable information as to the French army could have been thus obtained. The authorities would neither say, yes! nor no! and when General Pamplona applied to Wellington personally for some assurance, the latter could only answer, that in like cases Mascarhenas had

been hanged, and Sabugal rewarded!

To force a change in the whole spirit and action of the government, seemed to some the only remedy for the distemperature of the time; but this might have produced anarchy, and would have given countenance to the democratic spirit, contrary to the general policy of the British government. Wellington therefore desired rather to have the Prince Regent at Lisbon, or the Azores, whence his authority might, under the influence of England, be more directly used to enforce salutary regulations; he, however, considered it essential that Carlotta, whose intrigues were incessant, should not be with him; and she, on the other hand, labored to come back without the Prince, who was prevented from moving by continued disturbances in the Brazils. Mr. Stuart, then despairing of good, proposed the establishment of a military government at once; but Wellington would not agree, although the mischief afloat clogged every wheel of the military machine.

A law of King Sebastian, which obliged all gentlemen holding land to take arms, was now revived; but desertion, which had commenced with the first appointment of British officers, increased; and so many persons sailed away in British vessels of war, to evade military service in their own country, that an edict was published to prevent the practice. Beresford checked the desertion for a moment, by condemning deserters to hard labor, and offering rewards to the country people to deliver them up; yet griping want renewed the evil at the commencement of the campaign, and the terrible severity of condemning nineteen at once to death did not repress it. The cavalry, which had been at all times very inefficient, was now nearly ruined, the men were become faint-hearted, the breed of horses almost extinct, and shameful peculations amongst the officers increased the mischief: one guilty colonel was broke and his uniform stripped from his shoulders in the public

square at Lisbon. However these examples produced fear and astonishment rather than correction, the misery of the troops continued, and the army, although by the care of Beresford it was again augmented to more than thirty thousand men under arms,

declined in moral character and spirit.

To govern armies in the field, is at all times a great and difficult matter; and in this contest the operations were so intimately connected with the civil adminis ration of Portugal, Spain, and the Brazils, and the contest, being one of principles, so affected the policy of every nation of the civilized world, that unprecedented difficulties sprung up in the way of the General, and the ordinary frauds and embarrassments of war were greatly augmented. Napoleon's continental system, joined to his financial measures, which were quite opposed to debt and paper money, increased the pernicious effects of the English bank restriction; specie was abundant in France, but had nearly disappeared from England; it was only to be obtained from abroad, and at an incredible expense. The few markets left for British manufactures and colonial produce did not always make returns in the articles necessary for the war; and gold, absolutely indispensable in certain quantities, was only supplied, and this entirely from the incapacity of the English ministers, in the proportion of one-sixth of what was required, by an army which professed to par for everything. Hence continual efforts, on the part of the government, to force markets; hence a depreciation of value both in goods and bills; hence also a continual struggle on the part of the General to sustain a contest, dependent on the fluctuation of such a precarious system. Dependent also it was upon the prudence of three governments, one of which had just pushed its colonies to rebellion, when the French armies were in possession of four-fifths of the mother country; another was hourly raising up obstacles to its own defence, though the enemy had just been driven from the capital; and the third was forcing a war with America, its greatest and surest market, when by commerce alone it could hope to sustain the struggle in the Peninsula.

The failure of the preceding year's harvest all over Europe, had rendered the supply of Portugal very difficult. Little grain was to be obtained in any country of the north of Europe accessible to the British, and the necessity of paying in hard money rendered even that slight resource null. Sicily and Malta were thrown for subsistence upon Africa, where colonial produce was indeed available for commerce, yet the quantity of grain to be had there was small, and the capricious nature of the barbarians rendered the intercourse precarious. In December, 1811, there was only two months' consumption of corn in Portugal for the population, al-

though the magazines of the army contained more than three. To America, therefore, it was necessary to look. Now, in 1810, Mr. Stuart had given treasury bills to the house of Sampavo for the purchase of American corn; but the disputes between England and the United States, the depreciation of English bills from the quantity in the market, together with the expiration of the American bank charter, had prevented Sampayo from completing his commission; nevertheless, although the increasing bitterness of the disputes with America discouraged a renewal of this plan, some more bills were now given to the English minister at Washington, with directions to purchase corn, and consign it to Sampayo, to re-sell in Portugal as before, for the benefit of the military chest. Other bills were also sent to the Brazils, to purchase rice; and all the consuls in the Mediterranean were desired to encourage the exportation of grain and the importation of colonial produce. In this manner, despite of the English ministers' incapacity, Lord Wellington found resources to feed the population, to recover some of the specie expended by the army, and to maintain the war. But as the year advanced, the Non-intercourse Act of Congress, which had caused a serious drain of specie from Portugal, was followed by an embargo for ninety days; and then famine, which already afflicted parts of Spain, menaced Portugal.

Mr. Stuart knew of this embargo before the speculators did, and sent his agents orders to buy up with hard cash, at a certain price, a quantity of grain which had lately arrived at Gibraltar. He could only forestall the speculators by a few days; the cost soon rose beyond his means in specie, yet the new harvest being nearly ripe, this prompt effort sufficed for the occasion, and happily so, for the American declaration of war followed, and American privateers were to take the place of American flour-ships. But as ruin seemed to approach, Stuart's energy redoubled. His agents, seeking for grain in all parts of the world, discovered that in the Brazils a sufficient quantity might be obtained in exchange for English manufactures to secure Portugal from absolute famine; and to protect this traffic, and to preserve that with the United States, he persuaded the Regency to declare the neutrality of Portugal, and to interdict the sale of prizes within its waters. He also, at Wellington's desire, besought the English Admiralty to reinforce squadron in the Tagus, and to keep cruisers at particular stations. Finally, he pressed the financial reforms in Portugal with the utmost vigor and with some success. His efforts were, however, strangely counteracted from quarters least expected. The English consul in the Western Isles, with incredible presumption, publicly excited the islanders to war with America, when Mr. Stuart's efforts were directed to prevent such a calamity. The Admiralty neglecting to station cruisers in the proper places, left the American privateers free to range along the Portuguese and African coast; and the cupidity of English merchants broke down the credit of the English commissariat paper-money, which was the chief medium of exchange on the immediate theatre of war.

This paper had arisen from a simple military regulation. Lord Wellington, on first assuming the command in 1809, found that all persons gave their own vouchers in payment for provisions, whereupon he proclaimed that none save commissaries should thus act; and that all local accounts should be paid within one month, in ready money, if it was in the chest, if not, with bills on the Commissary-General. These bills soon became numerous, because of the scarcity of specie, yet their value did not sink, because they enabled those who had really furnished supplies to prove their debts without the trouble of following the head-quarters; and they had an advantage over receipts, inasmuch as they distinctly pointed out the person who was to pay; they were also in accord with the customs of the country, for the people were used to receive, government bills. The possessors were paid in rotation, whenever there was money; the small holders, who were the real furnishers of the army, first, the speculators last; a regulation by which justice and the credit of the paper were alike consulted.

In 1812, this paper sunk twenty per cent., from the sordid practices of English mercantile houses, whose agents secretly depreciated its credit and then purchased it; and in this dishonesty they were aided by some of the commissariat, notwithstanding the vigilant probity of the chief commissary. Sums as low as ten pence, payable in Lisbon, I have myself seen in the hands of poor country people on the frontiers. By these infamous proceedings the poorer dealers were ruined or forced to raise their prices, which hurt their sales and contracted the markets to the detriment of the soldiers; and there was much danger that the people generally would thus discover the mode of getting cash for bills by submitting to high discounts, which would soon have rendered the contest too costly to continue. But the resources of Lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart were not exhausted. They contrived to preserve the neutrality of Portugal, and by means of licenses continued to have importations of American flour until the end of the war; a very fine stroke of policy, for this flour was paid for with English goods, and resold at a considerable profit for specie, which went to the military chest. They were less successful in supporting the credit of the Portuguese government paper; bad faith, and the necessities of the native commissariat, which now caused an extraordinary issue, combined to lower its credit.

The Conde de Funchal, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. Vansittart proposed a bank, and other schemes, such as a loan of one million and a half from the English treasury, which shall be treated more at length in another place. But Lord Wellington, ridiculing the fallacy of a government, with revenues unequal to its expenditure, borrowing from a government which was unable to find specie sufficient to sustain the war, remarked, that the money could not be realized in the Portuguese treasury, or it must be realized at the expense of a military chest, whose hollow sound already mocked the soldiers' shout of victory. Again, therefore, he demanded the reform of abuses, and offered to take all the responsibility and odium upon himself, certain that the exigencies of the war could be thus met, and the most vexatious imposts upon the poor abolished; neither did he fail to point out in detail the grounds of this conviction. His reasoning made as little impression upon Funchal as it had done upon Linhares; money was nowhere to be had, and the General, after being forced to become a trader himself, now tolerated, for the sake of the resources it furnished, a contraband commerce, which he discovered Soult to have established with English merchants at Lisbon, exchanging the quicksilver of Almaden for colonial produce; and he was still to find in his own personal resources, the means of beating the enemy, in despite of the matchless follies of the governments he served. He did so, but complained that it was a hard task.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

SECTION I.

Letter from Lieut.-General Graham to the Right Honorable Henry Wellesley, Isla de Leon, 14th March, 1811.

SIB,—You will do justice to my reluctance to enter into any controversy for the purpose of counteracting the effects of that obloquy which you yourself and many others assured me my conduct was exposed to by the reports circulated at Cadiz, relative to the issue of the late expedition.

But a copy of a printed statement of General La Peña having been shown to me, which, by implication at least, leaves the blame of the failure of the most brilliant prospects on me, it becomes indispensably necessary that I

should take up my pen in self-defence.

Having already sent you a copy of my despatch to the Earl of Liverpool, with a report of the action, I will not trouble you with a detail of the first movements of the army, nor with any other observation relative to them, than that the troops suffered much unnecessary fatigue by marching in the

night, and without good guides.

Considering the nature of the service we were engaged in, I was most anxious that the army should not come into contest with the enemy in an exhausted state, nor be exposed to the attack of the enemy but when it was well collected; and, in consequence of representations to this effect, I understood that the march of the afternoon of the 4th was to be a short one, to take up for the night a position near Conil; to prepare which, staff-officers, of both nations, were sent forward with a proper escort.

The march was, nevertheless, continued through the night, with those frequent and harassing halts which the necessity of groping for the way

occasioned.

When the British division began its march from the position of Barrosa to that of Bermeja, I left the General on the Barrosa height, nor did I know of his intentions of quitting it; and, when I ordered the division to countermarch in the wood, I did so to support the troops left for its defence, and believing the General to be there in person. In this belief I sent no report of the attack, which was made so near the spot where the General was supposed to be, and, though confident in the bravery of the British troops, I was not less so in the support I should receive from the Spanish army. The distance, however, to Bermeja is trifling, and no orders were given from head-quarters for the movement of any corps of the Spanish army to support the British division, to prevent its defeat in this unequal contest, or to profit of the success earned at so heavy expense. The

voluntary zeal of the two small battalions, (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real,) which had been detached from my division, brought them alone back from the wood; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they could

only come at the close of the action,

Had the whole body of the Spanish cavalry, with the horse-artillery, been rapidly sent by the sea beach to form in the plain, and to envelop the enemy's left; had the greatest part of the infantry been marched through the pine-wood, in our rear, to turn his right, what success might have been expected from such decisive movements? The enemy must either have retired instantly, and without occasioning any serious loss to the British division, or he would have exposed himself to absolute destruction, his cavalry greatly outnumbered, his artillery lost, his columns mixed and in confusion; a general dispersion would have been the inevitable consequence of a close pursuit; our wearied men would have found spirits to go on, and would have done so trusting to finding refreshments and repose at Chiclana. This moment was lost, Within a quarter of an hour's ride of the scene of action, the General remained ignorant of what was passing, and nothing was done! Let not, then, this action of Barrosa form any part of the general result of the transactions of the day; it was an accidental feature; it was the result of no combination, it was equally unseen and unheeded by the Spanish staff; the British division, left alone, suffered the loss of more than one-fourth of its number, and became unfit for future exertion. Need I say more to justify my determination of declining any further co-operation in the field towards the prosecution of the object of the expedition? I am, however, free to confess that, having thus placed myself and the British division under the direction of the Spanish commander-in-chief in the field, (contrary to my instructions,) I should not have thought myself justified to my King and country to risk the absolute destruction of this division in a second trial. But I have a right to claim credit for what would have been my conduct from what it was; and I will ask if it can be doubted, after my zealous co-operation throughout, and the ready assistance afforded to the troops left on Barrosa height, that the same anxiety for the success of the cause would not have secured to the Spanish army the utmost efforts of the British division during the whole of the enterprise, had we been supported as we had a right to expect?

There is not a man in the division who would not gladly have relinquished his claim to glory, acquired by the action of Barrosa, to have shared with the Spaniards the ultimate success that was within our grasp as it were.

The people of Spain, the brave and persevering people, are universally esteemed, respected, and admired by all who value liberty and independence; the hearts and hands of British soldiers will ever be with them; the

cause of Spain is felt by all to be a common one.

I conclude with mentioning that the only request expressed to me at head-quarters, on the morning of the 6th, on knowing of my intention to send the British troops across the river St. Petri, was that the opportunity of withdrawing the Spanish troops, during the night, was lost; and on my observing that, after such a defeat, there was no risk of attack from any enemy, a very contrary opinion was maintained.

In point of fact, no enemy ever appeared during several days employed in bringing off the wounded and burying the dead. It may be proper to remark on the report published relative to the enemy's number at St. Petri, (4500 men of Villatte's division.) that, by the concurrent testimony of all the French officers here, General Villatte's division had charge of the whole

line,—what, then, must be the strength of that division to have afforded 4500 men to St. Petri alone? In order to establish, by authentic documents, facts which may have been disputed, and to elucidate others, I inclose, by way of appendix, the reports of various officers of this division.

I har s the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-General.

P. S. I must add this postscript distinctly to deny my having spoken, at head-quarters, in the evening of the 5th, of sending for more troops, or for provisions from the Isla. My visit was a very short one, of mere ceremony. I may have asked if the Spanish troops expected were arrived. This error must have arisen from the difficulty of conversing in a foreign language.

With this I send you a sketch of the ground, &c., of the action of Barrosa; by which it will be seen how impossible, according to my judgment, it would be for an enemy to expose his left flank, by making a direct attack through the wood on the Bermeja position, while that of Barrosa was

occupied in force by the allied army.

SECTION II.

Adjutant-General's state of the troops assembled at Tarifa, under the command of Lieutenant-General Graham, 25th Feb., 1810.

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	Major Duncan. 10 guns.
47	Captain Birch.
1221	Brigadier-General Dilkes.
1764	Colonel Wheatley.
594	LtCol. A. Barnard, 95th regt.
475	LtColonel Brown, 28th regt.
33	Lieutenant Read.
4134 180	
4294, v	with 10 guns.
	47 1221 1764 475 33 4134 180

SECTION III.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.

Extract from a letter of General Frederick Ponsonby.

"I proceeded rapidly towards the entrance of the wood, found the Germans, and conducted them along the right flank of our little army. We came in contact with the French dragoons, whom we found nearly abreast of our front line and about three hundred yards apart from it on our right flank; our line had just halted, and the firing was gradually decreasing at the time we charged. I do not imagine the French dragoons much exceeded us in number; they behaved well, but if we had had half a dozen stout squadrons the mass of beaten infantry would not have returned to their camp."

SECTION IV .- BATTLE OF ALBUERA.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Light, serving in the 4th dragoons at the battle of Albuera.

"After our brigade of infantry, first engaged, were repulsed, I was desired oy General d'Urban to tell the Count de Penne Villemur to charge the lancers, and we all started, as I thought, to do the thing well; but when within a few paces of the enemy the whole pulled up, and there was no getting them farther; and in a few moments after I was left alone to run the gauntlet as well as I could."

SECTION V.—STATE OF THE FIRST CORPS.

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SECTION VI.

Intercepted papers of Colonel Le Jeune.

ORDRE.

Il y est ordonné à Monsieur le colonel baron Le Jeune, mon A. D. C., de partir sur le champ en poste pour porter les ordres ci-joints et parcourir l'Andalousie et l'Estremadure.

Monsieur le colonel Le Jeune se rendra d'abord à Grenade auprès de Monsieur le général Sebastiani, commandant du 4me corps d'armée, et il lui re-

mettra les ordres qui le concernent.

De Grenade, Monsieur Le Jeune se rendra par Séville devant Cadiz, et verra par lui-même la situation des choses, afin de pouvoir à son retour en rendre un compte détaillé à l'empereur. Monsieur Le Jeune remettra à Monsieur le maréchal duc de Dalmatie, les dépêches qui lui sont destinées, soit à Séville, soit à Cadiz, soit partout où il sera. Il se rendra ensuite au 5mº corps d'armée commandé par Monsieur le maréchal duc de Trévise en Estremadure; le corps doit être à Badajos, ou même sur le Tage.

Monsieur Le Jeune prendra une connaissance exacte de sa position, et de celle des troupes de l'armée du centre commandée par le généralqui sont réunies sur le Tage. Il verra si ces corps sont en communication avec l'armée de Portugal, et recueillera les nouvelles que l'on pourrait avoir

de cette armée de ce côté.

Monsieur Le Jeune prendra tous les renseignemens nécessaires pour pouvoir répondre à toutes les questions de l'empereur, sur la situation des choses en Andalousie, devant Cadiz, et en Estremadure, d'ou il viendra me rendre compte de sa mission.

LE PRINCE DE WAGRAM ET DE NEUFCHATEL, Major-général.

Paris, le 4 Février, 1811.

SECTION VII

Extracts from Le Jeune's Reports.

CADIZ.

"Montagnes de Ronda fover d'insurrection entre le 4mo corps et le premier." "Les obusiers à la villantrois portent à 2560 toises: l'obus doit peser 75 livres, et contient 11 à 12 onces de poudre: on charge l'obusier à poudre d'un 1 du poids de l'obus pour obtenir cette distance. Il n'y en a que le 4 en batterie: à la redoute Napoléon on en a 12 en fondus: mais il manque de projectilles et de la poudre en suffisant quantité. Toutes les obus n'éclatent pas en ville."

"Le pont de St. Petri a été traversé le jour de l'affaire par un sergent du 24 me qui est revenu avec les Espagnols que l'on a pris. Le moment eut été favorable pour s'emparer de l'Isle."

"Le duc de Bellune bien ennuyé, désire beaucoup retourner: bon général mais voyant les choses trop en noir."

SECTION VIII.

Puerto Real, 20 Mars, 1812.

Mon Cher General,—Enfin après 15 jours des plus cruelles souffrances je me trouve en état de reprendre la plume et de continuer le récit que j'ai eu

l'honneur de vous adresser dans ma lettre du 6 au 7 de ce mois.

L'une des choses qui mérite d'abord de fixer votre attention, est la composition de cette armée combinée dont nous avons été tout-à-coup assaillis. J'ai déjà dit que le 26 Février une flotte de 180 voiles était sortie de Cadiz portant 15,000 hommes de débarquement, et que de ce nombre étaient environ 4000 Anglais et 1000 Portugais. Cette flotte ce dirigea vers Tarifa où le débarquement se fit le lendemain sans aucun accident. Il parait que les Anglais en réunissant les garnisons d'Algeciras et de Gibraltar à quelques restes de troupes venues récemment de Sicile, avaient déjà formé à Tarifa un petit corps de 1000 Anglais et de 2000 Portugais commandé par le général Stuart, et qui forma avec 2 ou 300 hommes de cavalerie, l'avant garde de l'expedition dirigée contre nous. Cette armée ainsi composée de 10 à 12,000 Espagnols bien ou mal équipés, de 4 à 5000 Anglais et de 3000 Portugais, se mit enfin en campagne, et vint nous attaquer le 5. Il parait que Monsieur le maréchal Victor ne fut instruit que tard de la vraie direction prise par l'armée ennemie. Il arriva à Chiclana le 5 entre 8 et 9 heures du matin, suivi des bataillons de la 1re et 2de division : le plan d'opérations auquel il s'arrêta fut d'envoyer sur le champ la division Villatte avec un régiment de cavalerie aux lignes de St. Petri, avec ordre de laisser arriver l'ennemi, de lui résister foiblement pour l'engager à suivre notre mouvement de retraite et de l'attirer ainsi sous la position St. Anne, où il ne pouvait manquer de se trouver dans une situation extrêmement desavantageuse. Pendant cette manœuvre Monsieur le maréchal Victor s'était lui-même porté avec la 1re et 2de division entre Conil et St. Petri, à peu près à la hauteur de la Torre Barrossa, avec l'intention de couper à l'ennemi la retraite des montagnes. Là, rencontrant la queue de l'armée, qui finissait de se filer, il la fit attaquer vigoureusement, culbuta tout ce qui se rencontra devant lui et accula les Espagnols à la mer, mais les Anglais que cette manœuvre hardie mettaient entre deux feux, et dans l'impossibilité de regagner Conil, revinrent sur leurs pas, et attaquant avec la rage du désespoir, ils forcèrent à la retraite nos deux divisions, qui ne formaient pas ensemble 5000 hommes.

Cependant Monsieur le maréchal Victor se croyait si sur de la victoire qu'avant d'attaquer il envoya ordre aux troupes qui étaient à Médina, de se porter entre Veger et Conil, pour ramasser le reste des trainards, les ba-

gages, et les trains de munitions qu'ils pouvaient rencontrer.

Le projet d'attirer l'ennemi sur le feu de St. Anne n'avait pas mieux réussi du côté de la division Villatte; car si cette division fut d'abord assaillie par presque toute l'armée combinée, les généraux Anglais et Espagnols, avertis de bonne heure que Monsieur le maréchal les tournaient avec un corps de troupes, arréterent leurs colonnes sur la rive gauche du ruisseau qui touche au Moulin d'Almanza, et là, naturellement retranchés derrière ce marais, ils n'eurent à gardèr que le pont et le Moulin, les seuls endroits par lesquels on pouvait les attaquer. Quelque chose de plus malheureux fut, que dès le commencement de l'action, nos lignes de St. Petri n'étant pas défendues, il sortit par le pont de Radeaux 5000 hommes de troupes fraiches de la Isla, lesquels se plaçant en bataille devant la division Villatte, et couverts par la ruisseau du Moulin d'Almanza, laissèrent au reste de l'armée combinée la liberté de se retourner tout entière contre l'attaque de Monsieur le maréchal Victor. Ainsi se termina la bataille du 5, l'ennemi coucha sur

son champ de bataille, sans poursuivre les divisions Laval et Rufin dans leur retraite. Je vous ai déjà fait part de notre perte. Le général Rufin que nous croyons tué par une balle, qui lui a traversé la tête, a été porté par les Anglais à la Isla, ou après deux jours de léthargie, il a donné signes de vie;

on dit qu'il va mieux.

La perte de l'ennem. a été à peu près de 3000 Anglais ou Portugais, et de 5 à 600 Espagnols, tués ou blessés; les Anglais ont eu beaucoup des officiers mis hors de combat, on croit les généraux Grâm et Stuart ainsi que le général Pêna blessés. Le 6 à la pointe du jour nous nous attendions bien à une attaque générale qui pouvait nous être très funeste; mais l'ennemi se contenta d'occuper avec 2000 hommes le forte de Médina, que nous avions un peu imprudement abandonnés: la flotille ennemie fit aussi des démonstrations d'attaque sur le Trocadero, mais sans effet. Elle débarqua 6 à 700 hommes entre le Port de St. Marie et le fort St. Cataline, qui fut sommé de se rendre; on répondit à coups de canons. Un officier Anglais vint chez le gouverneur de St. Marie le prévenir qu'il allait prendre possession de la ville, mais il avait laissé ses troupes à la porte. Elles courent faire une action d'éclat en brulant et réduisant la petite redoute St. Antoine, qui n'était point gardée; enchantés de ce succès ils se rembarquèrent. M. le maréchal s'attendait bien à être attaqués le 6 à Chiclana, il avait donné des ordres en consequence, ces ordres furent mal interprétés, et on endommagea mal-à-propos dans la nuit quelques uns de nos ouvrages, mais ils furent sur le champ réparés. Lui-même était venu à Puerto Réal avec la division Laval, et avait envoyé la 1ere division à St. Marie pour reprendre la ligne de Blocus comme avant la bataille du 5. Le 5me régiment de chasseurs fut envoyé entre Puerto Real et Médina à la ferme de Guerra en reconnaissance; il y rencontra une poste de cavalerie ennemie, et la tailla en pièces. Le 6 au soir, on essaya de reprendre le forte de Médina, mais sans succès. Le 7 il fallut y envoyer plus de monde, et les Espagnols l'évacuèrent sans opposer de résistance.

Dans la nuit du 5 les Espagnols avaient rasés nos lignes de St. Petri, ils employèrent pendant plusieurs jours et plusieurs nuits 6000 hommes, à transporter à la Isla du bois, dont ils manquaient, quelques jours après, nous avons fait cesser ces approvisionnements, en reprenant la position de St. Petri, où on ne trouva personne; les Espagnols craignant une répétition de l'affaire du 2 Mars, ont détruits eux-même de forte bonne grace leur tête de pont, et replié leur pont de radeaux, dès ce moment chacun resta chez soi,

comme avant les hostilités.

Du 21 Mars, 1811.

Il est surprenant que l'armée combinée ne nous ait pas poursuivis le 5, bien plus surprenant encore qu'elle ne nous ait point attaqués le 6 au matin; on en conçoit plusieurs raisons. On conjecture d'abord que la principale perte de la bataille étant tombée sur les Anglais, qui ont eu un grand nombre d'officiers, et même leurs généraux, mis hors de combat, les Espagnols n'ont pas osé venir seuls nous attaquer. Le général Grâm voulait cependant les y contraindre le lendemain, mais sur leur refus formel, il les a traité de lâches, de gens indignes d'être secourus. Ils ont répondu qu'ils feraient une sortie de la Isla si l'on voulait mettre le tiers d'Anglais ou Portugais avec les deux tiers d'Espagnols; le général Anglais a répondu qu'il n'exposerait plus un seul de ses soldats avec des troupes de cette espèce, et sur le champ il a donné ordre aux Anglais et Portugais de se retirer à Cadiz ou dans le ville de la Isla. Il parait même que le lendemain les Anglais se sont embarqués pour se rendre à Gibraltar ou peut-être à Lisbonne. Les gens du

pays donnent pour certain que le général Grâm, en envoyant ces jours derniers à Londres trente-trois officiers des moins blessés, n'a pas dissimulé qu'il les chargeaient d'exposer à son gouvernement quelle folie il y avait de sacrificier de braves gens pour soutenir en Espagne un parti sans moyens, sans bravoure et sans moralité. Si ce qui précède n'est pas viai, au moins sommes nous certains qu'une grande mésintelligence règne entre les Espagnols et leurs alliés. Le 20, les Espagnols ont encore essayé une sortie de la Carraca, mais sans succès; ils s'y prennent un peu tard. Nous sommes à présent très à mesure pour les recevoir. Ils font semblant d'embarquer continuellement de troupes qui n'agissent pas et qui ne peuvent plus nous nuire. Il est arrivé à Médina quelques bataillons du 4^{me} corps, deux bataillons du soixante-trois sont aussi venus de Séville. Nous apprenons avec la prise de Badajos, que M. le maréchal Soult est à Séville. La blessure de M. le commandant Bompar et les miennes vont un peu mieux.

Excusez les imperfections de cette longue lettre, j'écris le mon lit, dans une posture génante.

Monsieur le général de division Lery, à Séville.

SECTION IX.

Extracts from the intercepted report of General Garbé, commanding the French engineers at the blockade of Cadiz.

25 Mars, 1811.

"On avait apperçu le 26 de Février au matin un grand convoi partant de la baye de Cadiz, pour se diriger sur Tarifa. Ce convoi portait à peu près 6 ou 7000 hommes des troupes de débarquement, qui allait joindre celles qui étaient déjà réunies sur la Barbate et dans les environs de l'Alcala de los Gazules. Le 2 Mars à la pointe du jour, l'ennemi commença son opération sur Casa Vieja, qui fut évacué, et en même temps il effectua vers l'embouchure de St. Petri un passage pour faciliter l'établissement d'un pont de radeaux et d'une tête de pont. Il fit aussi débarquer des troupes dans l'isletta del Coto, et s'occupa d'y établir deux batteries. Le 3, on fit marcher la division du général Rufin, qui prit position à moitié chemin de Puerto Real à Médina Sidonia. Celle du général Laval s'établit en avant de Puerto Real, et le général Villatte garda ses positions auprès de Chiclana. Ce jour on n'apperçut aucun mouvement de l'ennemi. Tous les ouvrages de la ligne étaient gardés par les garnisons qu'on avait designées auparavant. Santa Marie fut évacué et le pont replié sur la rive gauche.

"Puerto Real était défendu par une compagnie de sapeurs, deux du 45me

régiment, et par tous les refugiés Français qu'on avoit armés.

"Le 4 Monsieur le maréchal fit attaquer à la pointe du jour l'ennemi dans sa tête de pont de Santi Petri. Cette attaque se fit par 4 compagnies du 95me régiment qui s'emparèrent de l'ouvrage, firent prisonniers 500 hommes, et enlevèrent un drapeau. Il est certain que si on eut employé dans cette opération 2 ou 3000 hommes on enlevait le pont et l'Isle de Léon. L'ennemi fut si disconcerté qu'il avait abandonné ses batteries et ses ouvrages fer n'es. Un pareil résultât paraissait être d'un très bon augure pour les grandes opérations. On fit partir le même jour de Médina une reconnaissance sur Casa Vieja. On reçut avis dans la nuit que cette reconnaissance n'avait rencontré personne, et que les colonnes ennemies se dirigeant sur Conil, le mouvement ne pouvait avoir pour but que d'opérer la jonction de ce corps d'armés avec celui qui était resté dans l'Île. Le 5, avant le jour, on se mit en marche

de la position qu'on occupait à moitié chemin de Médina pour se porter sur Chiclana. Arrivé dans cet endroit, Monsieur le maréchal donna l'ordre au général Villatte de rassembler toute sa division vers les flèches de St. Petri, pour y maintenir l'ennemi qui y paraissait en force, pendant qu'il dirigeait sur la route de Conil les divisions de Laval et Rufin, et le peu de cavalerie qu'il avait avec lui. Il se porta de ce côté, et ne tarda pas à rencontere une forte colonne, qui marchait le long de la mer entre St. Petri et Conil, et se dirigeait sur le premier de ces endroits. Les troupes arrivées à portée de canon se formèrent. Le général Rufin prit la gauche pour aller occuper un mamelon où l'ennemi paraissait s'établir. Quand les deux divisions furent formées, elle se trouvèrent en présence d'une armée, beaucoup plus nombreuse qu'on ne l'avait cru d'abord. L'artillerie n'était pas encore arrivée, et celle de l'ennemi commençait à jouer de toutes parts. Le général Villatte n'avait pu garder jes flèches de St. Petri, qui étaient au moment d'être prises, n'étant alors défendues que par un seul bataillon du 27me d'in-

fanterie legère.

Cette division fut obligée de se replier et de repasser le ravin dans lequel roulent les eaux du Moulin d'Almanza. Ce mouvement empêcha le général Villatte de se réunir aux deux autres divisions, qui n'ayant en tout que dix bataillons, essuvaient un feu terrible de la part de l'ennemi. Nos pertes devenaient d'autant plus sensible que le nombre des combatans n'était que le tiers de celui de l'ennemi. Des corps entiers se trouvaient accablés avant qu'on eut pu entamer la ligne des Anglais. Il n'y avait point de réserve. Les deux mille hommes de Médina Sidonia étaient en marche pour Conil. Il fallut penser à la retraite qui se fit en bon ordre, jusque sur les hauteurs en avant de Chiclana, où l'on fit camper une division pendant la nuit. Les Anglais firent leur jonction avec les troupes de l'île de Léon, et les Espagnols continuèrent d'occuper notre position du Moulin d'Almanza et de St. Petri. Si l'ennemi voulant continuer ses opérations offensives dans la journée du 6, se fut présenté de bonne heure, il est probable que dans la situation où nous trouvions après la journée du 5 nous étions obligés d'évacuer le terrain jusqu'à Puerto Réal, où on aurait pris la position dont j'ai parlé plus haut, pour y livrer une seconde bataille, mais les opérations ont manqué d'ensemble. Il s'est contenté de rendrer dans l'île et pendant ce temps un très petit corps de troupes Anglaises opérarient un débarquement entre St. Marie, et la pointe de St. Catherine, qui n'eut d'autre résultât que d'enlever une batterie défendue par quinze hommes et de se promener une ou deux heures dans les rues de St. Marie. Monsieur le maréchal, ne voyait aucun mouvement offensif, ordonna de rétablir les grandes communications par St. Marie, chacun rentra dans ses portes, et cette mesure produisait beaucoup plus d'effet, sur l'armée et les habitans du pays, que les dispositions qu'on auraient pu prendre."

No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CAPTAIN SQUIRE, OF THE ENGINEERS.

SECTION I.

"March 1, 1811.

"I have been employed in constructing batteries, opposite the mouth of the Zezere, for twenty-five guns! though we have only one brigade of nine-

pounders to arm them.

"Thank God, for my own credit, I protested against these batteries from the first, in my reports which were sent to Lord Wellington, and now I verily believe the Marshal himself is ashamed of their construction. Punhete, you know, is situated precisely at the confluence of the Zezere with the Tagus, the enemy's bridge is about half a mile from the mouth of the river, and one mile, by measurement, from the nearest of our heights, which we have crowned with an eight-gun battery."

SECTION II.

"I was truly sorry to hear that the Spaniards were so thoroughly routed near Badajos, but Mendizabel was an idiot. On the 18th February, the enemy threw a bridge over the Guadiana, above Badajos. Don Carlos España, an active officer, whom I knew very well, reconnoitred the bridge, and made his report to Mendizabel, who was playing at cards. Very well, said the chief, we'll go and look at it to-morrow! At day-break the Spanish army was surprised."

SECTION III.

"May 17, 1811.-I reconnoitred the ground in front of Christoval, and was pressed, by Colonel Fletcher, who was on the other side of the Guadiana, to commence our operations that evening. The soil was hard and locky, and our tools infamous. I made, however, no difficulties, and we began our battery on the night of the 8th, the moon being at the full: our work was barely four hundred yards from Christoval. In spite, however, of a most destructive fire of musketry, and shot, and shells, from various parts of the body of the place, we succeeded in completing our battery on the night of the 10th; and, on the morning of the 11th, at four a. m., its fire was opened. The enemy's fire was, however, very superior to our own, and, before sunset, the three guns and one howitzer were disabled, for against our little attack was the whole attention of the enemy directed. On the other side of the river the intended attack had not yet been begun, and we sustained the almost undivided fire of Badajos! I told the Marshal, when I saw him on the 11th, that to continue to fight our battery was a positive sacrifice; he did not, however, order us to desist till our guns were silenced. If doubt and indecision had not governed all our operations, and had we begun even on the night of the 9th, I am satisfied that our plan of attack was excellent, and that we should have entered the place on the 15th. It is true that two distant batteries were erected, on the left bank of the river, against the place, but they scarcely excited the enemy's attention; our little corps bore the brunt of the enemy's exertions, which were great and spir-

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ited. Including those who fell in the sortie, our loss has been from six to seven hundred men. Both officers and men were exhausted, mind and body; they felt and saw that they were absurdly sacrificed."

SECTION IV.

" Elvas, May 20, 1811.

"Had our operations been conducted with common activity and judgment, Badajos would have been in our hands before the 15th of May. But what has been the fact? Our little corps on the Christoval side was absolutely sacrificed. The whole fire and attention of Badajos was directed against our unsupported attack, and our loss in consequence was severe."—
"Our operation before Christoval was absurdly pressed forward without any co-operation on the left bank of the river. The Marshal hesitated—delayed, and at last withdrew his troops at such a moment that he was scarcely time enough to meet the enemy in the field!"

No. III.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL CAMPBELL TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

" Gibraltar, October 23, 1810.

"The troops at Malaga, with the exception of three hundred men, moved upon Fuengirola, of which Lord Blayney was apprised; but, in place of his Lordship taking advantage of this fortunate event, he wasted two days in a fruitless attack on the fort of Fuengirola, cannonading it from twelve pounders, although he perceived that no impression had been made on it by the fire of the shipping and gun-boats, the artillery of which were double the calibre. In this situation he was surprised by an inferior force, and, whilst he was on board of a gun-boat, his guns taken and the whole thrown into confusion; at this moment he was informed of the disaster, and, a far to his credit, he retook his guns, but, immediately after, conceiving a body of French cavalry to be Spariards, he ordered the firing to cease, when he was surrounded and made prisoner; his men, losing confidence, gave way, and, hurrying to the beach, relinquished their honor and the field."

No IV.

JUSTIFICATORY PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE STATE OF SPAIN AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

SECTION I.—NORTHERN PROVINCES.

Captain Irby to Mr. Croft.

" H. M. S. Amelia, Coruña, May 6, 1810.

"I have been cruising for these two months past between Bayonne and Santona.

"In addition to the troops I have observed under arms, there has been a

great proportion of armed peasantry at Baquio, a small place to the west-ward of Rachidaes; as our boats were returning from destroying some batteries, they were attacked by armed peasantry alone, who were dispersed by shot from the ship, and also since they have assisted the French troops, when we captured a vessel laden with military stores from St. Andero."

Mr. Stuart to General Walker.

"Lisbon, February 20, 1811.

"I own, that from the various appointments which have lately taken place in their armies, I forebode little advantage in the course of the ensuing campaign; it is perhaps needful to tell you that my fears are grounded on the nomination of the Duke of Albuquerque to Gallicia, Castaños to Estremadura, Mahi to Murcia, Coupigny to Valencia, and the brother of O'Donnell to Catalonia."

Sir Howard Douglas to Lord Wellington.

" Villafranca, January 4, 1812.

"Each chief is allowed three servants, a captain two, a subaltern one; the number of soldiers employed in this way is certainly not under the regulation, and all officers resident in the interior likewise have this excessive indulgence. The officers' servants never do duty, or attend any drill or review. The cooks are in general changed weekly, and are never present at drill or review; one cook is allowed besides to every three serjeants. These two items certainly take 5000 choice men from the ranks of this army.

"Some very violent recriminations have been brought on by the imprudent reply of the military press to some observations published in a Coruña paper extolling the guerillas, and at the same time intended to convey a censure on the conduct of the army. I have had frequent conversations with General Abadia on the spirit of disunion which these two papers are sowing. He has at length prohibited the military press from publishing anything but professional papers. I was present when he gave the order. He engaged me in the conversation, and I could not avoid observing that what was lost could only be regained by the sword, not the pen. In this I alluded to the Asturias, where certainly reputation and public confidence were sacrificed.

"The truth is, the army is oppressive and expensive, as well as inefficient, from its disorganized state, particularly in the departments of supply; and it is a very unpleasant circumstance to hear it generally admitted, that a Spanish corps is much more destructive to the country than an equal French army. There are also violent dissensions between the Juntas of Leon and Gallicia: inclosure No. 6 will show this state of feeling."

Sir Howard Douglas to Sir H. Wellesley.

" Coruña, March 1, 1812.

"On the 20th ultimo I had the honor to despatch to your Excellency a copy of my letter of that date to Lord Wellington, in which I acquainted his Lordship that three battalions of the army of Gallicia are preparing for embarkation for America, and that I had positively declined making, and would not permit the delivery of any British arms or stores for that service. I have now discovered, that in addition to these troops it is intended to send a division of horse artillery, to equip which, orders have been given

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to transfer appointments from the cavalry of the army, and a demand is mrade for funds to prepare the ordnance, and even to adapt to colonial service more of the field-artillery which I lately delivered for the use of the sixth Gallician army. This measure has never been openly avowed by the government of Cadiz, it has never been communicated to the Junta of this province by the Regency. It has, I imagine, been concealed from your Excellency, and it has only come to my knowledge by the arrangements, no longer to be hidden, which General Abadia is making to carry it into effect."

SECTION II.—CATALONIA.

Extract of a letter from Don Antonio Rocca.

[Translated.]

" Reus, January 20th, 1811.

"While we have venal men, ignorant men, and perfidious men in our government, no good can befall us. He must be mad who can expect our condition to ameliorate. The venal are those who, without being called, seemingly abanden their own affairs, and introduce themselves into the different branches of administration with no other view than to enrich themselves at the public expense. The ignorant are those who think themselves wise, and who either obtain by intrigue or accept without reluctance employments the duties of which they are not capable of discharging. The perfidious are all those who are indifferent spectators of this bloody struggle, and who care not for the issue, as they will equally submit to any master. Place no confidence, my friend, in these sort of persons; nothing can be expected from them, and yet, by an inconceivable fatality which is attached to us, to the ruin of all parties, it would appear that the provinces employ none but these very people. Those who commend us are either venal, or ignorant, or indifferent; at least, the more we search for the remedy the more our evil increases."

Captain Codrington to Sir Charles Cotton.

"April 24, 1811.

"With respect to the proposed plan of admitting supplies of grain in neutral vessels from the ports of the enemy, &c., I have no hesitation in saying I do not see sufficient reason to justify it in the present circumstances of this part of the Peninsula, as I have always found bread for sale at the different places on the coast, at the rate of about two pounds and three quarters for the quarter of a dollar, at which price I yesterday bought it at Escala. And as there has been of late more corn at Tarragona than money to purchase, I presume the latter has been the greater desideratum of the two.

from one part of the coast to the other would be lessened by being limited to vessels above the size of common fishing boats, in which I have reason to believe considerable quantities have been carried to Barcelona; and Captain Bullen, I understand, found even a mortar in a boat of this description."

General C. Doyl to Captain Bullen.

" Ripol, April, 1811.

"Can you believe that in this town, the only fabric of arms, six months

have passed without a firelock being made! They begin to-morrow, and give me two hundred and fifty every week, &c."

[Note. - The italics and notes of admiration are in the original.]

Admiral Fremantle to Captain Codrington.

" Mahon, May, 19, 1811.

"The uncertainty of everything connected with Spanish affairs is such, that I am tired of writing and explaining all that arises from their incon-

sistency and want of energy.

"Until eight o'clock I had understood that the Intendant had procured one thousand quintals of biscuit for the army at Tarragona, which number I find on inquiry has dwindled to fifty-seven bags. I have therefore been under the necessity of sending five hundred bags, which we can very ill spare, from our own stores, with a proportion of rice. I cannot tell you how much I have been worried and annoyed the last three days, particularly as I feel the very great importance Tarragona is to the Spaniards, and how much this island is connected with the event of the fall of that fortress. The Intendant here has wrote that he has sent two hundred and thirty-two bags of bread. You will have the goodness to explain that only fifty-seven were procured by him, which I have engaged to pay for, and that all the rest comes immediately from our own stores, and are consequently at the disposal of the British authorities at Tarragona."

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Pellew to Captain Codrington.

" H. M. ship Caledonia, July, 22, 1811.

"The indecision, inactivity, and apparent disunion amongst the Spanish leaders have been the great cause of failure throughout the whole of this arduous contest, and is especially observable in the late events in Catalonia; nor until the patriots are directed by pure military councils and more energy and decision, can I permit myself to think that any effectual stand can be made against the invaders."

Sir Edward Pellew to Captain Codrington.

" August 2, 1811.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, &c. The information therein conveyed affords me a very melancholy view of the affairs of the patriots, and gives me little reason to hope better things from their future exertions."—"A despatch which reached me by the same opportunity from the superior Junta of Catalonia contains a proposal for occupying a position on the coast as a naval dépôt, and the selection of Palamos is presented to my choice. It does not appear to me that the Junta possesses at present resources for defending any such position, and from the measures being submitted to my determination, it seems to be expected that I should provide means of defending them while employed in securing themselves in their new station."—"Yet whilst the noble spirit of this ill-fated people remains unsubdued, it would not be just to expect a total failure, although the loss of all confidence between them and the privileged orders, and the want of leaders among themselves who possess either skill or competency to guide them, afford but a very precarious prospect of their doing anything effectual to stop the invaders."

Captain Codrington to Sir E. Pellew.

" November 1, 1811.

"By a letter from Captain Strong, it seems the people of Cadagues, in the early part of October, openly refused assistance to the Governor of the Medas Islands, declaring that they only acknowledged the strongest party, and therefore paid their subscriptions to the French; and that upon the Bustard's going with a party of Spanish troops to enforce obedience, they rang the alarm-bell as the signal for the approach of an enemy, and sent to Rosas for assistance."

Extract of a letter from Captain Codrington to E. H. Locker, Esq.

" February 7, 1812.

"Whilst the French pay the poor, who serve their purpose, at the expense of the rich, the Spaniards deal out severity to the lower classes, and oblige them to serve without pay and without clothes; and the debauched and profligate of higher life are in many instances rewarded, for imbecility, ignorance, and indifference to the fate of their country, never yet exceeded, without one single example being made of the many traitors which have been discovered in the persons of priests, officers of rank, or what are termed gentlemen.

Captain Codrington to General Lacy.

" February 18, 1812.

"Being an eye-witness of the discontent of the people, which has arisen from their being partially disarmed, and knowing how fatal have been the consequences which have followed these practices on former occasions, I must own I cannot offer to the Admiral my conviction of all that benefit arising from his good intentions, in which I should otherwise have confided. The officers and men of the French army are walking about this part of the coast unarmed, because the Juntas and Justices have concealed the muskets they had at their disposal, and refused the people permission to attack the enemy. In the meantime, the poor people, whose hearts are burning with patriotism, are starving for want of bread, and the richer citizens of this devoted country are supplying the enemy with corn and other species of provisions."

Captain Codrington to Sir E. Pellew.

"Villa Nueva, February 22, 1812.

"I fear things are going on very ill in this principality from the sudden change in the system of General Lacy, and the consequent destruction of that confidence on the part of the people which was certainly the cause of his former successes. Nor can there be any doubt of the sound reason which guides the conduct of the Catalans on this occasion; for the mode fin which General Lacy effected the dishonorable breach of faith of which they complain, bespeaks a mind practised in deception. He ordered the patriotic companies to be sent to particular points in sub-divisions, at which points General Sarsfield was to take forcible possession of them, and attach them to different corps of the regular army. And the discovery of this treachery was made by the letter to General Sarsfield falling, by mistake, into the hands of the officer who commanded the whole division of patriotic com

panies. In the meantime the discontent of the people gains ground with their sufferings, and instead of the Spanish army being increased by the late arbitrary mandate according to its avowed object, and not less probably in consequence of the late extraordinary conduct of General Sarsfield, many of the Catalan soldiers have actually passed over to the enemy.

"The letter of the Baron de Eroles in the Gazette No. 10, shows that he was again deceived in the promised support of General Sarsfield on the 24th, and I am told he says publicly it was part of a settled plan to sacrifice him

and his whole division."

"Nothing but a total change can produce permanent good; for the villainies of the Intendant and commissary departments are so thoroughly organized, that not one link of the chain can be left with safety. I have good reason to think that even the money furnished by England is so employed in the traffic of corn, by the individuals through whose hands it passes, as to be the direct means of supplying the enemy."

Captain Codrington to Mr. H. Wellesley.

" March 1, 1812.

"The change of the Regency will, I trust, produce a radical change of that diabolical system by which plunder has been openly licensed, and despotism and injustice towards the people, and even treachery itself, in those of a higher class, have hitherto passed with impunity."

SECTION III .- VALENCIA AND MURCIA.

The Councillor of State, Mariano Orquijo, to King Joseph.

"Madrid, Decembre 4, 1810.

"Je viens de voir le proviseur et vicaire général qui fut arrêté à Logrogne par les insurgés. Son opinion prononcée en faveur de V. M. lui a attiré toutes sortes de mauvais traitemens et de disgraces, mais enfin il est parvenu à se sauver de Valence. Il m'a rapporté que l'esprit public de cette capitale a beaucoup changé depuis que le Général Caro (frère de Romana) s'est livré aux vexations et aux dilapidations de toute espèce, et que son opinion est qu'on n'y éprouvera aucune résistance. L'archevêque de Valence, qui jouit à présent d'une grande influence, lui a souvent parlé en secret d'une manière favorable de V. M. et de ses ministres. C'est à l'archevêque qu'il est redevable de son evasion. Ce prélat m'ayant connu ainsi que à M. de Montarco dans d'autres tems le chargea de nous voir. Le Généal Bassecourt n'était nullement considéré. Le proviseur ajoute, qu'à Alicant d'où il est parti le 14 Novembre, tout était rempli, de réfugiés de Cadiz. D'après tout ce qu'il m'a dit, je conte qu'aussitôt la prise de Tartoze, Valence se rendra sans coup férir. J'ai renvoyé ce proviseur à Monsieur de Santa Fé qui l'a protégé en sa qualité de ministre des affaires ecclésiastiques et qui fut très sensible au malheur qui lui arriva à Logrogne."

General Doyle to Mr. Stuart.

" March 8, 1811.

"There is a strong French party in Valencia. It is a sad thing that we cannot sacar Partido of that kingpom, in which are more resources than in all the other provinces of Spain. With my head I answer for it that in one month two thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry, independent

of the existing army, which is one thousand five hundred effective cavalry and eleven thousand infantry, could be raised, and there is more y enough within the city to pay them for six months, and without looking elsewhere for assistance to clothe them. There is abundance of cloth, and provisions in abundance, yet Valencia is doing nothing! and this time se precious! while Massena, draining all the rest of the Peninsula, gives us tin a to organize. We want a Robespie re in the government, and another it every pro-

Colonel Roche to Mr. Stuart.

" Carthagena, June 20, 1811,

"After three years leaving them to themselves, this army (the Murcian) is everywhere in a worse state absolutely than it was in the commencement

"The fact is that the Spaniards have no confidence in their General, nor he in them, and thus Freire apprehends if he fights his people will disperse. Valencia, with an immense population and great resources, is doing little. Bassecour retired to Cuença. The same indolence, lassitude, and egotism prevails through the country, and I see little stimulus produced by the establishment of the Cortes; that feeling of enthuaiasm which existed is fast dying away. The thing in the world most agreeable to the Spaniards at this moment would be to be allowed to be neuter, that England and France should fight the battle and pay all the expenses.'

Captain Codrington to the Honorable H. Wellesley.

" September 8, 1811.

"After ascertaining that much art was employed to disgust the army with General Blake, and at the same time to prejudice the people against their officers, I relied upon the purity of my motives, and opened the subject to the General with the candor and freedom it required. I had great satisfaction in finding him well aware of all that was passing, and upon his guard as to the consequences. Upon my mentioning that certain hand-bills were posted up, he produced and gave me the inclosed copies. He told me that upon obtaining them he went to the Marquis of Palacios, who, necessarily agreeing in their evil tendency, consented to accompany the General to the palace of the Archbishop, where I trust measures were adopted to prevent a repetition of the misconduct of the Padre Igual and his numerous bigoted coadjutors. I submitted to the General's attention the fatal effects of his quitting this part of the Peninsula, while the minds of the people were in such a state of fermentation, and allowing the supreme authority to revert to the Marqui. of Palacios. He assured me that he clearly saw the danger which would arise from it; he had determined on no account to do so until the Marquis was removed by the government from his present situation."

SECTION IV .- ANDALUSIA.

General Graham to Mr. Stuart.

" May 9, 1810.

"Nothing new here; the Regency and the Junta are as usual more asleep than awake, and I can augur nothing good from the government remaining in such hands-let their intentions be ever so good. Nothing but the assembly of the Cortes, and from thence springing up a revolutionary system,

overturning abuses and interesting the people in their own cause by solid and permanent, instead of contingent and prospective reforms, calling forth talents if to be found for the chief situations, and enforcing vigor and rousing enthusiasm. Nothing but some great change (such as we might in the beginning have assisted in bringing about) can carry on this war to any good The people are obstinate in their hatred of the French, and from that alone spring the fits of patriotism and loyalty which keep alive the flame in some place or another; that it is so one cannot doubt from the effects, but it is never to be met with where one is; at least I have never seen enthusiasm though I have heard of it. Hence the bulk of the people seem to be completely indifferent to what is going on, and all seem most unwilling to submit to the deprivation of any comfort, and to the sacrifices which a state of siege requires. They would be very well pleased to have anything done for them and to see the enemy driven away, that they might go to eat strawberries at Chiclana, and they are much disposed to blame our inactivity, especially that of the navy, in permitting the enemy to have advanced so near on the point of Trocadero. The destruction of these two forts at first was certainly a great error in Admiral Purvis; had they been kept up and well garrisoned, as they support one another, it would have been a very tedious operation to have reduced them. Meanwhile you will hear that the improvidence of the Junta, and their denial of any such risk to Mr. Wellesley, placed the bread provision of the town in much too precarious a situation; in short, they completely deceived him by their assurances of the most ample means of subsistence, and both flour and wheat have been sent away since he came."

Mr. Wellesley to Mr. Stuart.

"Isla de Leon, February 5, 1811. |

"Blake is becoming very unpopular, and I think his reign will be short. He is supposed to be by no means partial to the English. I know not whether you will approve of the appointments to Estremadura and Gallicia, but I am sure you will be surprised to hear that General Mahi is appointed to command the army of the centre. I communicated confidentially to General Blake the copy of the letter which you forwarded to me from General Walker, taking care to conceal General Walker's name, so that Blake was fully apprised of our opinion of General Mahi previously to his appointment of him to the command in Murcia."

Mr. Vaughan to Mr. Stuart.

" Cadiz, February 27, 1811.

"It grieves me to see from day to day how little is done by the Spaniards, and how little is likely to be done. The Cortes have not given a new impulse to the war as was expected. They look to their Regency for plans of reform for their armies, and their Regency is worse than any former government. Blake, of whom I know that you as well as the world in general have a good opinion, does nothing. He refuses to reform abuses that are pointed out to him, passes his days in deliberation upon questions of no moment, and is in my opinion decidedly adverse to the English. Whittingham's plan, (disciplining a separate corps.) which was approved of before his arrival, he has endeavored by every kind of trick to reject or render useless."

"The Cortes is full of priests, who, united with the Catalans, are for preserving the old routine of business, and adverse to everything that can give energy and vigor to the operations of government. Fanaticism and personal interest direct their opinions; Arguelles and his party are anxious that something should be done to remedy the disgraceful state of their armies. I have no doubt but that they would remove the present government though the friends of Blake, if there was any chance of the Catalan party permitting them to elect a better."

"Be assured, my dear Stuart, that the Cortes is, as at present constituted, anything but revolutionary or jacobinical. They love their monarchy, and are anxious to maintain the Inquisition in all its forms, the only branch of government to which they seem disposed to communicate any energy. If there is not soon some new spirit infused into the Cortes, it will become an overgrown junta, meddling with every paltry detail of police, and negleting the safety of their country—and the Regency will be content to reign (very badly) over Cadiz and the Isla."

Mr. Vaughan to Mr. Stuart.

" Cadiz, August 5, 1811.

"The temper of the public mind at Cadiz is very bad, the press ha lately teemed with publications filled with reproaches of the English." "The Regency and Cortes have lost all influence everywhere, and the

distress for money added to the general depression here after the campaign

in Estremadura may possibly throw us into a state of anarchy."

"I am somewhat alarmed by the state of the Serrano de Ronda; the Spanish generals have been quarrelling, and the peasants declare they are tired of the abuses committed there, and that it is reported they mean to capitulate with the French."

General Graham to Mr. Stuart.

" Isla de Leon, April 24, 1811.

"The Spanish government has published an official narrative of the expedition (Barosa) full of misrepresentations and blinking the question of the cause of failure entirely—this has obliged me to add something to what I wrote before to Mr. Wellesley. There are some instances of impudence supporting falsehood beyond example. The proud Spaniard is no less vain, I think,"

General Graham to Mr. Stuart.

" Isla, May 6, 1811.

"The government here supported by the Cortes seemed to be determined to adhere with blind obstinacy and pride to a system that has nearly brought the cause to ruin, and notwithstanding Lord Wellington's great efforts they are playing Bonaparte's game so positively that I despair of any great good.'

Colonel Austin to Mr. Stuart.

" Faro, March 24, 1811.

"Whether Ballesteros is authorized by his government to pursue the steps he has taken, I know not, but I certainly cannot but consider them as

just and necessary. The Junta de Seville is a mere farce supported at an immense expense, without the least utility or benefit, and preserving in its train a number of idle characters who ought to be employed in the defence of the nation, but who now only add to its burthens. I have had many negotiations with the Junta, and though I have always kept up appearances through policy, yet I have found, in the room of the honor and candor which ought to characterize it, nothing but chicanery and dissimulation."

General Carrol to Mr. Stuart.

" Olivenza, April 29, 1811.

"Would to Heaven that the Spanish armies, or, more properly speaking, the skeletons of the Spanish armies, were under his Lordship's (Wellington's) command; we might in that case do great things, but alas! our pride seems to increase with our misfortunes, and is only equalled by our ignorance!"

Mr. Stuart to Lord Wellesley.

" July 13, 1811.

"I have endeavored to throw together the numbers, &c., of the different guerillas, &c., which clearly demonstrate the false exaggerations circulated respecting that description of force; though their appearance in different parts has most unreasonably increased the alarm of the enemy and proportionable confidence of the Spaniards, they cannot be calculated to exceed in the aggregate twenty-five or thirty thousand men at the utmost."

Note.—Here follows a list of the partidas, with their numbers and stations, too long to insert.

Mr. Wellesley to Mr. Stuart.

" Cadiz, July 31, 1811.

"Nothing can be more wretched than the state of affairs here; the regents are held in universal contempt, and such is the want of talent, I can hardly hope that a change will make any improvement: the treasury is empty, and no probability of the arrival of any money from America, so that affairs are really in a worse state than they have been at any time since the commencement of the war."

Extract from the manifesto of the Spanish Regency.

" January 23, 1812.

"There have reached the government the cries of the armies which defend us, depicting their painful privations; the groans of the inhabitants of districts, ready to fall under the yoke of the barbarous invaders; the complaints of the provinces already occupied, always loyal though oppressed and laid waste.

"Cease now, and henceforward, all personal pretentions; the ill-understood feelings of interest dictated by provincial spirit; exemptions unjustly demanded at this period of desolation, writings which, while they ought to create the most ardent patriotism, to unite and enlighten the nation, appear inspired by the enemy for the purpose of enslaving it."

SECTION V .- PRIVATEERS.

Captain Codrington to Sir E. Pellew.

" Arens de Mar, August 23, 1811.

"I have numberless complaints of the Spanish privateers that come upon the coast, and I am sure it would be a benefit to the country if they were all deprived of their commission. They do nothing but plunder the inhabitants of those places which are occasionally overrun by the French armies and who embrace the opportunity of their absence to carry on a little trade with other parts of the Peninsula."

Ditto to Sir H. Wellesley.

" Valencia, September 8, 1811.

I trust some decisive measures will be taken to abolish altogether a system of privateering nothing short of piracy; and in which the vessels from Gibraltar seem to take the lead. I have great reason to believe that they plunder the unfortunate vessels of all countries by hoisting whatever colors may answer their purposes of assumed national hostility; and as we never hear of their attacking each other, I have no doubt that the British and French flags are often united in furtherance of this predatory warfare. The numberless complaints which I receive from all parts of the coast, and the difficulty of trading betwixt Catalonia and Valencia, on account of the privateers which swarm in these seas, drive many into an intercourse with Barcelona and other places in the occupation of the enemy, in order to get a livelihood."

Captain Codrington to Admiral Penrose, Valencia.

"The depredations of the Gibraltar privateers have been carried on to such an extent, in all parts of the Mediterranean, as to bring serious reflections upon the British flag."

SECTION VI.-FRENCH PRISONERS AT CABRERA.

Captain Codrington to E. Locker, Esq.

"September 18, 1811.

"I cannot at all events think it a wise measure to receive into Colonel Whittingham's corps the prisoners at Cabrera, who have long ago withstood the offers of General Roche, when naked as they were born, and fighting for sach other's miserable rations to prolong an existence inconceivably wretched, in hopes of rejoining the French."

Sir H. Wellesley to Captain Codrington.

" October 10, 1811.

"With regard to the French prisoners at Cabrera, I procured from the Spanish government long since an order to the Governor of the Balearic Islands to suspend all negotiations with the French on that subject, and no on any account to consent to exchange them."

No. V.

SECTION I.

SIEGE OF TARRAGONA.

Captain Codrington to Sir C. Cotton.

" Tarragona, May 15, 1811.

During the panic which seems to have prevailed upon the unexpected arrival of the French army, the greatest exertions and the most extensive sacrifices appear to have been readily submitted to. But from the present apathy and indifference in those who should set an example of activity, and from the general deficiency of ordnance stores, I by no means consider the place in that state of security which the strength of its works and position would otherwise lead me to expect."

"A well planned sortie was made yesterday, but failed through the back-wardness of some of the officers employed in it."—"I had the satisfaction of being assured by an officer, who conspicuously did his duty on this occasion, and who was outflanked by the enemy, from the backwardness of the column directed to support him, that he attributes the salvation of his troops entirely to the fire from the shipping."

Captain Codrington to Sir C. Cotton

"Blake, off Villa Nueva, June 15, 1811.

"Leaving Tarragona on the 16th (May), we reached Peniscola in the forenoon of the 17th."—"From thence General Doyle wrote to General O'Donnell an account of the situation of Tarragona and of my detaining Captain
Adam at Peniscola, in readiness to receive any reinforcement which he
might be pleased to send to that garrison. Upon our arrival off Murviedro,
we found (Jeneral O'Donnell had already ordered the embarkation of two
thousand three hundred infantry and two hundred and eleven artillerymen."—"Delivering to General O'Donnell two thousand stand of arms,
accoutrements, and clothing, to enable him to bring into the field as many
recruits already trained as would supply the place of the regular soldiers
thus detached from his army, we proceeded to Valencia and landed the
remainder of our cargo, by which means the troops of General Villa Campa,
then dispersed as peasantry for want of arms, were enabled again to lake
the field, and the corps of Mina and the Empecinado completed ir al' the
requisites of active warfarc."

"At Alicant we proceeded to take in as many necessary materials for Tarragona as the ship would actually stow, besides eighty artillerymen and a considerable quantity of powder, ball-cartridge, &c., sent in the Paloma Spanish corvette from Carthagena in company with a Spanish transport from Cadiz deeply laden with similar supplies."

"After returning to Valencia, where we landed the additional arms, &c, for the Aragonese army, we moved on to Murviedro, where the conde of Bispal proceeded from Valencia to join us in a consultation with his brother, although on account of his wound he was very unfit for such a journey. The result of this conference was a determination on the part of General O'Donnell to commit to my pretection, for the succor of Tarragona, another division of his best troops under General Miranda, consisting of four thousand men, whilst he himself would move forward with the remainder of his army to the banks of the Ebro."

"The frequent disappointments which the brave Catalonian army had heretofore met with from Valencian promises, made the sight of so extensive and disinterested a reinforcement the more truly welcome, because the least expected, and the admiration which was thus created in the besieged appeared to produce proportionate anxiety on the part of the enemy."

I shall direct the whole of my attention to the neighborhood of Tarragona, in readiness for harassing the retreat of the French, if General Suchet should fortunately be obliged to raise the siege, and for re-embarking and restoring to General O'Donnell whatever may remain of the Valencian troops, according to the solemn pledge he exacted from me before he would consent thus to part with the flower and strength of his army. He even went so far as to declare, in the presence of General Miranda, the principal officer of his staff, General Doyle, Captain Adam, Captain White, and myself, that he considered me as entirely answerable for the safety of the kingdom of Valencia, and that if I failed in redeeming my pledge he would resign his command for that particular account."

"It is but justice to myself, however, that I should tell you that I did most distinctly warn General O'Donnell, that I would in no case answer for his army if placed under the immediate command of Campo Verde, for any distant inland operation, more particularly as I knew that, in addition to his own deficiency in ability, he was surrounded by people whose advice

and whose conduct were in no case to be relied on."

Captain Codrington to Sir C. Cotton.

" Blake, Tarragona, June 22, 1811.

"I found upon'my last return here an arrangement made, that in case of the enemy gaining the Puerto, General Sarsfield should retire to the Mole with part of his division, from whence I had only to assist, but was much astonished to find, by a message, through Colonel Green, from General Contreras, that although he had heard of such a disposition being made by General Sarsfield, and assented to by the English squadron, it had not his official knowledge or approbation."—"I understand that an order had arrived in the morning from the Marquis of Campo Verde for General Velasco to take the command of Puerto, and for General Sarsfield to join his army, that the latter had given up his command to some colonel at about three o'clock, who was, by his own confession, totally unfit for it, and that General Velasco only arrived in time to see the Spanish troops flying in confusion from the want of being properly commanded, and the French assaulting the place."

Captain Codrington to Sir E. Pellew.

"Mattaro, November 1, 1811.

"Having stated in a letter to Sir Charles Cotton, on the 22d June last, that I understand General Sarsfield had quitted the Puerto and embarked without the knowledge of General Contreras, (which indeed was the substance of a message sent me by General Contreras himself,) I owe it to an officer of General Sarsfield's high military character to declare my conviction that the statement there made by General Contreras is absolutely false and unfounded, and I beg leave to enclose in justification of my present opinion; 1st. A passport, sent by General Contreras to General Sarsfield in consequence, as he alleged, of an order from the Marquis of Campo Verde. 2d. An extract from the manifesto of the marquis, in which he disavows having any knowledge of the passports. 3d. A letter from General Contre