

him to anticipate. It cautioned him to beware of using popular violence as an instrument of power, and censured the part he had taken in encouraging the tumults of Aranjuez and Madrid.

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The advice of one in a situation to command, is generally unpalatable; and Ferdinand did not want counsel but encouragement. The letter gave him little. Napoleon did not address him as a sovereign, nor commit himself by any acknowledgment of his title. He hinted that the circumstances of Ferdinand's accession were full of suspicion, and that the abdication of Charles bore strong evidence of compulsion. Little disposed as he might be, to participate in such suspicions, it had become necessary, for the satisfaction of Europe, that the recognition of his rights should be preceded by an elaborate investigation of all the circumstances by which his assumption of royal authority had been accompanied. The letter, moreover, conveyed a strong expression of opinion, that the prosecution of Godoy should immediately cease. It was impossible he could be brought to trial without eliciting disclosures injurious at once to the interests of the Prince, and disgraceful to his parents. "Beware," said Napo-

CHAP. III. leon, " of adopting a policy of which you may  
 1808. yourself become the victim. Your Royal High-  
 April. ness has no title to the throne but that derived  
 from your mother. Should the process dishon-  
 our her, your own rights must be the sacrifice. Shut your ears to perfidious counsels. You cannot prosecute the Prince of Peace without danger to your crown. You have no right to try him ; the crimes with which he is reproached are lost in those of the throne. I have often expressed a wish that he should be removed from the direction of affairs, though my friendship for King Charles made me anxious to shut my eyes on his weak attachment. Miserable men that we are ! Weakness and error are the badge of all our tribe !\* Your Royal Highness," reiterated the document, " should beware of popular commotions. Through their means, some murders may be committed on the soldiers of my army ; but the ruin of Spain will be the consequence. I have already seen with pain that every thing has

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\* It is not often we find Napoleon in the moralizing vein, and this singular specimen of Imperial hypocrisy, is therefore curious enough. One can scarcely read it without participating in the fervid disgust of Sir Peter Teazle, to any thing smacking of fine *sentiment*. It betrays at least, the low estimation in which Napoleon held the understanding of his correspondent.

been done at Madrid to inflame the public feeling; and that certain letters of the Captain-General of Catalonia, tending to interrupt the existing harmony between France and Spain, have been industriously circulated through the kingdom." CHAP. III.  
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This remarkable letter concludes with the following menace and benediction, which are probably not equally entitled to the praise of sincerity: "I have now opened to your Royal Highness my whole mind; and you may perceive I have hitherto hesitated between conflicting motives; but decision is at length necessary.

"I pray God, my brother, that he may have you in his high and holy keeping."

The receipt of such a letter did not tend in any degree to allay the apprehensions of Ferdinand. From Vittoria he would willingly have returned to Madrid; but surrounded on all hands by the French armies, there was danger even in retreat. To the adoption of this course, however, he was strongly urged by the faithful servants who accompanied him in his journey. Various projects were devised for his escape, but Ferdinand rejected them all. In vain did his counsellors appeal to his pride, and ask whether



CHAP. III. the monarch of Spain and the Indies would submit to the public degradation of entering, without invitation, without suitable preparation, or any of the formalities which became his dignity, the dominions of a foreign sovereign, by whom he had not yet been recognised as King. The pride of Ferdinand was overbalanced by his fears. Influenced by the promise of Savary, that his arrival at Bayonne would be immediately followed by the Imperial recognition, and by dread lest his return to the capital might tend still further to alienate Napoleon from his cause, he at length decided on the perilous measure of continuing his journey.

Apr. 20. Ferdinand on his arrival at Bayonne, was received by the Emperor with every demonstration of respect. He dined at the same table with his host, and was treated with all the observances due to royalty. Scarcely, however, had he retired to his residence, when Savary, by the falsehood of whose promises he had already been so fatally deluded, apprized him of the irrevocable decision of Napoleon for the expulsion of the Bourbon dynasty, and required that he should instantly sign an abdication of the crown. Astounded by this sudden and unexpected demand, Ferdinand



refused compliance; and supported by the advice of those intrepid counsellors by whom he was accompanied, he declared his unalterable resolution that no exercise of power should draw from him the surrender of his rights.

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But Napoleon too thoroughly understood the character of his victim, to be deterred from the prosecution of his views by this temporary demonstration of firmness. Every engine was employed, to render the advisers of Ferdinand subservient to his purposes—and to their honour be it recorded—in vain. The petty kingdom of Etruria, of which the rightful sovereign had been deprived by the treaty of Fontainebleau, was tendered as an equivalent for Spain and the Indies, and at once rejected by the Council. In vain did Napoleon exert his powers of argument and corruption; in vain did he attempt to intimidate and overawe the men, who though open to his vengeance, yet dared to oppose a barrier to the schemes of his ambition: the counsellors of Ferdinand remained alike impregnable to his persuasion, promises, and threats. They refused to compromise the honour of their country, or the rights of its monarch; and it soon became evident

CHAP. III. that another course was necessary for the attainment of his views.

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Such occurrences, it will be readily believed, did not contribute to enliven the residence of Ferdinand at Bayonne; and Cevallos was accordingly directed to notify to the French Minister of State, the intention of the Spanish Monarch to re-enter his dominions. To this communication no answer was returned, though the measure immediately adopted of doubling the guards by which his residence was surrounded, was in itself a practical response, which could scarcely be considered as equivocal.

Apr. 20.

In the meanwhile, the chief authority at Madrid had been assumed by Murat. Shortly after the departure of the King, a military requisition for the instant release of Godoy was transmitted to the government. It was stated, by Murat, in explanation of this extraordinary demand, that as Charles IV. alone could be recognised by Napoleon as monarch of Spain, it was considered necessary for the public tranquillity, that the Prince of Peace should be removed from the kingdom, in order that the counsels of the King should no longer be perverted by his pernicious interference.

With this authoritative requisition, the fears of the Council of Government induced them to comply. Godoy was accordingly removed by night from the prison of Villa Viciosa, and sent off under a strong escort to Bayonne.

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The departure of Godoy was speedily followed by that of Charles and the Queen, whose presence Napoleon considered necessary to the further prosecution of his schemes. The appearance of these new personages on the scene, produced a considerable change in the character of the drama then acting at Bayonne. All his former ascendancy over the minds of the Royal pair was reassumed by Godoy; and, with hatred exasperated doubtless by the memory of his recent sufferings, he became a willing instrument of Napoleon in depriving Ferdinand of the crown. Nor were Charles and his consort without a deep and resentful remembrance of the unnatural conduct of their son. In bursting the bonds of filial duty he had likewise broken those of parental attachment; and, influenced by the counsels of Godoy, Charles and the Queen were now prepared to join in unnatural coalition with the destroyer of their house, and

Apr. 24.



CHAP. III. lend support to any measures by which the downfall of Ferdinand could be effected.

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From the period of the arrival of Charles, Ferdinand was no longer treated with the honours of sovereignty. By the agents of Napoleon, by whom he was surrounded, he was even denied the most common and perfunctory observances of decent respect. Denounced as a rebel to his father, and the usurper of his power, his ear was only visited by threats of punishment, which instant obedience could alone avert.

Thus surrounded by dangers, from which it seemed impossible to escape, Ferdinand was induced by his counsellors to address a letter to Charles, in which, while he continued to assert his right to the throne, he offered, on his return to Madrid, to resign his claims in presence of the Cortes, or other high authorities of the kingdom. This mode of proceeding, however, which was, in truth, little else than an appeal to the sentiments of the nation, was not at all in harmony with the projects of Napoleon. The offer was accordingly declined; and the ingratitude and contumacy of Ferdinand were somewhat prolixly set forth in a letter bearing

the signature of Charles, which, exhibiting in some portions strong marks of the peculiar and emphatic style of Napoleon, is abundantly distinguished in others by the feebleness of his own. To this communication Ferdinand transmitted an immediate reply, vindicating his conduct and motives from the charges of his accusers. He once more testified his readiness to resign the crown in presence of the Cortes ; or, should his father, from personal infirmity, not chuse again to assume the duties of sovereignty, he was willing to govern the kingdom as his deputy, and in his name.

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This answer of the Prince produced no mitigation either of the menaces or persecutions of his enemies. On the day following, Napoleon had a long interview with Charles and the Queen, to which Ferdinand was summoned. Some particulars of this conference have been recorded by Cevallos. By those whom power had constituted his judges, and evil passions his accusers, Ferdinand was treated as a culprit, and made the object of the most vehement and disgusting abuse. Charles asserted his usurpation ; the Queen denied his legitimacy ; and Napoleon, by

May 6.

CHAP. III. an alternation of threats and promises, endeavoured to extract from his victim an unconditional abdication of the crown.

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May 6.

Considering the circumstances of his situation, it is not surprising that the resolution of Ferdinand should at length have yielded. On the same day he gave his signature to a document containing an absolute renunciation of his rights to the throne. A similar resignation of their claims was extracted from the other branches of the Royal Family; and thus, by a series of the most flagrant violations of the vital principles of law, the legal restoration of Charles to the sovereignty of Spain was considered as complete. These disgraceful transactions were accompanied by a joint address of Ferdinand and the Infantes, Don Antonio and Don Carlos, to the Spanish nation, in which they formally absolved them from their allegiance, and exhorted them to conform implicitly to the new order of events.

Even before the completion of this formal mockery, Charles had become disqualified for the  
 App. No. 11. reassumption of the crown. By a treaty which bears date the fifth of May, he had already



conveyed his rights to Napoleon. By an edict on the day preceding, addressed to the supreme Junta at Madrid, he had likewise delegated Murat to act as Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and President of the Council of Government. A proclamation to the people accompanied this document. They were assured that the King was engaged in concerting with his ally the measures best calculated to promote the prosperity of Spain; and they were warned, on pain of signal punishment, to reject the perfidious counsels of those turbulent disturbers who endeavoured to excite enmity against France. "Trust to my experience," said this miserable instrument of foreign tyranny, "and obey that authority which I hold from God and my fathers. Follow my example, and believe, that in your present situation there is no prosperity or safety for the Spanish nation, but in the friendship of the great Emperor, our ally." CHAP. III.

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App. No. 12.

In a rescript addressed to the Councils of Castile and the Inquisition, Charles publicly notified to the nation his final abdication of the throne, in favour of his friend and ally the Emperor of the French. With this act the political life of App. No. 13.

CHAP. III. Charles terminated. He soon after went into retirement at Compiègne, where, supported by a pension from Napoleon, he passed the remainder of his life. Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos were dismissed to the Chateau of Valencey, in which they remained securely guarded till the return of better times. Godoy, the weak, sensual, and depraved instrument of his country's ruin, deprived of his wealth and honours, was saved only from the sufferings of abject poverty by the bounty of that monarch whose confidence he had abused.

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Thus have the chief victims of Napoleon's tyrannical ambition at length vanished from the scene. Many of the details of those events with which their history is intimately connected, must have been felt by the reader to be at once painful and degrading. But a new era is now about to commence. The pictures of human weakness, guilt, and suffering, which he is still destined to behold, will at least be partially redeemed by noble and animating examples of heroic courage and devoted zeal. He will gaze on a horizon, clouded indeed, but never wholly overcast; and he will watch the dim twilight of the coming glory, as it grad-

ually brightens into that flood of radiance, by which the name and arms of his country shall continue to be illustrated, till all written and traditional records of this memorable contest shall be swept into oblivion.

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CHAP. IV.

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## CHAPTER IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES IN  
SPAIN.

CHAP. IV. THE departure of Ferdinand spread alarm through the nation. The French had hitherto been regarded as allies, and the presence of foreign armies had excited in the people neither jealousy nor alarm. There was no press in Spain. Public proclamations were the only recognised channels by which intelligence could be circulated through the provinces ; and the information of the people was seldom suffered to extend to the political relations of the kingdom. A despotic government delights in the ignorance of its subjects. It is on ignorance alone that it can rely for unhesitating submission to its will ; and it had long been the policy of the Spanish

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government to obstruct every channel of know- CHAP. IV.  
ledge by which the people might be raised to a  
higher rank in the scale of intelligence. 1808.

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It was long, therefore, before the body of the nation became aware of the extent to which the encroachments of their invaders had been carried, or of the purposes they were directed to effect. The progress of the French armies had been silent though sure, swift, yet calm and unruffled. The people in one province were ignorant of the events simultaneously passing in another. In beholding the occupation of one fortress, they did not know that this assumption of power was neither isolated nor incidental, but formed part of a skilful and connected scheme of usurpation, by which the independence of the country was to be overthrown. They saw but one link of the chain by which they were inthralled; and, habituated to tranquil and unthinking submission, their dreams of security had even in the midst of danger remained unbroken.

But this was not always to be. The burden of the maintenance of the French armies pressed heavily on the people of the provinces. Their invaders, emboldened by success, became haughty and overbearing; and occasional acts of violence

CHAP. IV. and rapacity, which the enforcement of the strict-  
 1808. est discipline could not always prevent, contri-  
 April. buted to break the harmony which had hitherto  
 Foy. subsisted between the military and the populace.  
 These evils had been progressively increasing.  
 Not a day passed in which Castilian pride was not  
 wounded by the military arrogance of the in-  
 truders. The fire which thus smouldered in the  
 bosoms of the people, occasionally burst forth  
 into a flame. Hostile rencontres ensued, not  
 always unattended with bloodshed ; and a spirit  
 of national animosity took place of the ancient  
 favour with which France had been regarded.

To these feelings the abduction of their Mon-  
 arch, and the liberation of the Prince of the Peace,  
 gave additional strength and bitterness. The  
 Governors of the provinces yet unoccupied, began  
 spontaneously to collect arms, and prepare  
 measures of defence. In the name of their im-  
 prisoned Sovereign there was a talisman of  
 sufficient power, to rouse the sleeping energies  
 of the nation. There was indignation in every  
 heart, and defiance on every lip. The signs of  
 the times were no longer to be mistaken ; and it  
 was evident that the crisis of struggle was at  
 length come.



The French on their part neglected, no pre-  
caution by which their security could be promot-  
ed. The division of General Vedel was direct-  
ed to march from Segovia to the Escorial; and the  
lines of communication with the Capital were  
strengthened. Dupont was ordered to transfer  
the head quarters of his army from Aranjuez to  
Toledo; and the troops in the neighbourhood of  
Madrid were kept in constant readiness to bear  
with all their power on the people, in case of  
tumult or insurrection.

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It had already been publicly announced that  
the Emperor refused to acknowledge Ferdin-  
and, and that Charles was about to reassume  
the reins of sovereignty. At Toledo this intel-  
ligence was followed by a riot. Crowds collect-  
ed in the great square of the city, and cries of  
“*Ferdinand the Seventh, for ever,*” rent the air.  
A flag bearing the picture of the King was the  
banner of this tumultuous assemblage, which,  
armed with musquets, pikes, and bludgeons,  
paraded the city, inflicting vengeance on those  
whose sentiments were conceived hostile to the  
restoration of Ferdinand. The house of the  
Corregidor was attacked and plundered, and that  
functionary with difficulty effected his escape.

CHAP. IV. In a few days the division of Dupont arrived in the city. Doubtful of the temper of the inhabitants, he advanced in order of attack, ready on any apparent symptom of popular resistance to act on the offensive. But quiet had already been restored. The Princess of the Peace, accompanied by the Cardinal de Bourbon, came forth to meet the General in the neighbourhood of the city, and informed him that the efforts of the municipal authorities, aided by those of the clergy, had already been successful in quelling the tumults. From this demonstration of popular feeling no immediate consequences followed; but it indicated to the French leaders the necessity of increasing their forces in that neighbourhood; and another division of Dupont's army was accordingly advanced to Aranjuez.

But the chief precautions of the invaders were directed to the maintenance of the capital. From the time of Ferdinand's departure, all harmony between the military and the inhabitants was at an end. The intelligence subsequently received, of the proceedings at Bayonne, had the effect of rousing to its highest pitch the indignation of the people. Their imprisoned monarch was the engrossing subject of their thoughts. When a

courier was expected to arrive from France, immense crowds surrounded the post-house, and waited with intense anxiety to receive intelligence of his safety. The French generals, alarmed at these tumultuous masses, endeavoured to divert their attention, and to conceal the real character of the transactions at Bayonne. In both these objects they were unsuccessful. The falsehoods of the public journals were discredited and detected; and private letters, containing a true description of the passing events, were circulated through the city. The situation of the French was that of men on the brink of a volcano, when the portents of an approaching eruption are already manifest.

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Foy ii. 173.

In such a state of things it appeared to Murat that strong measures were necessary to tame the spirit of the people. The natives of Madrid had engaged in frequent rencontres with the French soldiers; and blood had been shed. The spirit of loyalty had penetrated even into the mad houses; and lunatics rushed forth into the street to assassinate the enemies of their country.

It was natural that the antipathy of the people should generate similar sentiments in the French armies. The soldiers already regarded the par-



CHAP. IV. tisans of Ferdinand as enemies, and were even  
1808. anxious for a conflict, the successful termination  
April. of which they regarded as undoubted. Their  
wishes were soon gratified. On the 30th of April,  
Murat presented to the Infante Don Antonio,  
president of the Junta of Government, a letter  
from Charles, requiring him to send off the Queen  
of Etruria, and the Infante Don Francisco de  
Paula, brother of Ferdinand, to Bayonne. With  
this mandate the Junta at first declined com-  
pliance, till the pleasure of the King should be  
known. But their scruples were overruled by  
Murat, who declared himself ready to assume the  
whole responsibility of the proceeding, and inti-  
mated that any opposition to his commands would  
be repressed by the full exercise of his power.

The time appointed for the departure of these  
Royal personages came. On the preceding day no  
intelligence had been received from Bayonne ;  
and this circumstance had contributed to deepen  
the anxiety of the people. Early in the morning  
great multitudes assembled at the Puerta del Sol,  
waiting in a state of great excitement for the  
arrival of the expected courier ; and the square  
in front of the palace was crowded with women,  
who watched with melancholy earnestness the

preparations for the journey of the Royal travellers. At nine o'clock the *cortege* set forth. It was reported that Don Antonio was likewise about to quit the capital for Bayonne; and two carriages, which still remained at the palace, evidently prepared for travel, gave support to the rumour. The fermentation of the populace was now excited to the highest pitch. The cry, "*They are all forsaking us; the last of the family of our kings is about to be torn from the country!*" flew from lip to lip; and a violent commotion was the consequence. The servants of the palace declared that Don Francisco had betrayed reluctance to depart, and even wept bitterly. On hearing this the women burst into tears; and the men, almost frantic, fell upon the carriages, and broke them to pieces.

At this moment a French officer, who had been sent to ascertain the cause of the tumult, appeared in the crowd. He was indicated by his dress to belong to the staff of Murat. The sorrowful exclamations of the mob were at once changed into expressions of indignant hatred. The officer was immediately attacked, and would probably have become the sacrifice of popular fury, had he not been rescued by a patrol of

CHAP. IV.

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CHAP. IV. the Imperial Guard, which succeeded, by a charge of bayonets, in driving back his assailants.

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The affair now began to wear a serious aspect; and the piquet battalion on duty for the day was immediately ordered out by Murat. They fired on the people; but this had only the effect of increasing their numbers. The whole population of the city rushed into the streets. The air became vocal with cries of "*Vengeance!*" "*Death to the French!*" "*Ferdinand the Seventh for ever!*" and accumulating masses came pouring on, armed with such weapons as they had been able to procure, and prepared to join in the onslaught. Stones were thrown, and musquets fired from the windows. A party of Mamelukes of the Guard was massacred by the mob, and every French soldier found straggling in the streets met a similar fate.

The whole troops in the city were now under arms; artillery was planted in the squares, and a destructive fire of musquetry and grape-shot opened on the multitude. The Plaza Mayor, the Puerta del Sol, and the great street of Alcala, were the chief theatres of slaughter. Terrified by the havoc, the people would have sought



safety in flight, but even this was denied them. CHAP. IV.

They were charged and sabred by the cavalry, and fired upon by bodies of infantry stationed at the intersecting points of the streets, in order to intercept their retreat. Thus driven to extremity, they rushed into the houses, where they were followed by their pursuers, and put mercilessly to the sword. Parties of cavalry were stationed at the outlets of the city, to charge and cut down those who had succeeded in escaping from the scene of slaughter within.

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While the work of extermination was thus vigorously carried on, Murat had taken post on the height of St. Vincent, which commands the western part of the city. Thither he was followed by several members of the Junta, who implored him to put a stop to the effusion of blood. O'Farrel and Azanza, accompanied by many of the nobles and French officers of rank, rode through the streets, endeavouring to restore tranquillity, and waving white handkerchiefs as a token of peace. By their personal exertions, many lives were saved; but the firing in the streets still continued till not a Spaniard was to be seen. By two o'clock, however, hostilities had ceased, and all was silent in

CHAP. IV. Madrid. Towards evening a body of peasantry from the neighbouring villages, on approaching the capital, were charged and fired on by the military. Many were killed; a still greater number wounded by the sabres, and trampled down by the horses of the cavalry.

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In the events just narrated, the Spanish troops took no part. They were detained in barracks by their officers; and a small body of artillery, stationed at the gate of the Arsenal, was the only part of the garrison which attempted to co-operate with the people. Their conduct, and that of the gallant men by whom they were commanded, is worthy of record.

At an early period of the conflict, a detachment was directed by Murat to seize possession of the Arsenal. The execution of this order was opposed by two officers of artillery named Daoiz and Velarde, who, assisted by their fellow soldiers, harnessed themselves to the cannon, and succeeded in bringing three pieces to bear on a French column then advancing to enforce the execution of their orders. A discharge of grape-shot followed, which made such havoc in the ranks that the French instantly retreated. In consequence of this disaster, fresh columns were

instantly advanced ; but before they succeeded in obtaining possession of the neighbouring houses, many discharges had taken place with terrible effect. The guns were at length taken. Velarde was killed on the spot ; and Daoiz, though severely wounded and unable to stand, continued to give orders, till he had received three other wounds, the last of which was instantly fatal.

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On the termination of active hostilities, Murat was not satisfied with the punishment already inflicted on the inhabitants, and determined yet further to signalize his vengeance. On the evening of the same day, and on the following morning, the prisoners were brought before a military tribunal of which General Grouchy was president, and sentenced to be shot. The scene selected for the display of this terrible example, was in the neighbourhood of the Prado; and upwards of an hundred individuals were led forth to execution, without being suffered in their dying moments to receive the last offices of religion.\*

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\* It has been stated by Colonel Napier, on the authority of several French writers, that these executions are attributable not to Murat but to Grouchy, who continued the work of



CHAP. IV. It is admitted on all hands that many of the  
1808. sufferers were entirely innocent of participation  
May. in the tumults, and were convicted on no other  
evidence than that of large knives being found  
on their persons. Forty-five Catalan traders,  
taken in the street of Alcala, were with difficul-  
ty rescued from death by the interference of the  
authorities, who assured the French officers, that  
the privilege of carrying arms is one enjoyed by  
the Catalan merchants, and sanctioned by the  
laws of the kingdom. The trials indeed—if the  
few hasty formalities which preceded the infliction  
of sentence deserve such a name—seem to  
have been intended to serve rather as a warrant  
for indiscriminate execution, than to afford protection  
to the innocent.

With regard to the number of the sufferers in  
this unfortunate affray, there is much variance  
of statement. It is generally asserted by the  
Spaniards that upwards of ten thousand of their

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slaughter on his own responsibility, and in direct disobedience to  
the orders of his commander. The statement would have certainly  
been entitled to greater credit, had we learned from the same  
authority that the delinquency of Grouchy had been followed  
by censure or disgrace.

countrymen bled on the occasion. In the account of the transaction given in the *Moniteur*, the loss of the French was estimated at twenty-five killed, and about twice that number wounded: that of the Spaniards at "*plusieurs milliers des plus mauvais sujets du pays.*" Subsequently, however, when it was deemed politic to diminish rather than to exaggerate the extent of the casualties, a report was drawn up by the Council of Castile, and published by order of Murat, which reduced the number of Spanish sufferers to one hundred and ninety-three. From statements so widely at variance, it is impossible to draw any satisfactory conclusion. Nor is it necessary. Taken at the lowest estimate, enough will remain to rouse our warmest sympathy with the people in their first ineffectual effort to cast off the yoke of bondage which pressed them to the earth. We have no wish to magnify the atrocities of the French. We are far from supposing Murat to have been actuated on this occasion by an abstract and constitutional appetite for blood, at variance with the whole tenour of his life. Murat was a soldier, and a brave one, and adorned with all the splendid qualities which belong to that character; but,

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CHAP. IV. little influenced by principle, and accustomed,  
1808. on all occasions of honourable danger, to hold  
May. his life at a pin's fee, he was led, perhaps, to  
place less value on the lives of others, when  
their sacrifice could contribute to the advantage of his cause, than any system of ethics, however lax, would pretend to justify. Murat was no statesman. He probably believed, that a striking and terrible example was necessary to intimidate the people, and secure the future safety of his army. The cause of injustice must often be supported by unjustifiable means. *Per fas aut nefas*, is ever the motto of usurpation; and the crimes it engenders may generally be considered less as emanations of the evil passions of individuals, than as necessary consequences of the system they support.

The immediate effects of the events of the second of May, were such as Murat had anticipated. Astounded by the scenes of bloodshed of which their city had been made the theatre, the inhabitants of Madrid remained in a state of gloomy submission to a power which experience had taught them it was impossible to resist. In the meanwhile, the French relaxed nothing of the rigour of their sway. The people were no