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THE SPANISH JOURNAL  
OF  
ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND





University of  
Massachusetts  
Amherst

L I B R A R Y



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Journal on page 5

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THE SPANISH JOURNAL  
OF  
ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND

THE JOURNAL OF  
ELIZABETH LADY HOLLAND  
(1791-1811).

Edited by the EARL OF ILCHESTER.

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*Elizabeth, Lady Holland  
as a Virgin of the Sun*

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EDITED BY  
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WITH PORTRAIT AND MAP

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## PREFACE

THE present volume of Lady Holland's journal deals with the accounts of two journeys in Spain, the first in 1802-05, the second in 1808-09. These were omitted when the two former volumes were published. The first part tells the story of the travels of the Hollands and their party at some length, and gives descriptions of many of the objects of interest which they visited. I have omitted or shortened the less important details as much as possible, and have endeavoured to confine the narrative to those incidents which seem of special interest or which bear on the character and customs of the Spaniards. Any mention also of institutions or buildings which suffered in the wars or have disappeared since that time, has been retained. The anecdotes and gossip of the Court may be of interest to the descendants of those concerned, and I have attempted very shortly to identify the various members of the families to whom reference is made.

The second portion of the Journal deals almost exclusively with the incidents of the early part of the Peninsular War. Lord Holland's name was well known in Spain, and his sympathy with the cause was apparent to many outside his own circle of friends. Thus he was in a position to obtain much information which would not have been vouchsafed to the ordinary traveller. It

was Lady Holland's daily habit to jot down the reports which were received from the front and the information which she collected from Spanish sources. Her narrative is, therefore, often disjointed, and I have endeavoured, by means of brief notes, to compare her version with the various histories of the war now at our disposal. Especially to Mr. Oman's invaluable work am I indebted for much of the information which has enabled me to link together the incidents which she records.

During the stay of the Hollands in Seville they were in close communication with many members of the Central Junta. Naturally, their views on the situation carried much weight, and Lady Holland's remarks are frequently tinged with a thoroughly Spanish flavour. This is especially noticeable in her comments on Moore and his campaign. Frere was at her elbow, despatches were continually arriving from La Romana—the two men who had considered themselves slighted by the British general; and it was as yet too early for the inhabitants of the South to realise the debt of gratitude which in reality they owed to Moore for his strategic retreat.

It is curious to note in contemporary records of the war the complete spirit of self-satisfaction in which the Spanish leaders were accustomed to pencil their despatches, whatever was the nature of their contents. Defeat was often described on paper as victory, and the truth of a report was sometimes only to be judged in the light of subsequent events. It can be no matter of surprise that on the spot it was difficult to differentiate between fact and fancy. Even in dealing with letters from British commanders a remarkable divergence of opinion is manifest. This is well illustrated by those from Lord Paget and Sir Robert Wilson, which are included in the Appendix.

Though operating only a few hundred miles apart, their ideas of the Spanish character and disposition will be found to be entirely different. The one mistrusted every action, report, or emissary of the Spaniards; the other praised their perseverance and their ardour in the cause of liberty. The Journal is thus valuable as a sidelight upon the history of the war, and as evidence of the contradictory rumours and petty jealousies which were so common at the time. I have taken the opportunity of inserting a number of unpublished letters in the Appendix, which may be of some interest to students of these early campaigns.

It should be clearly stated that Lord Holland was travelling entirely for his own pleasure. He had no official position of any kind in 1808-09, though it appears from the *Buckingham Memoirs* that some hope of the offer of an Ambassadorship to Spain was held out to him in 1811, as a bait to gain his support for the Government. Indeed, in a letter enclosing passports, dated October 1808 (*Holland House MSS.*), Canning definitely requested him to be careful to make it clear to the Spaniards that his communications with them were in no way authorised by the British Government. He even warned him that he held himself at liberty, if necessary, to take steps to prevent such misapprehensions. Lord Holland was not at one with his party on the subject of Spain. He was throughout an ardent supporter of the war and was always convinced that, with outside assistance, the patriotic spirit of the Spaniards would in time prevail against their oppressors.

Some reference was made in the Introduction to the previous volumes to an episode in Lady Holland's early life, relating to the concealment of her Webster daughter in Italy. Anxious to retain the care of the

child, she sent a false report to Sir Godfrey Webster of its death ; and to prevent suspicion, she even arranged a sham funeral. I have been recently fortunate enough to find a paper in Lady Holland's own handwriting relating the whole circumstances. The details differ somewhat from the previously recognised version of the story, and I therefore take this opportunity of printing the paper as it stands :—

‘ I left Florence on the 11th of April with my three children, accompanied by Marie Madelaine Bonfigli, her daughter—a child of four years old—Sally Brown nursery maid, Jacques Arnoud cook, André Genovale *valet-de-chambre*, Giovachino Mardei footman. Having in view the concealment of my daughter Harriet, I had sent the remainder of my servants by the shortest road from Florence to Padua, at which place I intended joining them by the route of Modena and Bologna. Those servants were Morrity a nurse, Ann Williams my under-maid, and Leopold Marconi, confectioner. On ye — of April, I pretended that Harriet appeared unwell and expressed my apprehensions that she was sickening with the measles ; on which pretext I took her from her brothers into my own carriage for the remainder of the journey. On the — I arrived in the evening at Paullo. Paullo is a solitary post house, about 3 or 4 posts from Modena. I there called Sally Brown to show her some red spots upon the child's arms, &c., having previously made the spots with water colours myself. I easily convinced her that there was danger from infection, and detained the child in my own room all night. In the morning I pretended the symptoms had increased, and that it would be safer to remove my boys. I therefore sent them attended by Sally Brown and Jacques Arnoud to Modena, there to wait further directions from me. In the course of the day

I gave out that the child grew worse, and sent Giovachino to Florence to fetch Dr. Targioni, the physician who usually attended me, with directions that he should meet me at Bologna, as I intended going thither if the child mended, as the accommodations were better than at Paulo : but my real reason was that Targiori might not detect the fraud by seeing the child, who was in perfect health. I was thus left only with Marie Bonfigli, her child, André, and Harriet. To avoid suspicion from the innkeepers I allowed them to think the child was better, as I apprehended the fear of her death might draw more observation. I had brought a guitar in a case from Florence ; the case was of an oblong form, and might pass for a rude coffin. In it I placed some stones for weight and dressed a pillow with cloathes and a wax mask. I did the latter, as it was probable the box might be opened at the difft. custom houses. I then desired André to convey the box to Leghorn, and receive the Consul's orders for the proper mode of having it interred, and I conclude that the coffin was conveyed and buried without inspection.

'I dressed Harriet in boy's clothes, and to avoid being noticed by the people of the inn, I set off at night. I arrived at a small post house 2 posts distant from Modena, and there left Harriet, Marie Bonfigli, and Octavia. I went on to Modena, where my arriving alone and apparently dejected confirmed all the alarming apprehensions Sally had entertained about Harriet's illness. I immediately set off from Modena on the 17th of April, and found Dr. Targioni at Bologna. I detained him with me for a few days, and took him with me to Padua. I had procured from Mr. Wyndham a blank passport, pretending it was for a person coming to me out of Switzerland, whose name I had forgotten. The blank I filled in with the name of Saludini and two

children, under which name Marie Bonfigli, who had never lost sight of Harriet since her separation from her brothers at Paullo, travelled as an officer's wife to Verona, Munich, Ratisbon, through the lower part of Germany, until they arrived at Hamburg, where I saw the child on the 2nd of June, 1796. As my child was reported to have suffered by the measles, it afforded strong reasons and satisfactorily accounted for Marie Bonfigli's staying behind to attend her own child, who had caught them. I had furnished Marie Bonfigli with money, and through Mr. Bruni (the banker) had procured for Madame Saludini letters-of-credit upon several bankers on the road.'

From another recently discovered paper I am also now able to give further and more correct details of the early pedigree of the Vassall family. It appears from the account I have before me, entitled '1588 to 1831' that one Samuel Vassall died, leaving a son, John, who married Anna Lewis. Four sons were born of this marriage, John, William, Henry, Leonard. William, the second son, married Miss Mills, and left Bathsheba (who died unmarried) and Florentius, Lady Holland's grandfather.

My best thanks are due to Lord Iveagh for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce, as the frontispiece to this volume, his full-length portrait, by Romney, of Lady Holland, in the early days of her married life with Sir Godfrey Webster. She here appears in fancy dress as a 'Virgin of the Sun.'

As in the previous volumes, the original spelling and punctuation of the Journal has not been retained. In the case of proper names especially, where confusion might easily arise, alteration has been made, and the more usually recognised Spanish version, taken from



*Arteche* and *Toreno*, &c., has been substituted. A map of Spain and Portugal has been added, showing the principal places mentioned in the text, and pointing out the approximate routes taken by the Hollands by coloured lines.

ILCHESTER.

*August* 1910.

# PHOTOGRAVURE PLATE

ELIZABETH, LADY HOLLAND, AS A VIRGIN OF THE

SUN . . . . . *Frontispiece*

*From the picture by George Romney in possession of Lord Iveagh.*

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MAP OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, ILLUSTRATING LADY

HOLLAND'S JOURNEYS IN 1802-5 AND 1808-9 *at end*

# LADY HOLLAND'S SPANISH JOURNAL

1802-1805

IT was during the early months of 1802 that the Hollands decided upon a prolonged trip abroad. The continual illnesses of their eldest boy Charles had become a serious cause of alarm, and the doctors advised a winter in a foreign climate (vol. ii. 149). Leaving England in July they went first to Paris. The party, besides themselves, consisted of their two boys; Frederick Howard, Lord Carlisle's sixteen-year-old son; his tutor and an intimate friend of the Hollands, the Rev. Matthew Marsh; and Mr. Allen, a doctor recommended to them by Lord Lauderdale, afterwards librarian and a permanent resident at Holland House.

Charles James Fox and his wife were also in the French capital at this time, accompanied by his secretary Trotter, General Fitzpatrick, Lord Robert Spencer, and others. Both parties were much fêted during their stay, and it was not until September 20 that the Hollands and their retinue left Paris *en route* for Spain. After a short tour among the castles on the Loire they travelled south to Bordeaux. From thence they took the road to Toulouse, and onward by Narbonne and Perpignan to cross the north-eastern frontier of Spain on the high road to Barcelona. They entered Spain on November 7, 1802.

The destinies of that country were at this time again in the hands of Manuel Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, the favourite of Maria Luisa and her brainless husband Charles IV. The

Prince of the Peace, for by that name Godoy was best known, had become chief minister of the state in 1792. In compliance with the wishes of the King, war was declared against France at the time of his cousin Louis XVI's death. The neighbouring provinces of Rousillon and Catalonia were the chief sufferers in a struggle which resulted in disaster to the Spaniards. Peace was signed in July 1795, and a month later Spain found herself in alliance with the regicide government of France and at war with England. The British fleets were too strong for the Spaniards, while times without number the latter found their various interests sacrificed to those of their more northern ally. The indignation of the nation against the responsible minister at last boiled over, and his fall came about in March 1798, although he appears never to have lost the confidence of the King. Saavedra and Urquijo successively took up the burden of office, only passively to submit to further indignities at the hands of France, and to deliver themselves securely fettered into the power of the First Consul.

It is unnecessary here to trace the rise of Napoleon in a few short years to the supreme power in France. His hatred of England led him to pursue a policy intended to alienate that country from the other powers of Europe. By February 1801 his plan was completely successful, for Portugal alone remained in alliance with Great Britain. To punish that recalcitrant nation the welfare of Spain was again disregarded ; but at last the eyes of her ministers were opened, and they saw the gulf into which they had fallen. Urquijo received speedy chastisement for his disobedience to Napoleon, and was dismissed from office a few weeks after the arrival of Lucien Bonaparte in Madrid as special envoy. Godoy, whose actions Napoleon thought he could mould as he wished, was restored to power, and consented to undertake a joint invasion of Portugal. Even to Godoy, who assumed the command of the Spanish troops, the campaign was child's play, for the Portuguese army was practically non-existent. But for once the self-satisfied spirit of the favourite stood his country in good stead. He began to look on himself as a heaven-sent genius in the field as well as in the council chamber, and, tired of the exactions of the French, he was less inclined to obey their ceaseless demands. Napoleon was amazed at

this new show of independence, and did not forget it when the interests of Spain were at stake during the Congress of Amiens. The northern confederation against England had been broken up by the death of the Czar Paul, and such was the exhaustion of the Continent from continual war that even France was willing to conclude a peace. This was secured by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, which gave a short interval of respite before the struggle which was soon to commence again with renewed vigour.

Leaving France on November 7, 1803, they crossed the boundaries of Spain near the village of Perthus. Fine pillars supporting the arms of Spain mark the entrance into Spain ; since the war they have not been elevated but remain overthrown, a pretty just emblem of the kingdom they represent.

Dined at Junqueras. Saw the ground where Dugommier,<sup>1</sup> the French general, was killed. Also where the Spanish Commander-in-chief, the Count de la Union,<sup>2</sup> was shot ; the piety of his countrymen has raised a white marble cross to his memory. The *philosophy* of the French has induced them to convey the bodies of their two generals killed in the Spanish war, Dugommier and [Dagobert], to the public place at Perpignan, where dead dogs, cats, and all the filth of the streets is the only decoration on their sods. Just above Figueras is the fort esteemed a *chef d'œuvre* in modern fortification ; the French got it at the beginning of the campaign by the foulest treachery.<sup>3</sup> The governor who surrendered ran away, and is now

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Coquille Dugommier (1738-1794), who was in command of the French troops before Toulon when the city finally fell into their hands. He commanded the army at the battle of Sierra Negra, where he was killed.

<sup>2</sup> Don Luis Carvajal y Vargas, Conde de la Union (1752-1794), killed at the same battle as Dugommier.

<sup>3</sup> The Castillo de San Fernando. A court-martial which was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of this surrender named four persons as guilty of the vilest cowardice and treachery, and condemned them to death. (*Historia general de España*, Lafuente.)

enjoying the fruits of his villainy at Montpellier. The King of Spain came here a few days ago,<sup>1</sup> and those who saw him describe his viewing the strength of the fort and commenting upon its capitulation with the utmost agitation. It is in the small but neat town of Figueras that the amiable wife of the unfortunate D. of Orleans lives.<sup>2</sup> She was not precisely there when we went through.

*Nov. 8th.*—Dined at a *venta* called ye Col d'Oriol. There met a Grandee and his wife travelling; we got acquainted and discovered him to be a connection of many of our friends, a Marqués de Torre alta y Fuentes. He is a Portuguese, and brother to Mde. de Silva. The villages look uncommonly cheerful, as in honor of the King's visit to Catalonia they have brushed up their houses, whitewashed, and cleaned them. Abundance of fine shrubs. Just before Gerona we met several substantial carriages and plump mules, which, like all the good things in Spain, belonged to the Church; fat canons were the lading. Gerona very prettily placed, road blackened by priests: very excellent inn kept by a Frenchman. The Dsse. of Orleans was in it on her return to Figueras. Being tired and *sans toilette* I did not go down and fulfil my promise to her sons of seeing her, but Ld. Hd. did, and was charmed with her serenity and unaffected

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish Court had been at Barcelona in October, to celebrate the double marriage of the Prince of the Asturias and his sister to the Neapolitan Princess and Prince, children of King Ferdinand IV and Queen Marie Caroline. Their tour was extended to the cities on the east coast and lasted some months.

<sup>2</sup> Louise Marie Adélaïde de Bourbon (1753–1821), daughter of the Duc de Penthièvre, and mother of King Louis Philippe. She married Philippe Égalité, Duc d'Orléans, in 1769. Notwithstanding the violent death of her husband she refused to leave France, and was imprisoned in Paris, most of the time at the '*maison de santé*' of Dr. Belhomme. She went to Spain in 1797, where she remained until the outbreak of the Peninsular War. She then moved to Sicily and returned to France in 1814. Her daughter, Louise Marie Adélaïde Eugène, was later best known as Madame Adélaïde.



goodness. Her daughter was with her, and is entitled to every praise.

Nothing of interest to Mataro, 'a charming little town, full of life, manufactures, and spirit.'

I walked about and experienced what I could never have believed otherwise, the extreme derision and scorn, with which a woman is treated who does not conform to the Spanish mode of dressing. Churches heavily laden with golden ornaments, bad taste, outside mean, and without any pretensions even to architecture. Prince of Conti<sup>1</sup> made to live at Mataro.

*11th.*—Flat road to Barcelona; met and spoke with the P. of Conti on the road. His wit will never restore the H. of Bourbon. Just before that city passed a torrent which is bad at times. Owing to Mr. Stembor's<sup>2</sup> civility we experienced no trouble at the gates, and drove through the streets to the residence he had with difficulty procured for us. It was a spacious, handsome mansion exactly in the centre of the city, built round a small square court into which the windows of the apartments looked. The streets which surrounded the house are at the widest 8 feet 8 inches, geometrically measured by Mr. Allen. Houses high, roofs projecting, by which means a ray of sun never can nor never did penetrate into a single apartment. In this dreary dungeon I and my poor children were destined to remain, as it is utterly impracticable to hire a carriage, first because the Court had taken all

<sup>1</sup> Louis François Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (1734-1814), son of Louis François, Prince de Conti, and the last of his name. He had some sympathy with the Revolution but was acquitted, though arrested by the Convention. The Directory, however, sent him into exile, and he died at Barcelona.

<sup>2</sup> 'A Dutch merchant, who has the firm which used to be Sir James Herries & Co.: an excellent, friendly, kindhearted man. We were most essentially obliged to him for his cordial civilities.' (Note by Lady Holland.)

horses, and, 2dly, because it is never the custom to hire any in Barcelona. Walking the streets was also out of the question, not only from the danger of being exposed to meet a carriage in the streets but from the certainty of being insulted owing to the dress.

12th.—Mr. Bourke,<sup>1</sup> the Danish minister, an old Neapolitan acquaintance, came. He offered his services to introduce us to the only Houses now here, and proposed to make me acquainted with his wife, an *intimate* friend of *some years'* standing whom he has at length married. She came, and we went together to the Opera. The theatre is tolerably good, the performances are alternately Spanish plays and Italian operas; the representation we saw was the latter. Showy ballet; the grotesque dancers not so good as many I have seen in Italy. Afterwards we went to Conde de Fuentes,<sup>2</sup> a Grandee whom Admiral Gravina<sup>3</sup> had desired to show Ld. Hd. every civility, as he could not because he went back to Naples with the Prince. He is one of the most powerful men in Spain in point of wealth and influence; his possessions are in many provinces, also countries, Naples, Flanders, France, Germany. He is the son of Ct. Egmont and grandson of the Maréchal de Richelieu. His family name is Pignatelli. His revenue hundred thousand pounds a year; his expenditure double. He is young, pleasing in his manners, and very luxurious in his habits; he

<sup>1</sup> Edmond, Count Bourke (1761-1821), Danish Ambassador at Madrid from 1801 to 1811. He was later Ambassador in London and in Paris.

<sup>2</sup> D. Armando Pignatelli de Egmont y Moncayo, XVIII Conde de Fuentes and Marqués de Coscojuela y Mora, son of D. Luis Pignatelli, Conde de Fuentes, who married, in 1768, Da. Luisa, only daughter of Casimir Pignatelli de Egmont, Conde de Egmont.

<sup>3</sup> Carlos, Duque de Gravina (1756-1806), the celebrated Spanish naval commander. Born in Palermo. He was sent to Paris in 1804 as Ambassador, but was appointed to command the Spanish fleet the following year, and died of wounds received at the battle of Trafalgar.

served with distinction in the war and in consequence of a severe wound he has been obliged to try various waters and climates. He has been in England, and is going there immediately to try Bath waters again. The party consisted of the Bourkes and Madame Sabatini, a celebrated beauty, Mde. de Minestoli, *bien aimée du Comte*, her husband, a shrewd Neapolitan, the Russian Minister, and some motley mixtures of nations. The sly Italian set up a faro bank: as every one played I conformed, much as I dislike that amusement; I sat at the table until fatigue so fairly overcame me that I was obliged to go away.

13th.—I arranged some black petticoats and draperies to make myself as unlike a foreigner as I could and set off for want of a carriage to walk through the streets to enquire for a house, but finding it impossible to get one we decided upon accepting Mr. Stembor's very friendly offer of lending us his villa at Sarria, a village distant about 3 miles from Barcelona.

14th.—Sunday. To my infinite satisfaction moved to Sarria, as I grew alarmed about the children. The confined air of the gloomy street in which our dismal mansion was situated was not calculated to restore the baby's strength or preserve Charles's.

15th.—Drove to Barcelona to *see* it, for altho' I had been in it three days, yet the constant fidget and alarm I suffered on acct. of the wretched habitation in which the children were, deprived me not only of all desire but absolutely of the faculty of looking. Odious as it appeared to me, whilst living in the center of it, I must own *à tête reposée* that it is a very fine city, full of magnificent public buildings and the handsomest promenade of any place I have yet seen. The fortifications are well kept, so that one may drive round the whole city; the Rambla, a long straight walk in the

town, is from custom the most frequented, but that is its only recommendation. The Muralla de Mar is the pleasantest, as it faces the sea, commands the port and views of Barcelona and Mt. Juich, but the Dominicans and other gentry of that description have, with their usual taste in these matters, discovered the merits of the situation and consequently built their convent there. The Academy is a magnificent palace; it was used as such for the Prince of the Peace,<sup>1</sup> who lodged under it himself, his mistress, and the grand Inquisitor—a curious trio. The Royal families were lodged in the Custom Houses.

16th.—Went to Barcelona and took leave of Count Fuentes at his house, where we did the same of the Bourkes, who are going off to Valencia to follow the Court. As the gates of the city shut every night at sunset we are compelled to renounce the theatre and all society, therefore our life of retirement should be productive of some good as we have leisure to study.

18th.—Rode again to a convent of nuns at Pedralves of the order of St. Clara; magnificent view. Returned

<sup>1</sup> Manuel de Godoy, Duque de Alcudia (1767–1851), born of a poor but noble family at Badajoz. He joined the Royal bodyguard in 1784, and attracted the attention of Queen María Luisa, who encouraged King Charles IV to heap dignities and honours upon him. He became Prime Minister in 1792, and took a leading part in arranging the peace with France of 1795, from which he obtained his title of 'Prince of the Peace.' He was removed from office in 1798, but returned the following year, and retained his power until 1808, when he was forced to leave the country. He later accompanied Charles IV to Rome. The true account of Godoy's marriages is difficult to trace. According to one story he first married Da. Pepita Tudo, afterwards appointed woman of the bedchamber to the Queen, but she lived in a separate house from him in order not to ruin his career. In 1797, however, the King offered him the hand of his niece, Da. María Teresa de Borbon, Comtesse de Chinchon, daughter of Infante D. Luis, and he married her. In the *Blazon de España* (Don Augusto de Burgos), he is stated to have married La Tudo after the death of his Borbon wife, and the Duchesse d'Abrantes in her *Memoirs* writes that she knew a lady who was present at their marriage in Rome.

early as we were to dine at Mr. Stembor's. Met at dinner the French *Commissaire des relations commerciales*, as *Consul* must no longer be profaned by the vulgar. He seems an affected, self-sufficient personage; his *confrère* vulgar and noisy. The Governor acceded to our request of granting permission to the gates; thus we are enabled to have them opened at all hours, an indulgence of course not to be abused. It is a great favor, and granted at present only to the P. of Conti. Mr. de Rechler, the *ci-devant* Dutch minister dined; the rest of the party were his partners, clerks, &c. Stembor is a worthy, kind-hearted man, disposed and even eager to oblige us: he has really conferred obligations.

23rd.—Went after dinner to Barcelona; previous to going to the play drove along the ramparts. Much diverted at the antiquated equipages and grotesque appearance of the whole appointment. 5 o'clock is the hour when the *beau monde* exhibit themselves; the specimen we had did not tempt me to see more of them. Bad actors to an empty *salle*.

24th.—Drove to Barcelona and showed it to Charles. Went, after dinner, up the village of Sarria through a fine avenue of cypresses to the porch of a Capucin convent, called the *Desierto*. Women are forbidden to enter, therefore I remained in the chapel whilst the gentlemen entered the garden to see a representation in wood of the plague at Barcelona. This convent is the head of the Franciscans in Catalonia. The cypresses are large and may vie with those so justly admired in Tuscany. The architectural form of the tree and gloom of its foliage assorts well with the entrance of a convent, and the venerable Fathers are entitled to praise for the taste they have shown in choosing such an appropriate ornament for their avenue.

25th.—Mr. Stembor and the Swedish Consul dined



with us. During dinner the Marquis of Blondel came ; he is a Fleming in the Spanish services, in which he has served fifty years. He was Captain-General of Biscay, but now lives upon his appointments in a sort of disgrace. The old veteran has taken a young wife who is reckoned a strange, whimsical lady, wearing *ostensibly* the breeches she of course wears metaphorically, as such merit and ought to be the fate of those who enter into disproportionate marriages.

29th.—Drove in eve. to Barcelona. When we came home we were told that Madame Blondel in her male attire had made me a visit. She astonished the servants, who described her as a *nondescript*.

Dec. 1st.—Went to Barcelona. Evening, returned the visit to my singular neighbour ; found her noisy, positive, vulgar, and not pretty, but with enough of youth and beauty (tho' the portion of each is slender, as she is the mother of an officer of 25) to captivate her *mari octogénaire*.

Dec. 2nd.—*Bien costumée à l'Espagne* I went to see the Cathedral. The inside is very fine, being in the purest Gothic taste. It appears gloomy as it is not stuccoed or painted, but the masonry left unadorned as when just built and the stones being of dark colour the tinge is solemn. The sacristan took us behind the altar of a saint's chapel, and showed us the most venerated relic in the skeleton line, no less than the entire body of St. Olegar ; he reposes in a large glass coffin with very clean vestments, which the man with great gravity and perfect belief assured us were put on a century ago, and that the saint was so pleased with his new dress that, as a mark of approbation, he stood upright upon his feet whilst the priest passed the surplice over his raw bones.

3rd.—Rode to Gracia, a pretty village under the same line of mt. It is remarkable for the number and beauty

of the *torres* (the Catalan name for a villa). The gardens appear extremely pretty, full of orange, lemon, cypress, and palm trees. The Dsse. de Bourbon<sup>1</sup> resides there, a strange person who believes in Mesmer, and continues magnetising to this day !

5th.—Took a pleasant walk, and dined at Gracia with Larzard [?], the Danish Consul and our banker, a dull rogue *à la lettre*. His house is tolerably good ; in showing his garden he urged as its greatest merit and beauty that you never lost sight of Barcelona. We met at dinner ye Duc and Dsse. de la Vauguyon<sup>2</sup> and their daughter, a very pretty girl. They are making their way towards Paris ; where, if the D. is allowed to return, he may thank his stars.

6th.—Went to Barcelona ; made a visit to the V.'s ; saw their eldest daughter, the Psse. de Bauffremont, apparently a very sensible woman ; she has two fine sons, one like their uncle Carency. In the evening the Blondels came, accompanied by the Marquis de St. Simon<sup>3</sup> a Grandee of Spain, and the French Commissaries. The *Commissaire* read a flattering letter about us from

<sup>1</sup> Louise Marie Thérèse d'Orléans (1750-1822), sister of Philippe Égalité, Duc d'Orléans, and mother of the Duc d'Enghien. She married Louis Henri Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, known as 'the last of the Condés,' in 1770 ; but they lived apart after 1780. When exiled in 1795 she went to Spain, and remained there, chiefly near Barcelona, until the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Paul François de Quélen de Stuer de Caussade, Duc de la Vauguyon, who married, in 1766, Antoinette Rosalie, daughter of Charles Armand, Vicomte de Pons.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Anne, afterwards Duc de Saint-Simon (1743-1819). Though elected a deputy to the States General, he left France in the early days of the Revolution and took service in Spain. He held several important military commands, and being captured by Napoleon in Madrid was tried and condemned to death as a traitor. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he remained in confinement at Joux until the end of the war.

'A *grande d'Espagne*, far from agreeable.' (Note by Lady Holland.)



Beurnonville<sup>1</sup> desiring him to show every civility in his power, in consequence of which he invited us to dinner and at the same time to *assister* at the lecture of the life of his deceased *last* wife, which he has just written to dissipate his *chagrin* for her death!!! A second edition of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft. We accepted.

7th.—Went with Mde. Blondel, who was dressed in men's clothes in a general's uniform, to see the nuns of St. Claire; they appeared at the *parloir*, which has a double grating. Their dress is hideous, instead of the white plaited *guimpe*, so becoming to the French and Italian nuns, they wore round their faces an ugly coloured yellow of knitted worsted; the dress is black cloth. Poor souls, they affected a resignation they could not feel. Five out of six sisters their father crushed in nunneries!

8th.—Frederick ill. Staid at home. We three dined at the French *Commissaire's*; *fortunately!* too late to hear his mournful narration about his departed spouse.

10th.—Marquis de St. Simon dined; no traces of the talents of his ancestor, to whom he owes his *grandesse espagnole*. No good humour or mirth to supply the defect.

Starting for Valencia on the 14th, the Hollands paid a visit to Montserrate, but left the children to await them at the foot of the mountain.

The convent is an immense pile of buildings. The appendages are extensive; a *hospice* to lodge pilgrims and beggars. The former they must maintain for three days. We brought letters, but of the two, only one was at Mtserrate, and he was in the mt., for so they call the peak above, speaking as if they were in the plain themselves. The *padre aposentador*<sup>2</sup> gave us very good

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Riel, Comte de Beurnonville (1752-1821), French General, and at this time Ambassador to Spain.

<sup>2</sup> The father in charge of the lodgings.

apartments, indeed excellent, and both on account of the lateness of the hour and the danger of the descent, I resolved upon sleeping in the Convent, a great effort for me to be separated so many hours from the children. We made a hasty dinner to go to the hermitages, that is to say to one, for I was conscious of being unequal to more. The ascent is very difficult and even painful. It is steep, and the stairs are cut in the solid rock at such distances as to make it a labour of the utmost fatigue; however in about 40 minutes we reached the first hermitage. The actual proprietor is an Asturian who has resided there 21 years; upon being asked if he liked so high a situation, he turned up the whites of his eyes, and said he lived in hopes of being exalted to a higher one, meaning in Heaven. He appeared to be an ignorant hypocrite; he would not admit me into his apartments. I remained in the Chapel which is small, but has on each side seats to the number of 14 or 15. Hither all the hermits assemble on Tuesday. A priest from the convent comes up and says mass to them. The hermits never eat meat, fish only twice a week; they are not even allowed the affectionate society of dogs nor cats nor birds in cages. The devotee gave us some wine, but he would not give it to the men. It was excellent, and justified his parsimony. Some of our party went to another hermitage. Being impatient to see the Shrine, besides having my knees very sore, I resolved upon going down. On our way down, we were overtaken by the Padre Ruis, one to whom we were recommended. He had the manners of a man of the world, and betrayed more inclination to live in it than to follow the rules of St. Benedict. In speaking of the hermits, he said they were well off, as they were at liberty, having no *Superior* to restrain them; that they felt their independence, and never came to the convent, where they

must submit to strict rules, but when they were worn out by extreme old age.

Altho' it was so late and much beyond the usual hour of showing the Sanctuary, Padre Ruis went down and ordered the sacristans to be ready with lights to show us the treasure. The church is handsome, but not large. The high altar, over which stands the miraculous image, is separated from the body of the church by a railing as high as the ceiling: on each side are small chapels, richly ornamented, in one is a picture by *Rubens*, so degraded as to be a disfigurement instead of ornament. The treasure is rich; the relics, the most valuable part to the really devout, the monk showed in good taste. He did not laugh, because that would have been unbecoming his own situation; he did not dwell upon their utility, as he was aware it would not suit us. Nothing amused me more in the whole collection than the figure of a Lt.-general in silver, about 6 inches high, with a bullet fastened by a chain. This votive offering is as recent as the last war (about three years ago), in which this military booby got wounded, mortally he imagined; but for the intercession of the Holy Lady and upon his recovery, he offered this at her Shrine. Monks and lay brothers all smiled whilst this story was narrating.

We then proceeded upstairs into a small room hung round with small pictures, but by candle light their beauties were lost upon us. In the room beyond are the splendid folding doors which open to the Virgin's niche; they are covered with large plates of silver. The image is smaller than life, carved on a black wood. The features are handsome, and represent the face of a fine woman, tho' not so celestial as the priests formerly described it; for an old chronicle reports that those whose office it was to dress the image trembled and did not dare look at her face during the ceremonies of the *toilette*.

Many sovereigns of Spain, and even those of other countries, have committed the fatiguing act of devotion, exhausting their strength and their purses to offer a votive gift to *Nuestra Señora de Montserrate*. The King and Queen went up not long before we did. They made no present, an intentional omission, as that was the only convent which pleaded *poverty* and did not assist him during the French war.

19th.—The situation of Tarragona very pretty, being placed on a hill above the sea which forms a small bay, to assist the security of which a port is making. Performed the journey in two hours and three-quarters. Met with great civilities here. Mr. Stembor's correspondent sent us wine in plenty, and very good; the commandant and director of the Works visited us and accompanied us to the port, and in consequence of the Bishop of Barcelona having written to desire the canons to be civil, we were extremely well treated by them. After eating a little, we walked out to see the antiquities. A whole gang of beggars followed us readily through the Bishop's palace, as they would have done had we remained in the streets; they are a most insubordinate rabble.

At the port we found Mr. Smith, who, from his name, is of English origin, but is by birth a Spaniard. He is the chief engineer, and showed us the *jetée*, which even at present is a grand work, but will be magnificent when completed. Its length into the sea is one-third of an English mile; it is to be just double that length. The labour is performed by galley slaves, who continue being dressed in green, a living chain in former times, as the colour most offensive to the Moors who revere it and reserve it for their Sovereigns and those who call themselves the Prophet's cousins. He has to contend against many difficulties besides the elements and 33 feet of water. He has only a fund of £10,000, one million

of reals, and great indifference in the country to all public works.

20th.—*El campo de Tarragona* is celebrated for its fertility; it is now returning to the culture of grain, which branch of agriculture was considerably diminished a few years back on account of the demand for brandies, which induced the proprietors to cultivate vines and renounce corn. But, as I have said, at present they are returning to grain.

We reached Hospitalet, a wretched *venta* formed within the ruined walls of an old fortress. To escape the smoke, which issued in abundance from the kitchen, ye only fireplace, and which was on a level with our rooms, we walked (with a guard) down to the beach, about 300 yards; the night was gloomy and cold, and the sea agitated. Entered a peasant's cot to seek for fish, but found none. In our wretched *venta* there were many travellers, none of whom but ourselves got beds; one, a rich merchant, charged with a large sum of money. He had, for security, taken three soldiers; they were Germans taken prisoners in Italy and almost compelled to enter into the Spanish service. As they were to return, we arranged that they should escort us, in addition to our three guards. The Captain-General of Valencia, ye *Corregidor* of Barcelona, and several other persons of distinction having been robbed, has been the means of rendering the road much safer, as there are troops stationed at the different *ventas*. The picture of the fireplace would have made a grotesque *groupe*.

21st.—Set off with our strong escort across the Col de Balaguer. The mode of driving is peculiar to Spain, the first pair of mules have bridles and the coachman holds the reins, the other four or six, according to the size of the carriage, are merely harnessed, and governed



by the voice ; a *mozo* or *muchacho*<sup>1</sup> runs by their side, and to vary the mode of guiding, as often throws adroitly a stone at the offender as he directs him by the voice. The common pace is a fast walk, but when there is a descent, they run down full gallop, and mount the hills, when short, at the same rate. The men are nimble and hardy. The custom of going so much on foot, renders them both ; at night they lay with their mules, either upon straw, if they find any, or upon the hard ground if they cannot. They never undress, and it is a figurative expression to say an honest Spaniard dies in his bed, as I believe there are many who never know the luxury of one. The Spanish army ought to be among the best of Europe ; indeed were their officers to be relied upon, it would be so.

The King lodged in the *posada* at Perello, which is distant 6 hours ; therefore our expectations were raised. But we found unfortunately that his visit had, if possible, made the place worse, as they had built a suite of rooms which smelt strongly of plaster, and the little furniture there had been was removed to place his in the rooms ; and as the Spaniards proceed *poco á poco*, that which had previously been there was not restored. Thus we had some dreary rooms, with only five chairs in all, three beds, and a table. I never was in a more dismal, cold place.

24th, *Vinaroz*.—Began to see a great difference in the dress of the people, countenance, and figure. No longer the bright red Catalan cap worn with taste so as to form a helmet sort of elevation in the middle, and tuft in front. The exchange is for an immense black hat, very shallow but enormous in the brim, tied with black string under the chin : a tight waistcoat, and loose linen vestments, neither breeches nor fillibeg, but very

<sup>1</sup> Young man or boy.

ugly. The dress of the Catalans is convenient and handsome, the hair confined in *redecillas*,<sup>1</sup> with a cap of red cloth or worsted over. Leather gaiters, sandals, and scarlet waistcoat, and brown coat or *capa* hung loosely upon ye left shoulder, with a jolly, fat, squat figure, round face, cheerful countenance, fair skin, and an air of independent, sulky good humour. The Valencian is tall, meagre, sallow, quick-sighted, long-visaged, forbidding countenance. Enveloped in his ample *capa* of blue cloth, his shaggy hair, bushy about his face, surmounted with this broad black beaver, gives his whole *tournure* somewhat of a terrific appearance.

29th.—Fine road to Valencia, where we met with Mr. Vague, who had most obligingly procured for us a habitation at the end of the bridge just out of the town, called *la Huerta Santissima*. The town is very large; the houses spacious and handsome. Some of the streets are narrow, but none so much so as those of Barcelona, and many are wide and cheerful. They are not paved, and there is so great a prejudice in favor of the '*Boue de Valence*' for manure, that there is at present no chance of that improvement taking place; as there is a general belief among the inhabitants that the gardens round the town derive much of their fertility from what constitutes so great an annoyance to foot passengers in rainy weather. However they have the consolation of very seldom undergoing much inconvenience upon that score, as in this delicious climate the weather is temperate and subject to very little rain. The streets are lighted by large lanterns fastened to the houses. There are watchmen who cry the hours, and as they generally call '*sereno*,' their names are *serenos*,—a proof, if any were requisite, of the uniform excellence of the weather.

<sup>1</sup> Silk hair-nets.



Of the interior of the town I have seen but little as yet. The intolerance of the Spaniards for those who do not conform to their costume, makes it not only unpleasant, but positively unsafe for a woman to appear without the *basquiña*<sup>1</sup> and *mantilla*, a dress thoroughly inconvenient for the strong light of this glorious sun, the eyes being exposed to all its power. So few travel who have not business, that strangers find nothing calculated for their reception or accommodation. Ambassadors and merchants are the only foreigners, and each go to their destination. Those of the natives who move go generally upon business or duty, either to their estates (that unluckily but rarely) or to their relations; therefore they do not feel the want of a house to lodge in or an equipage to convey them. Whereas the traveller who arrives for a couple of months in a town, must incur the same expense as if he were to remain ten years,—furnish and buy the furniture of a house from a joint stool to a spit. A carriage is almost out of the question, unless the whole is purchased. Hitherto we have depended upon the civility of our acquaintance, but that is irksome.

Of ye society I can form but an imperfect judgment, but the Spaniards strike me as being remarkably frank and warm-hearted. They have not the captivating polish of the French, but then they seem devoid of the bad counterpoise,—excessive *médiance*. The women are ungraceful out of their *mantilla*; allow their voice to get into high tones, but seem to enjoy conversation, which they enliven frequently with sallies of humour and even wit. Unlike the Italians in many respects, they resemble them in that which an austere critic might call the characteristic of the whole sex, that of making love,—the sole occupation of their lives. With

<sup>1</sup> A kind of upper petticoat.

them it really *is love*, for whilst it lasts, and that it does with fervour for years resistless of all obstacles and unshaken by everything but absence, it is most vehement and constant. Indeed there are stories of love-sick ladies who have pined away and died; but miracles both holy and amorous have long since ceased. We on the other side of the Pyrenees imagine, because the Spanish husbands no longer confine their wives within their high-walled mansions, and allow the air to enter elsewhere than through lattice windows and iron bars, that, as they are not gaolers, they are not jealous; and like the husbands of Italy from one extreme have fallen into the other. But that is not the case. The husband being complaisant puts sufficiently a restraint upon his wife's conduct to cause a sort of mystery, which adds to the *piquant* of a love adventure and maintains its force. The *cortejo* rarely appears with his *dama* in public; their interviews are private and owe to the *basquiña* and *mantilla* their frequency and security. A woman of the highest rank, the moment she is so equipped, defies observation; she may go out unattended, and by a dexterous management of the *mantilla*, may elude detection from the most vigilant. Judiciously enough, with a view to this object, they have entered into a sort of tacit compact that no woman can go into a church unless so attired, nor walk with impunity the streets; thus the costume will be perpetuated from mother to daughter, intentionally and accidentally. The Govern't. has deprived the gentleman of a similar disguise; the *capa* and *sombrero* being confined to the *maja*, a sort of *bravache* or *bravado*,—our mohawks in the beginning of the last century, who drew forth the spirited animadversion of the *Spectator*. It was attempted to be done by law first, and that failed. A more imperious law than any so issued prevailed, *that of fashion*; thus

the men of fashion wear the same dress as those of other countries.

The family of Vague have been very obliging ; their house is the only one regularly open every evening. The only complaint is that there is too much music, the ladies being excellent performers. Through the means of Mde. Tallien, not directly from her, as no women saw her whilst I was at Paris, we have seen a good deal of her mother, Mde. Cabarrus ;<sup>1</sup> she is remarkably pleasing, has great remains of beauty, and an air of the world which I did not think could have been acquired or maintained in Spain. She has, however, been at Paris.

The theatre is to a degree a resource, as it is frequented by the most fashionable ladies, but I can scarcely add that it is much of an amusement. The *salle* is bad, long, and narrow ; the town once possessed a better, which was destroyed by lightning. The Archbishop, who was a bigot, regarded that event as a proof of celestial wrath and converted the funds collected to defray the expense of rebuilding another to some holy purpose, and left the city without a theatre. His successors, less devout, have not opposed the conversion of a corn magazine into a *salle de spectacle*.

The performances have at least the merit of variety. There is first a heroic tragedy in which Spanish valour is sure to overcome Moorish fraud ; those old enmities still affording a very material subject for the drama. Every act supplies at least two intrigues. One alone would be sufficient to form the plot of a modern

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Francisco, Conde de Cabarrus, the financier, son of a French merchant. He was born in 1752, and went to Spain at an early age, where he married, at Zaragoza, a native of that town whose name was Galabert. He was the founder of the bank of St. Carlos, and on several occasions acted as intermediary between the Spanish and French Governments. He died in 1810.

tragedy, the unravelling of which constitutes a laborious pleasure, for Boileau described it accurately when he said :—

‘ Et qui, débrouillant mal une pénible intrigue,  
D’un divertissement me fait une fatigue.’<sup>1</sup>

The *gracioso* or buffoon, in the midst of the most pathetic scenes, breaks in, and by coarse jokes destroys the whole interest of the plot. After the play, and sometimes between the acts, comes the *sainctes*, *petites pièces*, without much intrigue, but excellent, as they are a faithful representation of the manners, customs, and dress of the inferior classes, who are there exhibited precisely as they are in their own houses. It is not an embellished imitation; the portrait is so scrupulously exact that one cannot but feel inclined to dispense with the rigor of the imitation. It is Mandeville’s mankind, certainly not Shaftesbury’s. The *sainctes* are followed by the *bolero*, which is danced by a man and woman in the national costume. The music has a sameness, and the figure of the dance not much variety, but it is impossible to see and hear it danced without pleasure; the castanets and feet mark the measure with an agreeable precision. The *fandango*, of which this *bolero* is a refinement, is dismissed to the festivities of the lower classes. The *tonadilla* follows; it is a comic opera, very short, sung by one performer alone sometimes, but generally by three or four. It is followed by the *seguidilla*, a sort of *rondeau* or refrain of the whole. The mechanism of the scenery is still in a rude, primitive state; in the *coulisse* there is a sort of gallery out of which the scene-shifters fling themselves upon a cord, their bodies act as a lever, and the scene is drawn up. The prompter sits as in France, in the center of the

<sup>1</sup> *L’Art Poétique*, Chant III.

lamps ; but it is not an exaggeration to say that he speaks *louder* than the performers. The actors are so indifferent to their art, that they hardly endeavour to learn their part ; therefore in addition to the prompter in front, one on each side of the scene stands with a book and candle, by which means the performers never act to each other, always towards the prompter. The *parterre* are called *mosqueteros*.

On 12th day, the sixth of January, we dined with the Captain-General ; he is, as most are in that post, superannuated. His name is Caro,<sup>1</sup> his wife is handsome and interesting, and, compared to him, young. She is his niece ; he is her father's eldest brother, a strange incestuous alliance but one they are fond of in this country, which may account for the degeneracy of the *Grandeos*, who intermarry thus from generation to generation. Physiologists reckon a cross necessary to making a good breed. In England we renew our horses with Arabian blood, and to a degree in all breeds of cattle the same renovation is required, and consequently to the human species also. Stories are told of a singular misformation in their children ; their two elder sons were baptized first as females, and since as boys, but still their sex is dubious. After dinner *La Generale*, for so the wife of a Captain-General is called, in compliment to us went to the play. Afterwards we returned to her house to a *tertulia*, a dull assembly, where the ladies sit round the room and the gentlemen stand at the end, each as much separated as if they were in different provinces. A *refresco* is a more agreeable meeting ; a large table is filled with ices, chocolate, cakes, biscuits,

<sup>1</sup> Don Ventura Caro (1737-1808), a native of Valencia, and general in the Spanish Army. He was appointed Captain-General of Valencia in 1802. His father, Don José Caro, was created Marqués de la Romana in 1730, and his nephew, the third Marquess, was celebrated for his patriotic efforts in the early stages of the Peninsular War.



and the *esponjado*, a sugar biscuit, round which people sit or stand without ceremony and enjoy great liberty. The chocolate is such a favourite beverage, that it is as regular at eight o'clock as tea is in a country town in England. It is the common breakfast also; an *inveterate* Spaniard takes it three or four times in the day. The monks are reckoned very fond of it and there are jokes upon the subject.

*Jan. 12th.*—Saw the Cathedral, a strange, clumsy, misshapen, unformed pile without, with one handsome Gothic portal. The inside is fitted up prettily, white and gold ornaments, marble and jasper columns and entablatures in profusion; the roof is too low, and the whole appearance is light, clean, and cheerful. The High Altar is made of solid silver, admirably wrought, representing a variety of scriptural histories; the folding doors which cover this costly altar are covered with excellent paintings done by an eminent Italian painter, whose name they have forgotten here.<sup>1</sup> When Philip IV saw them he observed that the altar was of silver, but truly the doors were of gold. A few pictures by Joannes,<sup>2</sup> an artist hardly known out of Spain; they are good, but I had not leisure, owing to the lateness of the hour, to examine much.

*Feb. 8th, 1803, Valencia del Cid.*—Went with Mde. Cabarrus and Dr. Matoses to the Convent of St. Miguel de los Reyes,<sup>3</sup> distant about half a league from the town on the Murviedro road. It is a magnificent pile of building; in the court is an alley of fine cypresses, which go to the church doors. The monks were singing a funeral dirge for a brother who lay

<sup>1</sup> Most of the silver was stripped off and melted in 1809. The doors are attributed to Pablo de Aregio and Francisco Neapoli, pupils of Leonardo da Vinci.

<sup>2</sup> Better known as Vicente Juan Macip (1523-1579).

<sup>3</sup> Now a convict establishment.

dead before the High Altar. As I always avoid an unnecessarily painful sight, I withdrew. We were shown into a small room where several monks insisted upon keeping us company, whilst others went to the library for the manuscripts. They brought them down, a singular favor, and one we were made fully to comprehend as being such. A *Seneca*, richly illustrated, a *Virgil*. The *Romance of the Rose*, in *Provençal*, curious from the dresses, but defective both in drawing and colouring; an early medical work by *Villanueva*, with illuminations of his prescriptions which consisted chiefly in baths of different sorts, with Latin verses explanatory of the effects and utility of bathing. A religious work upon ye Xtian doctrine, done in 1279, by order of Philip, King of France. A beautiful missal, richly and admirably illuminated, belonging to the Queen Germana, wife to the founder. Women are not allowed to enter beyond the church, but we were placed under the grand staircase, just so as to enable us to see the cloister, which is spacious and built in a good style of architecture. The area or quadrangle is filled with orange and palm trees. Out of extreme civility, the corpse of the defunct was removed, which enabled me to return to the church and see the altars. Many are decorated with inlaid marbles; the chief excellence is the beauty of the marble and the polish, not the workmanship of the representation.

On Saturday, 29th of January, Saavedra<sup>1</sup> (Baron d'Albalat) gave us a *fête* at the Albufera, a lake about 8 miles off. The lake communicates with the sea; it is about 3 leagues in length, and one in width, more or less. It is supposed to abound with curious birds, many of which are unknown in Europe; the attraction for them is the rice grounds, which unfortunately for the health of the

<sup>1</sup> Don Miguel de Saavedra, Baron de Albalat. He held the post of Captain-General of Valencia in 1808, and was killed by the mob there.



peasantry are numerous in the neighbourhood of Albufera. We quitted our carriages, and went into a tent prepared for us and prettily fitted up. It was upon an eminence, from whence we were to see the *chasse*, but the wind was high and we came too late; only a few birds were shot. Frederick slept there the night before, so had a specimen of the sort of *chasse*. We returned to ——, where we had a good dinner; Saavedra conducted the whole arrangement extremely well. We quitted the Huerto del Sacramento (*sic*) on Wednesday, the ninth of February, for a more spacious dwelling called Casa Liria, Calle Alboraja. Unluckily the first few days were, for Valencia climate, cold, which made us uncomfortable. Several days, before and after sunrise, the puddles under a north wall were frozen, an event so rare as to afford much amusement to the boys and children in the streets, who handed about lumps of ice from one to the other as a singular rarity. It is indeed very possible that many of them had never beheld such a sight before, as snow is used for cooling liquors and making ice.

Mr. Vaughan,<sup>1</sup> brother to my worthy friend, the physician, is travelling upon the Radcliffe Fellowship. He intends making the tour of Spain, and is, for the present, staying here. He is a remarkably good-natured, well disposed, obliging young man, but is not probably exactly the description of person whom Dr. Radcliffe intended should benefit by his Foundation. However he is not determined upon practising what, I am sure, he has not yet much studied. There are besides from

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1849), son of James Vaughan, M.D., of Leicester, and brother of the better known Dr. Vaughan (Sir Henry Halford). He was also educated as a physician, but took up diplomacy instead. He was employed in Spain on several occasions, privately and publicly, during the Peninsular War, and was Minister to the United States 1825-35. Several interesting letters from him are included in the Appendix.

our island two Messrs. Gordon, one of whom is travelling for his health, which is in a state that demands every precaution. A few nights since, (last Sunday) ye Condesa de Rotova gave a splendid ball; the house is very spacious. Ten and upwards of fine rooms were opened and brilliantly illuminated; refreshments in abundance. To spectators the balls are uncommonly dull, as from decorum they have abandoned the national dances, and have omitted learning others; therefore what is called dancing is no more than jumping, leaping, jiggling, walking, rolling, pacing, more or less in measure. A long figure meant to be that of an English country dance.

The theatre is an inexhaustible source of amusement; we were much diverted at a representation of a translation from the French *petite pièce* of the *Tonnellier*. The story is originally taken from Boccaccio and La Fontaine, where the sting of the jest is not of a nature to be exhibited. But as it was necessary, according to the *critique* of the French piece, to give some unequivocal proof of the lady's love, the difficulty was great, because the French mode would never do. Spanish delicacy would have been shocked. A kiss on the stage is never permitted, therefore in lieu of so gross an act as kissing, the love is demonstrated by the lady lousing the lover, and this is the animated *tendresse* of their *tête à tête*.

*Feb. 16th.*—We went with Dr. Matoses to see the University. The library is tolerably good; the manuscripts are very insignificant.<sup>1</sup> I asked to see the prohibited books, and when upon seeing the works of Calvin and Erasmus I observed that I concluded we were close, as *they* of course were of that number, the astonishment of the librarian and ye *learned* of the party was ludicrous. The head of the University approaching at that moment,

<sup>1</sup> The library was burnt by the French in 1812, but has been since replaced from the suppressed convents.

I was introduced to him as a prodigy of human learning. We afterwards dined with the Cte. de St. Hilaire, a French noble, who has been in the service of Spain these fifty years. He was Captain-General at San Roque. He is a cheerful old man, but positively offensive from his gross style of conversation. An *abbé* resides with him, a *Bas-Breton*, who upon the strength of emigration claimed relationship, and was humanely received,—Abbé Bodin.

At the Rotova's ball, I was shown a former favorite of the Q. He was banished by the late K. to Murcia. Upon the journey the Royal family saw him, and the Q. is supposed to have felt a return of her former partiality, and bestowed tokens of goodwill in profusion, decorating him with trinkets and numberless ornaments. As soon as he was introduced to me he began displaying his *honors*, a flat watch set round with large diamonds suspended round his neck by a gold chain, a ring with secret springs and amorous devices, which, I was given to understand, was not to be examined. He is a large, florid complexioned man, reckoned very like the P. of Peace. His name is Ortia. It is said that he was urged to go to Court, but declined the favor unless he might go openly, as he very naturally feared the uncontrolled power of his more fortunate *successor*. The notoriety of the Q.'s *amours* is so great that it is not an unusual topic of conversation with the muleteers. Hitherto all ranks disapprove of the elevation of the P. of Peace, and ascribe his rise to the true reason. The dissolute manners of the women is disgusting; their excesses make them antidotes to the inclination they wish to inspire. Several of the highest rank, possessing youth, beauty, and consequence, have from their libertinage destroyed their health.

On Tuesday, Feb. 22nd, *Mardi gras*, the gaieties of the Carnival closed. I went to the play to see the

comedians pelted with *dragées* ; those who were disliked were annoyed with large stones and bits of wood. The performances were abruptly closed with a notification that several of the performers were wounded and some going to be blooded.

This morning (Feb. 23rd, Ash Wednesday) we went to the Church of St. Nicholas to hear the Spanish style of pulpit declamation. The preacher, who is an old man, made an exordium of about half an hour upon his age and infirmities, presumption in undertaking the task of preaching, gratitude for such an audience, &c. As much as I could comprehend of his discourse, it was rather of a nature to keep one from nodding. The curate saw Voltaire, who, struck with his good figure and beauty, made him a compliment at the expense of the whole nation, by expressing his wonder that Spain could produce so handsome a man.

The Spaniards say of the climate of Madrid, 'No extingue la candela y mata al hombre,'<sup>1</sup> and as this fatal propensity is in full vigour in the early months of spring, we have determined, provided we all keep well, to go round by Granada, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, to Madrid, instead of waiting here for ye fine weather at Madrid. We shall fill up the interval in travelling. The accounts of the roads are so much more favorable than Swinburne and other travellers lead one to imagine, that in point of danger there is little to apprehend, tho' many trifling inconveniences to encounter, such as wretched gipsy *posadas* and robbers in the shape of smugglers, who rob by compelling you to purchase at an exorbitant price their snuff and counterband (*sic*) commodities. Our theatrical representations are no more than rope-dancers and tumblers. Both these talents are possessed by the performers in a tolerable degree of perfection, but

<sup>1</sup> It does not blow out a candle, but kills a man.

these *tours-de-force* always give me much more pain than pleasure. *The Castle Spectre*<sup>1</sup> has been honored with a translation into Castilian, by the title of *El Duque de Viseo*; the monk and the ghost are omitted. Much diversion did an enthusiastic *bel esprit* afford me by exclaiming that the author who composed that soliloquy of the negro must indeed be a sublime genius!

A biographical dictionary of *Los Hijos de Madrid* is no bad specimen of the roundabout way in which Spaniards do things. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, but alas! according to the Xtian names of the worthies; therefore one might look for an hour for the most celebrated hero in Spain, and not find it at last, unless one had an extract from the parish record of all the saints under whose protection the parents chose to place him.

The accounts from Paris and England of the unusual severity of the weather give us much reason to rejoice at our determination of being in a milder climate; especially as, even under the *ciel* of Valencia, a cold *tramontana* (which has hardly happened three times) brings on Charles' coughs, though they have never been accompanied with the slightest fever. He grows robust, and his health is astonishingly mended. From the end of October 1801 to the beginning of March 1802, he seldom passed a week without being attended by Dr. Vaughan, and was frequently in his bed and twice in imminent danger; therefore the ease of mind we now feel compensates for every privation of society. The local weakness in Henry E.'s<sup>2</sup> leg seems to yield to the tonic effects of sea bathing; he is a sprightly, active child,

<sup>1</sup> M. G. Lewis' play, produced in 1797.

<sup>2</sup> The Hon. Henry Edward Fox, afterwards fourth Lord Holland. He was born in 1802, and suffered from leg trouble from the time of his birth.



and would run alone if his knee seconded<sup>v</sup> his wishes. Our occupations afford little matter for notice. Ld. Hd. is employed in writing a Life and Review of the literature of Lope de Vega;<sup>1</sup> I read a little Spanish, but chiefly fill up my time in examining with a melancholy apprehension the progress of the disease in my eyes! Mr. Allen, who is delightful, is devoted to his political economy, and, like the hero of Cervantes, ‘con mucho leer y poco dormir,’<sup>2</sup> he would sally forth and encounter the *merinos*, municipal laws, and all the institutions he looks upon as the political *remoras*<sup>3</sup> to the prosperity of Spain.

I always thought till now that nothing was more pedantic than to say Don Quixote could not be relished out of the original. Nothing is so true, and to the assertion must be added that it cannot be completely so unless the reader knows Spain, its manners, customs, looks of the inhabitants, their tones of voice, dress, gestures, gravity, modes of sitting upon their asses, driving; their *ventas*, *posadas*, utensils, vessels for liquor, skins, etc. In English I thought it a flat, burlesque work; now I think it without exception much the most amusing production of human wit. It is the only book which ever excited my *risible* faculties, as when I read it, I cannot refrain from bursting out into a loud laugh. The blunder about Sancho’s ass is strange; in the same chapter it is lost and recovered and lost again, without its appearance being accounted for.

Frederick<sup>4</sup> writes that the weather is so cold in France that the Rhône froze, and two hardy, foolhardy Englishmen ventured to cross it with their baggage. A celebrated

<sup>1</sup> His work, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope de Vega and Guillen de Castro*, was published in 1817.

<sup>2</sup> With much reading and little sleeping.

<sup>3</sup> Hindrances.

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Ponsonby had left at the end of January in order to join his regiment in England.

and promising young *abogado*<sup>1</sup> has dined here : he is in disgrace, and his exile is to his native kingdom, Valencia. The offence was of a nature to crush all hope of justice being fairly administered, or truth being pleaded. He conducted a suit against a lady on the behalf of her husband ; the lady was mistress to Ricardos,<sup>2</sup> and has some influence over ye Prince of P. Incensed against this young man for venturing to plead against her, she obtained that he should be arrested going out of his house, and seized to serve for eight years as a soldier upon the accusation that he was a vagabond. He, however, had friends who exerted themselves and proved to the P. of P. the falsehood of the pretext, by producing documents to prove that he had studied at the University at Salamanca, and had legally entered the career of jurisprudence. This effort in his favor procured an order for his banishment in lieu of his serving in the ranks. He is the son of an obscure peasant, but merely by his talents has elevated himself into public notice. Such is the disposition of the P. of P. that *auprès de lui les femmes ont toujours raison* ; suffice it that they complain, be it against husband, brother, father, son, they are sure of success. *Ainsi c'est le paradis des femmes*. Till I get to the fountain head, I shall suspend my belief in the various anecdotes about the Court which people credit and retail. The number of persons in disgrace prove that there is much *tracasserie*, fear, and caprice in those at the helm.

Bessboroughs and Morpeths have been at Paris. Smiths<sup>3</sup> are sailed by this time. His place is that of

<sup>1</sup> Advocate. His name was Don Pasqual Rodenas.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio, Conde de Ricardos-Carillo (1727-1794), the Spanish general.

<sup>3</sup> 'Bobus' Smith, Sydney Smith's brother. Robert Percy Smith (1770-1845) married, in 1797, Caroline, daughter of Richard Vernon, Esq., and Evelyn, first Countess of Upper Ossory. He held the post for seven years.



Advocate-General in Bengal; ye salary is £5000 pr. ann., and the gains in legal practice to a man of abilities is full double. And money was, as with him it appears to be, the object: the temptation was irresistible. His success at home did not keep pace with his ambition. He was far from popular with the lawyers; a certain overbearing arrogance of deportment made him offensive in society, and upon the whole for his happiness and reputation he has chosen judiciously.

*March 12th.*—The weather has again become cold; the accounts from England are full of complaints of the extraordinary rigor of the weather.

The Pope's Bull is become public in this country thro' the medium of the French newspapers, and much emotion is thereby excited. It lodges in the P. of P. the power of suppressing what proportion of monastic establishments he judges expedient for the country to have done away.

*19th.*—Walked, as we usually do in the morning, in the gardens of Juliano and Parcente. In the evening not having yet seen the Lent diversions of the Passion, Birth of Christ, Bible histories, &c., we went to a representation of the first. It was well performed by tolerably large sized puppets; the decorations were good and the voices well managed; before the stage cords hung perpendicularly to confound the sight with those by which the puppets were suspended. Several women cried, and demonstrated by sighs and groans how much they were affected by the representation. The whole audience appeared to feel especially for the sorrows of the *Virgen*. The next evening, ye 19th, the Vigil of San Josef (*sic*), the people amused themselves with a singular pastime, curious from the antiquity. Joseph, the patron of carpenters, during the infancy of Christ made toys and playthings to divert him. This circumstance the

carpenters of Valencia perpetuate by making large figures according to their fancy and taste, which are erected in the daytime and set fire to and burnt in the evening. Pagan deities, such as Venus and Bacchus, were condemned to the flames, but whether their being destroyed was from a caprice of the carpenter who selected them, or whether it is a traditionary custom handed down from the early days of Xtianity to mark the pious contempt felt against the mythology of paganism, I could not learn.

Indeed nothing is more difficult in Spain than to obtain an explanation of an old custom. Either the persons one asks are ignorant of it, or instead of answering the question the time is employed in wondering how one can be interested in those sort of things. The plays they urge one to admire, instead of being their own good national productions, are generally indifferent translations or imitations from the German and French theatre. Their national music they lay aside and prefer Italian and German ; even their language, instead of encouraging one to speak it, they try their own bad French by way of an exercise, and, forgetful of the difference of idiom, translate the words as the dictionary would direct, the sense of which is frequently foreign to their meaning.

In the kingdom of Valencia very extensive tracts of ground are enclosed by order of the Marine Tribunal, under pretence of rearing trees for the Royal Navy. These orders are frequently given without previous examination of the ground, or consideration whether it be at all fit for the purpose intended ; so many of these tracts are covered with stunted oaks and pines of no use whatever. Districts so apportioned often defeat the purpose designed. Cale was obliged to plant with acorns at its own expense a large tract for ten years successively, without producing in ye end a single tree fit for the Navy.

The dress of the *labrador*<sup>1</sup> consists in a wide pair of drawers more like a Scotch fillibeg, a shirt and short waistcoat of linen, and a jacket or vest of cloth, mantle of woollen, *alpargates*<sup>2</sup> without stockings, and often stockings without feet, broad-brimmed hat or Catalan caps. On feast days they wear a vest called *capotel* (*sic*), a silk handkerchief round ye neck with a knot before, stockings which do not come up so high as the knee with silk garters, fine *alpargates* or shoes, and a blue *capa*, which they commonly carry gracefully on their shoulders, or rather on one shoulder only, which appears to be extremely difficult, but all Spaniards do it with the greatest facility.

30th.—Just as I was entering the inner door of the church *del Colegio*, a rough ill-tempered priest stopped and turned me back because I had not a thick *mantilla* of cloth wrapped round my body, the usual one worn by the ladies being too alluring for the sanctity of the priests. It is the only church where there is a similar scrutiny. A lady of this town was repulsed last week with rudeness for a similar offence. Not having past the threshold, I know not whether the church is worth seeing or not. Saw a promising painter of the name of Lopez; the King has unfortunately employed him merely to copy pictures some of which are very indifferent.

On Saturday, the 2nd April, we were to have quitted Valencia, but the report of the state of the roads was not favorable, therefore we deferred till Sunday; but unluckily I received such a severe blow on my head in going under a low doorway out of the garden of a Franciscan convent, that I was ill and obliged to lie in bed. However on Monday, at about two o'clock, we bid adieu to the glowing and luxuriant beauties of Valencia. We went round the town to the Puerta San Vincente and then took the high Madrid road. Nothing could

<sup>1</sup> Labourer.

<sup>2</sup> Sandals made of hemp.

exceed the beauty and gaiety of the scene ; the labourers were busily and numerously employed in their fields harrowing, or rather laying the soil flat and even, after ploughing. This they do by means of a broad, flat board, upon which sometimes one man and sometimes two stood and are pulled on by the horse ; whether this mode is better than the large common roller used in France and England, I know not. The peasants in their dress recall the memory of their Moorish ancestors, their garb being so entirely Asiatic ; flowing white dresses, and white handkerchiefs bound round their heads like a sort of turban. The trees were green in the avenue on each side the road.

*Tuesday, April 5th.*—Dined at Venta del Rey, a spacious and princely fabric ; 600 horses, mules, &c., can be accommodated in the stables. The rooms are good, but there, as in all Spanish inns, when asked what they have to eat, the answer is, 'What yourselves have brought.' Passed at the foot of Montesa, destroyed by earthquake in 1748 ; the ruins of castle and convent appear well upon the hill. After repeated and violent rains, the mountain shook ; vibrations in the North and S. direction. After some severe shocks the whole edifice fell and a cloud of dust arose, which announced this calamity to the neighbourhood. The confusion was greater in the church, as mass was celebrating, four priests and seven novices were crushed. Other individuals of the community also perished who were not in the church. Several villages, convents, and hermitages in the adjoining mts. were destroyed. The inhabitants deserted towns and lived in ye open fields, suffering great distress from the heavy rains and want of food. The shocks were renewed, and anxiety lasted for eighteen months. Slight shocks occasionally felt to this day in the neighbouring mts. Slept at Mogente,

a magnificent inn built by the Marqués de la Romana ; immense corridors, terraces, &c., quite superb and excellent as far as depended upon the architect.

*Alicant, Good Friday, April 8th, 1803.*—Received a noble present from Prince Pio, of flowers, strawberries, oranges, old and scarce wine, and an immense parmesan cheese. A present worth altogether, at the least, 30 *louis d'or*. He is father of Benifayo and Valcarcel, and son of a Psse. Pio, herself a mighty Grandee Castel Rodrigo. She fell in love with Valcarcel, a Milanese, and to a degree disgraced herself by marrying him.<sup>1</sup> Met with very great civilities from everybody, Governor, Spanish nobles, and English merchants.

Besides the *mayorazgo*<sup>2</sup> and various other bad institutions, one of the greatest *remoras*<sup>3</sup> against the advancement of Spain is the *mesta*,<sup>4</sup> a code of laws which grant almost unlimited privileges to a company who possess the *merino* flocks. The code is called *zuaderno*. The *mesta* is composed of powerful persons and ecclesiastical bodies. They prevent the purchase of land for tillage ; all lands in tillage without licence since 1590 to be laid into pasture. Their flocks range uncontrolled all over the Kingdom. If what ye French agriculturalists assert should be true, Spain may still keep its excellence in wool, and not destroy and check husbandry. They maintain that the extensive sheep-walks in no way contribute to the fineness of the wool, and that the fleeces of Rambouillet from a Spanish flock

<sup>1</sup> Da. Isabel Maria Pio de Saboya y Moura married Don Antonio Valcarcel Perez Pastor. Their eldest son was Don Antonio Valcarcel Pio de Saboya y Moura, who had two sons.

<sup>2</sup> Entail.

<sup>3</sup> Hindrance.

<sup>4</sup> The *mesta* was abolished in 1836, as prejudicial to cultivation, and the travelling flocks which before had been allowed to be pastured on land bordering the routes by which they travelled, are now obliged to keep to the roads.



vie with those of Segovia, and those sheep never travel.

*Tuesday, April 12th.*—Left Alicant for Murcia, and slept at Elche, distant five leagues. The Lord paramount is the Count of Altimira, about whom there is a current anecdote. He is remarkable for the lowness of his stature, and the greatness of his family. He unites seven *sombreros*,<sup>1</sup> seven *grandesses*, &c. The King rallied him for being 'muy pequeño,'<sup>2</sup> upon which he replied that at Court he was so, but in his states he was 'muy grande.' The palace is situated upon the banks of a deep torrent, and denotes its great antiquity by its gloomy, massy style. It now serves as a prison. People seemed obliging; upon perceiving we were strangers, they readily offered to show us the way through the street, even the women (who are the most troublesome to foreigners) were civil. *Posada* spacious. Sent for musicians who played *boleros*, *seguidillas*, and *ye fandango*, which some of the townspeople came and danced. They did not do it with their usual spirit, as the women were offended at the want of *arreglamiento*,<sup>3</sup> that is there was no master of the ceremonies and the men (our servants, &c.) went to the side of the room which Spanish etiquette devotes solely to their use and they were requested to dance, whereas *they* select their partners,—a remnant of the acknowledged sovereignty of the sex.

About 10 set off to Orihuela. Convents prettily, judiciously, and profitably placed. Women remarkably pretty, men healthy and robust; numbers either blind or almost so from violent inflammation on the eyelids, a disease very common throughout Spain and ascribed to the small-pox. Indeed out of a hundred, one may almost assert that 10 are either totally blind,

<sup>1</sup> Those privileged to remain covered in the King's presence.

<sup>2</sup> Very small.

<sup>3</sup> Arrangement.



or blinded of one eye, owing to the ravages of that baneful distemper. I am very much pleased at finding that the vaccine has gained, even in the country; the priests rather advise it in preference to incurring the risk of the other contagion. At Callosa symptoms of super-abundant loyalty, as at the two ends are columns with busts and medallions *de los Reyes*, that is of the King and Queen. In the evening conversed much with an Alicant gentleman, who, like the rest of the Spaniards who are at all enlightened, was full of complaint against the Govert. and the disgraceful situation of his country.

*Thursday, April 14th, Orihuela.*—The Governor, Don Juan Cartas, called to offer his services. Man of gentlemanlike appearance and manners, formerly a *garde du corps*. Seemed vain of his governt. and of the improvements he had made in it.

Reached Murcia about four. Up the river is a sort of *levée* to prevent inundations; it is laid out like a garden and makes a very beautiful public walk of considerable length. The convent into which Count Florida Blanca<sup>1</sup>) has retired looks upon this walk. On opposite side of the town there is also another walk or *alameda*. In the evening the Messrs. Valence, merchants, came and offered their services; very civil. The Inquisition at Murcia is the most vigilant and severe. The gloomy walls had been gaily trimmed out for the King's journey. I had great hopes of seeing the prisons and the *salle* in which the torture is inflicted.

*Friday, April 15th. Murcia.*—Don Josef Usero, Baron

<sup>1</sup> Don José Moniño, Conde de Florida-Blanca (1728–1808), the celebrated Spanish statesman. He was for many years chief minister under Charles III, and for three years under his successor, Charles IV. He was closely connected with those numerous reforms which made the former reign of such importance in the history of the country. When dismissed he was imprisoned at Pampeluna, but was liberated and allowed to retire to his estates.

d'Albat's<sup>1</sup> agent, who had received orders to prepare a house for our reception [and was] not aware of our arrival till he met M. Valence who drew him forth to pay his respects to us, amused me much by the real *agony* he suffered at appearing before me in his common garb ; we could extract nothing from him but his lamentations at such a misfortune. He said it would cost him *two bleedings*. We all went to the Cathedral, a large pile of Gothic building. The high altar, though overloaded with ornaments and those not in the purest taste, is altogether striking.

*Saturday, April 16th, Murcia.*—Our friend Don Josef had acceded to my petition to see the cells and chamber of torture, &c., in the Inquisition, and accordingly we set out, he having previously objected to any person accompanying us, but I contrived to engage him to allow Mr. Allen. We sat some time in an office where clerks were busily employed ; the room was lined with presses on which were written *Secuestracion*. The *señors* of the holy office were sitting, and till they broke up we could not go. When I saw so many persons stirring, passing through and fro, I augured ill of our mysterious expedition, and true enough we saw nothing, for when the council broke up, we were ushered into the Hall or Tribunal which was fitted up exactly like the one at Barcelona, hung with crimson velvet, crucifix, &c. In the Sacristy they showed us a *San Benito*, the yellow and scarlet dress thrown over the accused person ; also a pasteboard cap with paintings of serpents, scorpions, devils vomiting out flames, &c. Also an iron instrument like a visor which is put upon the face and thrusts into the mouth an iron which pinches the tongue, that is the mild punishment for blasphemy. The rest, or rather the whole of the interior, we did not see, but

<sup>1</sup> Saavedra.

Don Josef promised to exert himself for a midnight expedition.

Great civilities from P. Monteforte, who lent us his carriage and offered his services, and regretted that being *en retraite* prevented his showing us the distinction he was disposed to do. He is an Italian, a Grandee of Spain, formerly Captain-General of Valencia, now not in favor at Court. Walked upon the dyke, close to which is the convent chosen by F. Blanca for his retreat ; whether from devotion or hypocrisy one does not feel an increased admiration for him from his choice. We had a letter to see him, but he was in the country at his villa some leagues off ; there was a rumour of his going to Etruria to assist the King in a task he is so unfit for from his health, that of governing the once happy Tuscans. We heard no more of Don Josef or the Inquisition ; went early to bed in order to be off betimes, but some very pretty music made by clarinets and guitars, and singing and *seguidillas* under my window at two o'clock, made us conclude that Don Josef, to compensate for the Inquisition, had favored me with a serenade.

*Carthagená, Monday, 18th.*—Temperature of atmosphere very variable ; hot, windy, damp, cold, frequently in the course of the same day. To the East a large salt marsh which has lately been drained, but not sufficiently to prevent epidemical fevers in summer and autumn ; the place appears pestilential, and will excite no regret when the moment of departure shall arrive.

*Tuesday.*—Several visits. One from Mde. Cabarrus's sister, a noisy vulgar little woman, very unlike her sister : and Don Juan Kindelan<sup>1</sup> (a person whose name we mistook for Caumartin ; he dined with us at Sarria).

<sup>1</sup> An Irishman, who was appointed by the Spanish Government in 1807 Inspector-General of foreign troops.

He is very gentlemanlike and pleasing in his manner, full of information, and if the Spanish Govern't. know their own interests he will be employed in some high situation, as he will acquit himself in a distinguished manner, I doubt not, in any employment he may undertake. Governor offered his box, and apprised us there was one always at our service at theatre. Went. The subject of piece was an English story; the chief character was Lord *Roast-beef*. His part was pathetic, and his mistress makes tender appeals to his fine feelings, 'Oh Rossbif'!! The *bolero* was delightfully danced. This is the country where it is executed in perfection; it was invented about 30 years ago by a Murcian of the name of Bolero, whose fame is thus celebrated by giving his name to the most popular dance in the kingdom, one which has destroyed the *fandango*.

*Carthagena, Wednesday, 20th.*—Not well, which made me stay at home. D. Juan Kindelan dined with us. Confirmed in our liking to him. We got the *bolero* danced at the theatre for us; it is only done 3 times a week, unless ordered by Governor. The play was the *Dama Duende*, of Calderon, a piece full of intrigue and one of his best.

*Lorca, Friday, 22nd.*—The ravages done by the bursting of the *phantano*<sup>1</sup> are very great; the number computed to have perished was between 9 and 10,000 souls. The whole of the *faubourg* in which our inn stood was swept away; reparations were going on in the house in consequence of the destruction. The *phantano* was considerably larger than the one at Alicant; it was constructed about 6 years ago by order of the Court. The king advanced 12 millions of *réaux* towards the

<sup>1</sup> The *phantano*, or reservoir, of Lorca was commenced by a private company in 1755, but was only filled for the first time in February 1802, and gave way 2 months later. Lorca again suffered severely from inundations in 1879.

enterprize ; the scheme was good, as it was to supply the *secano*<sup>1</sup> of many thousand acres with the means of becoming fertile, but the persons, for whose benefit it was proposed, objected, from an apprehension of the very disaster that occurred. Many remonstrated and in petitioning gave their reasons, all founded upon the nature of the soil and local objections. Several of the persons who objected were punished by imprisonment. Roblas, the engineer, had powerful friends, Ministers were misled, and the project adopted. The consequences were unfortunately such as were expected. The wall which supported the body of water yielded, and a mass that required a basin two leagues deep in length and 1 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  wide rushed down upon the country, sweeping everything before it—900 houses in the suburb of Lorca. The height of current about 40 feet ; width depended upon channel. The whole country was strewed with dead bodies, planks, tables, chairs, &c., &c. The labourers were chiefly out employed in the fields ; the women and children were the greatest sufferers in the town. 900 were buried in the ruins. One large house built upon the edge of the torrent, was constructed with such solidity with *ierre de taille* that the people fled to it as to a sure refuge ; it is reported that it was carried above five hundred yards *entire*, and then cracked, yielding up its contents to the number of 160 persons. We were told at Murcia that the effect was so violent that the church bells were rung, and every token of great alarm demonstrated ; the waters of Segura rose *above* the bridge and the Alameda was inundated to the height of 16 feet. This calamity happened just a year ago, on the 30th April, 1802. Besides this loss in the town of Lorca, the inhabitants of the country of course suffered,

<sup>1</sup> Arable land.



as the impetuosity of the waters drove everything before them for many leagues.

In imitation of our subscriptions in England for the relief of individuals distressed by any great calamity, one was set on foot for the sufferers at Lorca; large sums were subscribed, but the money remains at Madrid and has not yet been distributed among those who stand much in need of such assistance. Indemnifications have been granted to many proprietors; at least, I know Baron d'Albalat, who had a property between Lorca and Murcia, was amply indemnified, altho' he did not lose a crown by the *pantano*. Yet he accepted it with a clear conscience, as he had been long ago applying for an indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the revolt in Valencia, and had not the most remote chance of obtaining anything. Therefore he availed himself of this compensation, altho' the distributive justice of the Govern't. was not to be admired in the proceeding.

↳ *Lorca, April 23rd.*—In consequence of the sale of church lands the number of priests have visibly diminished, for during the war the King ordered the sale of ecclesiastical property, whether parish church possessions or convent lands. By this law much property has been alienated and the incumbents rely for payment upon the good faith of the Govern't., as they are upon a footing with our stock holders, receiving the *vales*<sup>1</sup> at about the rate of five pr. cent. on the purchase money. These lands, as far as we could learn at Valencia and elsewhere, were private endowments to churches and ecclesiastical communities not composed of friars. Don Josef Usero, of Murcia, had purchased several lots of these lands. The King, they say, makes the Revolution in Spain, the people in France. If this saying is just, it is paying

<sup>1</sup> Bonds.



a high compliment to the Govern't., because if it is disposed to correct abuses and ameliorate the laws, &c., the people will not feel disposed to mend themselves *à la française*. The crying evil is the immense number of priests, friars, &c. ; if the Papal Bull is made use of with discretion, great benefit will accrue from it.

The day's journey on April 24 took them as far as Velez el Rubio. Crossing the high ground which they had to pass the atmospheric conditions were very different from what they had been accustomed. ' Having felt so hot the preceding day, I improvidently diminished my quantity of clothing, but the keen air down the *barrancas*<sup>1</sup> from the high snow mountains made me repent sorely my *légèreté*.'

The *posada* at Velez el Rubio is externally very magnificent, the inside without any recommendation or comfort but *space*; the *furniture* did not diminish that. The Duquesa of Alba built it, the estate being hers. She was the representative of the great family of Los Velez and was married, at a very early age, to her relation the D. of Alba.<sup>2</sup> The estates thus reunited were again divided from her failure of issue. She died last summer, supposed to have been poisoned; her physician and some confidential attendants are imprisoned, and her estates sequestered during their trial, but by whom and for what reason the dose was administered, remains as yet unknown. She was very beautiful, popular, and by attracting the best society was an object of jealousy to one who is all-powerful. But of this story heard imperfectly from Psse. Sta. Croce and Mr. Merry<sup>3</sup> whilst

<sup>1</sup> Ravines.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Holland's account of the Duquesa's parentage is incorrect. Da. María del Pilar Teresa Cayetana de Silva Alvarez de Toledo was XIII Duquesa de Alba de Tormes in her own right, being daughter of D. Francisco de Paula, who predeceased his father, XII Duque de Alba. She married, in 1773, D. José Alvarez de Toledo, XI Marqués de Villafranca, the representative of the Los Velez family; and died in 1802.

<sup>3</sup> The British Ambassador in Paris.

I was at Paris, I shall say no more for the present till I hear more certain particulars at Madrid.

*Monday, 25th. Velez el Rubio.*—As we approached Andalusia, we observe asses and horses chiefly used for draught and burden. They plough with the former, tho' in the *huerta* of Velez oxen were used; through the *huerta* the country is cheerful and well cultivated, the road excellent, broad, and well made. About a league before Chirivel we got into a *barranca* or ravine, barren except in spots. The *posada* which we had been told was execrable, we found very decent; indeed, hitherto the difficulties have been exaggerated beyond all belief, both as to the state of roads and accommodations. The inns are chiefly kept by Frenchmen or gipsies; people of the country (especially as we approach Andalusia) look upon innkeeping as a degrading occupation. The Frenchmen are generally Savoyards, vagrant tinkers, for all the tinkering work is done by those itinerant *chaudronniers*; many have forgotten the little bad French they once knew, and have not acquired good Spanish in exchange. Since we have quitted Valencia we have met above fifty of that trade laden with pots, pans, and tinkering implements—all French. Strange life!

*Thursday, 28th.*—When we got near Iznalloz, met by a messenger dispatched from our banker, Dandeya, apprising us that in consequence of introductions from the D. de la Vauguyon, who had ordered his house to be prepared for us, he had arranged that we should go thither in preference to the inn as we had ordered. Much delighted at this intelligence, and pleased by the extreme civility and consideration of the Vauguyons. Iznalloz is a wretched place.

*Friday, 29th. Granada.*—Every hour that delayed reaching this far famed city seemed double, and as upon

these occasions one always meets with some untoward accident to retard one, so did we on this, for in the midst of a deep slough the coach broke in several parts; the whole road most abominably rugged. Met in the *vega*<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Dandeya *et fils* who came out to meet us. First view of town pretty and romantic. I can say nothing yet, the whole being a confused mass in my mind of singular, irregular beauties. Our house is delightful; a double court, in each of which we have fountains which play constantly; apartments excellent. As soon as I had dined I wished to see the Alhambra, but that was impossible, not having the permission and owing to the lateness of the hour.

Our house is situated at the extremity of the town on the banks of ye Darro. Opposite to my window I see the fortress and palace of the Alhambra, which is placed upon a steep hill the sides of which are covered with delightful trees now putting forth their luxuriant foliage. The moon shone very bright, and just after the *Angelus*, being near the Cathedral, I could not resist going into it. The feeble rays from the lamps burning before the altars, made the building appear magnificent. Got the portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella well cleared of the cobwebs that I might distinguish their features.

*Sunday, 1st May.*—From the Plaza Nueva, where there is a magnificent palace for the Captain-General, one ascends the Calle de los Gomerez, a quarter belonging to a great Moorish family of that name, at the extremity of which there is a large gateway, under which one passes to get into the precincts of the Alhambra. . . . .

*Hieronymites.*<sup>2</sup>—A convent and college founded by

<sup>1</sup> Plain.

<sup>2</sup> The Convent of San Geronimo is now used as a cavalry barracks. Gonzalo's sword was carried off by Sebastiani's soldiers, who desecrated the church and stripped it of much of the woodwork.

Gonzalo de Cordova, 'El Gran Capitan' y Duque de Sessa. The church is crowded with tawdry decorations, walls well painted in fresco by Palmerino,<sup>1</sup> a pupil of Luca Giordano's. In a small chapel there is a carving in wood remarkably good; it is also estimable for having belonged to the private oratory of Gonzalo. On each side of the high altar are kneeling figures of Gonzalo and his wife; his real sword is placed in a picture representing the Pope giving it to him. The high altar is loaded with well carved and well painted images, one by a disciple of Verruguete. One cannot but regret that so much time and talent should have been thrown away upon such trivial and paltry subjects. Most conventual churches in Spain are disfigured by the manner in which the choir is placed for the monks, instead of being in the centre, which is also ugly but does not destroy the *vaisseau* of the church so much. A third of the space is taken off at about 20 feet from the pavement, so one enters under a heavy low ceiling, which adds to the darkness of the church.

Went to Sitio de Roma, a Royal *sitio* distant about 2 leagues. It was originally a hunting seat of Charles V, who stocked it with pheasants, then and now a rarity in Spain; General Wall pulled down the palace and built the present small but commodious house. It is now a possession of the Prince of Peace, who is accused of neglecting it most sadly. The chief and sole beauty consists in the fine woods and springs, the drives through which are delicious; the birds sing with unusual melody. The Xenil and other streams run through it. We dined there, and returned rather late to Granada. Mde. Bendicho gave me a ball that I might see the *tana* and *guaracha* danced in perfection. Mlle. Ortiz did honor to

<sup>1</sup> Palomino de Castro y Velasco (1653-1726), the friend and rival of Luca Giordano, not his pupil.

the compositions, I never saw a more bewitching compound of grace, beauty, and modesty. M. (*sic*) Azanza,<sup>1</sup> Vice-roy of Mexico, very civil, in exile: Valdes, locumtenens for Captain-General, the *Intendente* and his wife, besides others whose names I have forgotten.

On the 9th of May we left Granada.

12th May, 1803.—Met just before Osuna a thoroughly Spanish equipage, four fine mules carrying a fat lady and attendants out to *tomar el sol*.<sup>2</sup> Osuna is a large, well-built, clean, and cheerful town; houses seemed comfortable, small *antesalas* well lighted before the inner door. The *Señor*, or Lord, is the Duke of Osuna. Giron, Conde Ureña, the unfortunate Viceroy of Naples involved in the disgrace of the Duque de Uceda, after languishing in a prison for years, died before he could even obtain a hearing in 1624. He is immortalized by Quevedo in a sonnet written upon his death. The present Duchess of Osuna is a person of greater importance than the Duque; she is Dss. of Gandia, Countess of Benavente, and now has inherited great part of the Alba property.<sup>3</sup>

13th May.—Dined at Puebla de Osuna, clean *posada*; in courtyard heaps of roots of *palmito* for burning. We there saw a man who had been robbed by 4 men on horseback in the forest through which we were to pass to Arahall. After being on the alert for about a league,

<sup>1</sup> Don Miguel José Azanza (1746–1826). He was appointed War Minister in 1793, but was sent to Mexico as Viceroy three years later. He returned in 1799, and lived in retirement until 1808. He accepted high office under Joseph Bonaparte, and spent the rest of his life in France.

<sup>2</sup> To take the sun.

<sup>3</sup> D. Pedro Tellez Giron, IX Duque de Osuna (1755–1807) married, in 1771, Da. Maria Josefa Pimentel, XII Duquesa de Benavente. She has been described as the greatest Spanish lady of her time. She was only daughter of D. Francisco de Borja Pimentel, Conde y Duque de Benavente y Duque de Gandia, and died in 1834 at the age of 82.

Osuna, the Viceroy of Naples, was imprisoned with Uceda, son of the Duque de Lerma, at Philip III's death in 1621, by the Conde Duque de Olivares, who had obtained the ascendancy.



we perceived, under the shade of a large tree, a man well mounted and well armed, sitting on his horse as if he were watching for prey on the road to give notice to the remainder of his troop. I confess I was for about ten minutes most seriously terrified, even Ld. Hd. thought his appearance whimsical; however we passed unmolested, tho' not unnoticed. Saw many storks and other large birds, bustards, kites, &c. Drove of fine horses, and herds of bulls and cows as wild as the winds. The method of driving the bull is singular and dexterous. A man, well mounted, holds a long pole 20 feet at least in length, which he places horizontally across himself, balancing the weight by one hand, whilst with the other he guides his horse which goes at full speed; the bulls fly at his approach, and, what appears strange, he has the faculty of impelling them whither he pleases. I was gratified at seeing what I had heard described, at least I conclude the method is the same as that used at Buenos Ayres. Indeed as the Spaniards are the hunters, and those Spaniards probably from the province of Andalusia, it is not an unfair supposition, for till the trade was made free to America, Cadiz and St. Lucar were the only ports which could trade to America, and most probably the adventurers were of this province. The *picadores* in the bull feasts are merely the huntsmen of the wild herds in the woods.

15th May.—Heavy clouds, weather threatened a change. Approach to Xerez very cheerful; gardens well cropped and trimly kept. Met 126 asses laden with hard dollars going to the Royal Treasury at Madrid; the first ass carried a flag upon his head with the arms of the Crown. They were escorted by a small body of soldiers. Heavy rain at Xerez. Mr. Gordon<sup>1</sup> came

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same Mr. Gordon, 'an English wine merchant,' mentioned in *Lord Broughton's Recollections* (vol. ii. 11).



out to meet us on the road, extremely civil. Went to play, where the *bolero* was well danced. He is a cousin of poor Don Roberto Gordon, who died here about two years ago; his wife is a very pleasing woman, a Spaniard. His daughter is just returned from England; she was educated in a Catholic convent at York.

16th May, Xerez.—Heard from Don Jacobo Gordon, that news by express had reached Cadiz, announcing that war was declared between England and France. One of the messengers was a French *courier du Cabinet*, the other a Spanish one sent from the commercial agent at Madrid to the *Consulado* at Cadiz.<sup>1</sup> Most unfortunate news for England.

17th May, Cadiz.—The stir and animation of Cadiz is very cheerful; it is the best paved, lighted, built, and cleanest town that can be seen. The *posada* very good. On our arrival, Mr. Duff, the English Consul, sent his partner Mr. Archdeacon, with all civilities; he himself indisposed in consequence of news which however is not *yet* decisive, the alarm being greater than the facts warrant. Mr. Gordon of Xerez came to meet us during our stay. Visits from Messrs. Murphy and Marqués of Villa Vicencio<sup>2</sup> (son of Duque de San Lorenzo, hereditary *Alcalde* of Alcazar at Xerez). Mr. Duff procured us a carriage, always a difficult thing in Spain where none can be hired, and we went to the play. Theatre very good, performance and *troupe* inferior to Xerez; all the ladies in the *mantilla* and *saya*<sup>3</sup> (the Andalusian word

<sup>1</sup> Lord Whitworth, the British Ambassador in Paris, received his passports on May 12. The declaration of war was followed, in accordance with the First Consul's orders, by the arrest of all the English then travelling or residing in France.

<sup>2</sup> D. Lorenzo Justino Fernandez de Villavicencio, son of D. Lorenzo Tadeo Fernandez de Villavicencio, fourth Marqués de Valhermoso de Pozuela (created Duque de San Lorenzo in 1795).

<sup>3</sup> Petticoat.

for *basquiña*). They are graceful and lively, very small, even less than French women.

18th May, Cadiz.—Went to the *Hospicio*, an establishment of O'Reilly's.<sup>1</sup> The object is to prevent begging in the streets, feed and educate orphans, and maintain the decrepit and superannuated. An admirable institution, (see account in Townsend) but unfortunately it is on the decline, the funds being too small for the expenditure. Drove about the ramparts, and saw with regret the decay of the magnificent rampart [?] made by O'Reilly against the encroachment of the sea. The Calle Ancha and the Plaza are very clean, and cheerful from the number of well-dressed people about. Mr. Duff, an excellent old man, as civil and attentive as possible. The alarm of an epidemical disease arose from five successive deaths in one house; the Governor, who has been very strict since the plague, ordered a guard to be placed at the door to prevent all egress and ingress into the house. The disorder was such as is common in all large towns; a tent full of military however occupy the part of street by his house. Mr. Gordon dined with us. Drove to the Alameda, which is full of all the beauty and grace of Cadiz. All in *mantillas*; pretty as the women are, much of their beauty is owing to art, at least as far as complexion. Went to the play. *Many* expresses arrived to diff't. merchants there; mercantile speculations upon the purchase of the *vales*, &c. Post brought nothing decisive upon the great question.

19th, Thursday, Cadiz.—Not being well, stayed at home not to disappoint the good Mr. Duff, with whom I had promised to dine, and who had accordingly arranged a party. His house is charming; he commands a view

<sup>1</sup> Count Alexander O'Reilly (1725-1794), an Irishman, who rose to the rank of general in the Spanish Army.

This building is now called the Casa de Misericordia. It still carries on the good work for which it was founded.

of the bay, *el puerto*, and under his window, the ramparts. The party consisted of himself, ourselves, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. Richards, Mr. Malcolm, Mr. White, and several others, all clerks or partners. Out of compliment to Ld. H. he drank Ld. Lansdown's health; I begged to add Ld. Henry Petty's name. He keeps up the old, exploded English custom of toasts. His deportment and character reminds me of the British merchant of a century back, Mr. Andrew Freeport,<sup>1</sup> etc. Went to the play.

The party returned to Xeres on the 21st.

22nd, Sunday.—Drove to Mr. Gordon's stables, who has a fine breed of the handsome horses of this country; he is a considerable farmer, which enables him to keep many and find employment for them. Dined at his house, a handsome establishment; his cellars are much larger than the public one at Hamburg. They are built in circles, like a church. The center is lofty, full fifty feet. We went to see a large still-work for brandies; they only employ the wine of an inferior quality, or those of a bad vintage, for raising into spirit. The dinner party consisted of the once celebrated beauty, Marquesa de Campo Real. She appears clever and entertaining, and for a Spanish woman well-informed; she has no traces of her former beauty. Love for her detained the late Ld. Mountstuart<sup>2</sup> two years in Xerez, and but for the interference of her husband and his father, he would have remained longer. An Abbé Gil<sup>3</sup> much praised for his

<sup>1</sup> Sir Andrew Freeport, a British merchant, one of the imaginary characters of the club by which the *Spectator* was published.

<sup>2</sup> John, Lord Mount Stuart (1767-1794), eldest son of John, fourth Earl and first Marquess of Bute.

<sup>3</sup> A Franciscan monk, native of Andalusia, born in 1747. He seems to have been a man of violent temper, which led him into extremes. He was thrown into prison on account of the pamphlet here mentioned. He took a leading part in the early stages of the Peninsular War.

erudition and wit; at present in disgrace at Court, having been a friend of Malaspina, and being suspected of handing about a libellous work called the *Private Life of Maria Luisa*, the Queen. Mr. Roberts, a Cadiz merchant, and several others whose names I do not recollect, Messrs. Mitchell, Turnbull, &c., clerks and partners. After dinner went to the Alameda. Women very pretty; more men in *capas*<sup>1</sup> and *monteras*<sup>2</sup> than at Cadiz. The promenade always ends at the *Angelus*, which is sung at sunset; it always produces a pretty effect in a full walk, the sudden pause and momentary devotion. Time is given to say an *Ave* and a *Pater*. I like this general humiliation; at that precise moment every town in Spain is employed in paying this homage to a person they revere. The benediction at Rome, once announced to the whole Christian world at the same moment, was a grand idea and filled the mind with something supreme and awful. Soon after, went to the theatre, where a play was given at my request, *Don Sancho Ortiz de Roelas*.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkably interesting, and, as I have described elsewhere, is full of excellent verses and fine sentiments. *Estrella* was well performed, well *looked*, and dressed. At no theatre have I yet seen the dresses handsomer; the old Spanish costume is well preserved. The usual manner of approaching the King formerly (and even now on occasions of great ceremony), instead of bowing, is by making a courtesy, and the King sits to receive all petitions. The women's dresses are hats with feathers, petticoats with very short train, and gowns tucked up behind to make full puffs; sleeves long. The men's, as we see in pictures and on our own stage; all persons

<sup>1</sup> Cloaks.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of cap made of cloth.

<sup>3</sup> A drama, written by Lope de Vega, under the name of *La Estrella de Sevilla*, but altered and adapted for theatrical representation by Trigueros.

of high consequence have a cane with gold head, hat with feathers. Pretty *bolero*, good *tonadilla*, and *sainete* very amusing. Took leave of the Gordons, and thanked them sincerely for their cordial civilities.

24th May, Xerez.—Called at half past two, that we might go off early and reach Seville. Set off 10 minutes before five. Can remain with tolerable pleasure till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 in the open carriage; however hitherto the weather has not been as hot as I expected. Indeed both at Cadiz and Xerez the winds were keen, and Charles caught cold. Met many *Montañeses*<sup>1</sup> well mounted and equipped; they come from the Asturias, where they leave their families, and settle for a year or two. They bring merchandise, which they sell, and keep shops—labour the Andalusians are not inclined to profit by. Fields of wheat yellow and ready for the sickle, begun near Cadiz already; the agriculture of the country is shamefully neglected. One reason, besides the one usually assigned that of great indolence, may also have its effect, that of the labourers inhabiting the great towns and there being *no* villages. The field labour is done by the men who go out for three months in large parties with *droves* of cattle; they reside either in wretched temporary hovels, called *cortijos*, or are lodged by the *Administrador* in the immense mansion called *La Hacienda* of the proprietor. In one field only, ploughing all in a row, we counted 29 *pair* of oxen. Thus a ploughing match is quite an agricultural campaign, from the squadron employed against mother earth.

We dined at Utrera, famed for the excellence of its bulls and skill of its *picadores*. The finest feat given when the Court came was at Utrera; their best *picador* was killed in the affray. The taste for this national

<sup>1</sup> Inhabitants of the hills near Santander.



amusement had declined a few years back, but is now resumed with spirit. The fighters are less skilful than formerly, in consequence of a prohibition within these 20 years to prevent the townspeople skirmishing with the bulls brought either for slaughter, &c., into the town. By so doing the men had opportunities of trying their own dexterity, and acquiring a knowledge of the character of diff. bulls. Now the *champ de bataille* is rehearsal and exhibition. I have heard that in this province many of the nobles go to obscure fights and try their abilities in the combat. Men and women have resumed the fashion of wearing the *toro dresses, trajes, majas, and majos*.

25th.—We entered Seville by the Puerta de Xerez. The streets are extremely narrow, in many places our carriages could scarcely pass—a remnant of the customs of the Moors, whose towns are all built in that manner on acct. of heat which is more effectually excluded. The Posada del Sol, a very moderate one; we were given a *terrena* apartment. Mr. Wiseman gave us the bad news of Ld. W. having left Paris on ye 13th.

Our English letters, only come to the 6th, brought acct. of poor Conolly's death,<sup>1</sup> and also of Lady Harriet Hamilton, the beautiful and much-liked daughter of Ld. Abercorn; she died of the complaint to which Charles is so frequently disposed, an inflammation of the membrane of the windpipe, a species of croup. In the evening we drove to the Cathedral, a magnificent building, and to the Alameda, banks of Guadalquiver, &c. The quay no longer exhibits the busy crowds which thronged upon it when all the wealth

<sup>1</sup> The Right Hon. Thomas Conolly (1738–1803), for many years a member of both the English and Irish Houses of Commons. He married, in 1758, Lady Louisa Lennox, daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond, Lord Holland's great-aunt.



of America poured in, and Seville was the best mart in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

26th, *Seville, Thursday*.—Don Francisco Bruna<sup>2</sup> to whom we had a letter from General Valdes, called and offered every civility. He is an old man near 90, but in possession of his spirit and faculties. We went to see the Alcazar, the old palace of the Moors, of which our friend Don Francisco is the *Alcalde*. . . . As Don Francisco, who has a taste for the arts, has established an Academy of which he is the President, he did *faire grâce* of the most insignificant object, and the illegible inscriptions were the attractions of his fondest notice. Two fine pictures by *Murillo* were copying, that the originals might be removed to Madrid;<sup>3</sup> the Court have everywhere stripped the provincial cities of their capital pictures. The subject of one was, 'The Return of the Prodigal Son'; the other, 'The Visit of the 3 angels to Abraham.' The first is the best composition.

The Prince of Peace has made his brother-in-law, Marqués of Fuente Blanca, *Asistente de Sevilla*,<sup>4</sup> the same post as Olavide<sup>5</sup> had during his favor; he is rapacious, and she is generally disliked. As they were absent, we saw their apartments, which are very pleasant; they look over the gardens, and command a view over buildings

<sup>1</sup> It is of interest to note that owing to dredging operations, which have made it possible for fairly large vessels to come up the river, Seville has now again taken its place as a commercial port, to the detriment of the interests of Cadiz.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Townsend in his *Journey through Spain* mentions Don Francisco de Bruna as having a thorough knowledge of the pictures in Seville, and as possessing himself an interesting collection.

<sup>3</sup> Both these pictures are now at Stafford House. See p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Da. Ramona Godoy, the youngest sister of the Prince of the Peace, married D. Manuel Moreno, Conde de Fuente Blanca.

The post mentioned was that of chief officer of Justice in Seville.

<sup>5</sup> Pablo Antonio Olavide, Conde de Pilos (1725-1803), one of Charles III's ministers, and a leading participator in his schemes of reform until disgraced in 1776.

to the plain. Philip V resided in these apartments at the time he hesitated whether he should make it his capital, and desert Madrid. His chief amusement was to angle by torchlight in the reservoir for tench; previous to beginning this sport he asked one of his attendants whether he thought they should catch anything that night, who replied that he was persuaded they were sure of *catching* a pain in their side.

Don Francisco conducted us to the gardens of the Alcazar, where he had previously given orders that the waterworks should be played. The gardens are preserved in the Moorish style; one part is precisely as at the Conquest, clipped hedges of myrtle and devices cut upon them. Another part was laid out by Don Pedro; rows of myrtle warriors, giants, and ladies with wooden heads and arms, carrying in their hands swords, clubs, musical instruments, &c. Farther on is the garden of Charles V, with a pavilion for refreshments, a delicious spot. The whole garden is full of *jets d'eau*, cascades, fountains, and water tricks and devices. I was to the full as much pleased with these hanging gardens as Charles or any child could be. The English taste for simplicity and nature, which places a house in the midst of a grazing field where the sheep din *ba ba* all day long, has, by offending me so much, perhaps driven me into the opposite extreme, and made me prefer to the *nature* of a grass field and round clump the *built* gardens of two centuries back.

*Friday, 27th May, Seville.*—Mr. Wiseman,<sup>1</sup> our banker, announced that a courier had come from Madrid to

<sup>1</sup> James Wiseman, father of Cardinal Wiseman (1802–1865), by his second wife Xaviera, daughter of Peter Strange, of Alwardston Castle, co. Kilkenny, whom he married in London in 1800. Mr. Wiseman was an Irish Catholic, who settled in Spain as a merchant, and died suddenly of apoplexy in 1804. His brother Patrick was also a partner in the business.

Cadiz in 49 hours, and that war had been declared at Paris on the 15th. Met Don Francisco at the Cathedral, where we again admired the pictures, and went, accompanied by him, to the *Lonja*, or *Casa de Mercaderes*,<sup>1</sup> an insulated square building with equal facades of 200 feet in length each. From motives of *piety* it is not used by the merchants, it being deemed indecent to attend to mercantile concerns so near the high altar, it being close to the Cathedral. The staircase is very grand, wide, and of diff. colored polished marbles. The American archives, or as they are called *de las Indias*, are preserved in the neatest and most methodical manner; three sides of the building are devoted to this deposit. These archives contain everything that concerns America from its conquest to the dispatches of this very year. Muñoz<sup>2</sup> had free access to them, and, but for his untimely death, much curious matter would have been made public. It is a sad record of injustice and cruelty! We could not see the original letter of Cortez, the person being absent who has the keys.

The next sight we saw was the church of La Caridad, which contains several of the first pictures of Murillo. One pleased me extremely, 'Isabella washing the sores of the sick and poor';<sup>3</sup> the meekness and benevolence of her countenance is well contrasted with the coarse complainings of the sufferers writhing from the anguish of their disease. The other pictures are, 'Moses striking the rock,' the 'Miracle of loaves and fishes.' The two

<sup>1</sup> The Exchange.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish historian, who died in 1799, before he was able to finish his great work, a history of the New World.

<sup>3</sup> This picture is now in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. It represents St. Elizabeth of Hungary washing the beggars and sick people. Cean Bermudez in the *Diccionario* calls her St. Isabel of Portugal, but corrects it in his *Carta*. The picture was taken to France by Soult, but it was restored to Spain in 1815, and placed in the Academia de San Fernando at Madrid.

I saw in the Alcazar were taken from here ; tolerable copies are substituted for them. Under the High Altar is a curious epitaph. It says that, '*Aqui yace* the bones and ashes of the *worst* man in all the world.' This humility proceeded either from an excess of vanity, madness, or morbid fear of the devil, as the person was the founder, always an ostentatious character, of this charity.<sup>1</sup> He endowed it during his life with all his worldly possessions, and finished his days as a pauper upon his own bounty.

Drove out with Don Francisco, who is pleased at showing us his truly Spanish equipage, 6 mules, several servants, and a vehicle containing more timber than a small cutter. The walks by the river are laid out by Olavide ; they are very delightful, but *fashion* has renounced all their advantage, for instead of stopping by the side of a cool fountain under trees or near the river, all the carriages, after they have driven about, assemble at the end of the bridge, where the smell of the raw hides and tallow is quite insufferable. The Alameda in the town is deserted ; it is, however, handsome, being adorned with fountains and alleys of high trees.

*Saturday, 28th.*—The public notification from Ministers that the respective Ambassadors were to quit the country, is the first *fact* that makes the apprehension of war but too well founded. Drove out in the evening. Mr. Wiseman's brother came. They are completely Irish, Paddys (*sic*) of the grave sort ; this one has a sort of humour.

*Monday, 30th May.*—The anniversary of the conquest of Seville by San Fernando. Received an invitation from the *Maestranza* to go in their box to see the *funcion* at the *plaza* this evening. We declined going into their box because, in honor of the Prince of Asturias, it is

<sup>1</sup> Don Miguel de Mañara Vicentelo de Leca, a friend of Murillo.

necessary to go in full dress ; we therefore shall go with Don Francisco. The *Maestranza* is an old institution,—the Cavaliers of a city or district whose personal attendance is required whenever the Sovereign goes in person to the army. At present it is a mere opportunity for showing off fine horses, their own skill in equitation, and giving balls and feasts to the ladies. They superintend all sports in the *plaza*, bulls, &c. The Prince of Asturias is the *Hermano Mayor* of the society. According to Don Francisco's advice I went in the *traje española*<sup>1</sup> instead of going *en cuerpo* ; the consequence was that when I arrived at the Circus, instead of going, as I expected, into a private box, he conducted me to the great one of the *Maestranza* where every woman was dressed to the utmost of her taste. To be sure ! I never felt more distressed, because I was the only one in the *mantilla*. However there was no choice, and Charles and I went in on condition of being allowed to sit as far from the front as I pleased. Spanish decorum excludes the men, therefore I was thrust in among a herd of female Philistines ; they were, however, uncommonly civil and obliging. They are so little accustomed to foreigners, that they are disagreeable upon one point, that of language ; because out of civility to them when, instead of merely replying in French or Italian, I endeavoured to answer in Spanish, they shouted in boisterous mirth at any failure of the accent or pronunciation. They did not mean to offend me ; only a breach of good manners arising out of their neglected education. Twenty-four nobles, well mounted, performed various equestrian movements, and imitated the Gothic tournaments in their feats of dexterity. After bowing to the portrait of the Prince of Asturias, which occupies a *whole* box, the knights in succession run at full gallop with a spear to take off a knot

<sup>1</sup> Spanish costume.



of ribbands from a branch, to carry off at the point of the lance the head of a Moor which is placed upon a post, to throw a dart into a shield, and lift upon a drawn sword the head of a Moor from the ground. These feats, done of course with more or less adroitness, occupied an hour and half. When over, we were invited to the house of the *Hermano Mayor* to *beber*—drink. Being in *traje* I could not go, notwithstanding the assurances to the contrary, but I persuaded Ld. H. to go. He described the meeting as a most formidable *tertulia*. I remained by the river, and enjoyed the air and moonlight.

31st *May*.—The heat of our *posada* is insufferable. In consequence of Charles's illness, I gave up my cool apartment to exchange to one which is *certainly dry*, but so abominably hot that I can obtain no repose by night or day. The upper rooms in Seville are abandoned in summer. A moderate house has 4 or 5 courts, at least 2 in which are fountains. Tent or sail cloth is stretched over them during the day, which renders the whole mansion cool by excluding the sun. Went with Don Francisco to the convent of Franciscans;<sup>1</sup> a most magnificent building. The cloisters are filled with fine paintings by *Murillo*. The *patios* are very spacious. The *fraile*<sup>2</sup> who conducted us, in compliment to Don Francisco and civility to me, showed more of the *interior* than is usual, and took us into the Refectory where

<sup>1</sup> This convent joined the Town hall, and occupied a vast space of ground centering on the present Plaza Nueva or Plaza de San Fernando. It was occupied by Soult's troops in 1810, and partially destroyed by fire. Little more than ruins remained when the French left the town two years later, and it was entirely demolished in 1840 to make way for the present square and adjacent streets.

Murillo was employed in 1645 to decorate the small cloister, and painted eleven pictures for it, seven of which were removed by the French.

<sup>2</sup> Monk.



the lay brothers were employed in preparing the supper, dinner being already over at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 12.

After dinner we set off to the *plaza* to see a bull feast. Don Francisco had contrived by sending an *aposte* (*sic*) to the box of the *Maestranza* where the gentlemen go, that Ld. Hd. should sit near me, as I really apprehended the possibility of being unwell from the sight of blood, altho' I went fully prepossessed [?] in favor of the national amusement. The sight of the circus filled to the last seats, the eagerness of the people, and a sort of formal solemnity in the preparations, is very striking. After the arena is cleared, which is done with dexterity by the military, both cavalry and infantry, who to a slow movement advance and hedge the mob to an exit from whence they are compelled to issue, the *picador*, or riding-master, of the *Maestranza*, escorted by 4 *valets-de-pied*, enters the arena; and after an obsequious bow to the portrait of the Prince, requests of the *Maestranza* leave to begin the sports. The chief throws the keys from the balcony—the keys are of the stables of the bulls. Immediately 6 or 8 *banderilleros*, 4 *picadores*, 2 sets of mules of 3 each, richly harnessed and decorated with gaudy coloured ribbands, enter to the sound of martial music. They approach the box and make an obeisance first to the portrait, and afterwards to the *Señores della Maestranza*. The *banderilleros* are equipped in the richest and most perfect Spanish costume, such as is used in dancing the *bolero*—gay coloured vest, &c., &c. The last fashion is a *montera* instead of the *redecilla*;<sup>1</sup> over their arms they have different coloured *manteaux*. The *picadores* wear the large-brimmed, shallow white hat, leather breeches and gaiters, and a brown coloured vest, sash, &c. Their only weapon is a long lance with a short

<sup>1</sup> Silk hair-net.

iron prong at the extremity ; with this frail defence they are to turn the fury of the bull. The mules, who are solely to convey off the vanquished from the field, withdraw ; the men arrange themselves to receive their impetuous adversary, whose entrance is proclaimed by the sound of the shrill trumpet and the opening of folding doors. The noble animal rushes in more surprised than irritated. On his back is a knot of ribbands ; the colours declare the district from whence he came. The *picador* excites the attack, which begins on the part of the bull by shutting his eyes and running with his head down to thrust his horns into the belly of the horse ; the skill of the horseman consists in turning the head of the animal by pushing the lance into his neck. If the aim then taken succeeds, the bull runs off smarting from the pain of the wound, which bleeds profusely ; if the lance-man fails, the horns run into the wretched horse, gore him, and frequently drag out his bowels. After the *picadores* have exhausted his indignation against them at the expense of their horses' lives, and find he refuses to run any more, another species of torment is inflicted. The *banderilleros* on foot plague him by throwing their cloaks, at which he runs, and escape with agility over the paling which is more than 6 ft. high ; they then run full at him and with astonishing dexterity insert into his crest two darts covered with twisted paper. The animal then becomes perfectly frantic, and few hairbreadth escapes on the part of the men occupy the attention of the spectator for a short time. When the *matador* approaches, he draws his sword which he hides under his *manteau* and surveys the countenance of the bull. How he gave the blows I know not, because I carefully avoided looking, but soon after I perceived the bull vomiting blood, and his legs tottering from debility and finally sink down before his inhuman, barbarous opponent. Trumpets

sounded, the mules entered and dragged off from the scene of slaughter the fallen hero, merely to make room for another victim. The next was a harmless, good-tempered creature, more disposed to gambol than fight ; a contemptuous cry of '*Perros, Perros,*' '*Dogs, Dogs,*' showed the *banderilleros* what to do. Instead of merely inserting the darts, they had recourse to squibs and crackers to rouse the gentleness of the animal to rage. Disgusted with the scene, I withdrew for the second time.

The fourth bull was from Utrera ; he was savage and required all the sagacity and dexterity of his foes. He gored the horses, one so much that nothing but brutal indifference both on the part of the rider and spectators could allow it to remain in the arena ; the bowels dragged on the ground. The bull at length received the blow, but he did not fall ; the strokes were repeated and as often failed. In short, no slaughter-house could have afforded more brutal attempts at destruction. His agonies, the horse ripped up and yet forced to face the combat, the hardened insensibility of the men, altogether so filled me with disgust, aversion, dislike, and anger, that I went away and left 5 bulls more to be slaughtered and 3 horses. I wished myself all-powerful to inflict some punishment upon the *picador* who urged his half-dead animal to the fight, and from the bottom of my heart did I applaud and cry '*Viva toro,*' when a man was thrown down by the animal. The only *relief* to *my* feelings is that the danger is danger now on the part of the men ; 8 or 10 have been killed within these few years in Andalusia, and many elsewhere. The horses are the particular objects of my pity ; they are brought in merely to add their blood to the stream. They take no part in the combat, have no animosity, means of attack, or resistance. I drove in the alleys, nor could I prevail upon myself to return to see the fireworks, the closing part of the spectacle.

The rage of the bull feasts is revived with double force ; the women sell to their shifts, and finally *persons*, to procure sufficient to obtain a seat. 2,000 horses are consumed annually ; about 6,000 bulls !!! Went afterwards to Messrs. Wiseman ; Mrs. Wiseman is a female Paddy *tambien*.<sup>1</sup> Delightful house contains 6 *patios* and some admirably distributed apartments. The rent is only one *duro* per day, so fallen is the value of everything in this once celebrated city.

*Wednesday, June 1st, Seville.*—Heat insufferable. Went to Santa Cruz<sup>2</sup> to see the picture by *Campana*, celebrated by the praises of Murillo, who used to pass hours daily in study before it, and who, to eternalize its fame ordered his own place of burial to be close under it. The subject is a ‘Descent from the Cross,’ the women mourning beneath ; the expression of the feelings is ill done, the details are well, but as a touching composition it fails to me.

From thence we went to *Los Venerables*,<sup>3</sup> an establishment or rather asylum for superannuated priests. The *patio* is pretty, and the fountain in center is uncommon. It is very large and circular, the basin is below the surface of the ground. Circular steps descend to the center of it, from whence water springs up. In the refectory, where many were at dinner, are two fine pictures by *Murillo*, one is ‘Christ distributing bread,’ the other is a portrait of the founder. The church contains more pictures by same master, but all in a diff. style one from the other. The ‘Ascension of the

<sup>1</sup> Also.

<sup>2</sup> It is now over the altar in the Great Sacristy of the Cathedral. Santa Cruz was Murillo's parish church, whence the picture was removed after it had been broken in pieces by some of Soult's troops in the destruction of the church. Murillo's bones were scattered to the winds at the same time.

<sup>3</sup> Near the Calle de los Menores, close to the Alcazar. For further reference to the pictures, see p. 264.

Virgin,' for the excellence of composition and beauty of the groups pressing up the graceful, meek figure, pleased me much; also a 'Christ upon the Cross,' a magnificent appearance of the total abandonment in which he is left. Met several Irish priests who talked what they intended to be English.

In the evening at six, relying upon the moon, we set off 6 leagues to Carmona.

*2nd June, Carmona.*—We passed through a wooden *plaza* for the *toros*, small and square; the size, however, is better calculated to please those who relish the sight of blood, as all the spectators may enjoy every agonizing writhing of the animals and not lose a sigh or gasp. I can easier comprehend the eagerness and enthusiasm inspired by an *auto-da-fe*. There passion is roused against the hardened infidel or stubborn heretic who either will not see the truth or who has lapsed from it; revenge is gratified whilst torments are inflicting. But the bull, the horse, what have they done? At the same time I abhor the whining sensibility which has crept into the modern systems of education, when as much fine feeling is bestowed upon the sufferings of an earthworm as upon those of a fellow creature. All *that* is puritanical cant and hypocrisy, and actually a mere cover to some bad design or injustice; but there is a difference between sports.

*4th June.*—The walls of Cordova are old and have more the look of Roman than Moorish workmanship; large gardens within make picturesque bits, and recall Italy from the mixture of building and foliage. *Our posada but indifferent*, conveniently placed as it is exactly opposite one door of the Mezquita, which as soon as I could put on my *mantilla*, I went to see. The church is ill-kept, pavement broken up and bad; I could almost fancy that in spite of the frequent pious lustrations the



prejudice against the purpose it formerly was applied to still subsisted, as the people pay no respect whatever to the sacredness of the place. Beggars are numerous, dogs lie about, and one filthy small cart was drawn through. The modern choir is respected, the beggars follow not with their importunities within that. It is fine; the plan was Herrera's.<sup>1</sup> The *custodia* of richly wrought gold and silver in plaque work is, for the sort of thing, very handsome; the whole of the altar plate is costly.

We walked in the gardens which are delightful, abounding in luxuriant vegetation; oranges in full blossom, and the lovely pomegranates in flower. A spring of fresh, clear water is conducted through the garden, and causes its fertility and adds to its beauty. The Royal *hara* (*sic*) is a spacious building. We saw some fine *fathers of families*; they are compelled to stand up, as their hind legs are fastened by a rope to a post which prevents their lying down. Some told us the fastening remained always, others that it was removed at night. Saw a *piqueur* and a young noble well mounted. The Spaniards are excellent, and at the same time graceful, horsemen. They admire a work upon equitation written by the Marquess of Newcastle,<sup>2</sup> the man of whose wife Ld. Orford gives a most entertaining account in his *Lives of Noble Authors*.

*Sunday, 5th June.*—Whilst carriages were getting ready I went to take another view of Cathedral. Vespers was performing; the loud peal of the distant organ, the swell of the voices in chorus, then the murmurs of a part of the service, produced a wonderful effect, nor

<sup>1</sup> The architect of the choir was Fernan Ruiz. (*Murray*.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Cavendish, first Marquess and Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676). He wrote two books on horsemanship, besides several plays and poems.



could I without reluctance quit the spot. We did not cross the bridge to go to Carpio.

Cordova would have been an excellent spot for the capital, well placed upon the banks of a fine river, which would have been made navigable, in a fertile country abounding in luxuriant productions, enjoying a delicious climate, fine water, and near enough to the Sierra to have *chateaux* for the Court. At 2 leagues is Alcolea, the King's *hara*,<sup>1</sup> an extensive park, enclosed within a wall, where the brood mares and fillies remain ; they have great range, and the park goes to the margin of the river.

*6th June, Carpio.*—We were joined by three soldiers from Cordova on their way to Madrid. We were stopped to be shown the head of a notorious robber. It was placed in an iron grating, and little but the skull remained ; the other parts of his body were sent to the different places where he had offended. He was a desperate fellow, only 25 years old when he suffered ; he had committed 17 murders. A priest, a young woman, and 3 soldiers were among his last offences. At Andujar the *posada* by far the most disagreeable place I have yet encountered ; to escape we walked and sat upon the terrace of the toll-gatherer. He represented the state of the country from robbers as deplorable ; three were that day hanged in Cordova. Fifty of the Aragonese *michelons* quartered there had, in the course of 7 months, seized 500 robbers. At our inn there was a criminal conducted by soldiers, he was being conveyed to Granada. A merchant of Segovia joined us for safety.

*7th June, Bailen.*—The *posada* was filled by soldiers and *presidarios* galley slaves, six hundred souls in all—

<sup>1</sup> The best stallions were carried off from these breeding establishments during the Peninsular War.

400 convicts. They appeared in a sad situation, and are said to be cruelly used by their guards; one was just dead, and another died in the night. It was a sort of gaol delivery from Madrid; they were going down to Malaga. The smugglers and robbers were in irons, the murderers as the *least* criminal were only tied and allowed more licence *por con desgracia*.<sup>1</sup>

8th June.—At La Concepcion de Almuradiel, the last of the German Colonies.<sup>2</sup> The *posada* is built by, and belongs to the Governmt.; spacious, without large room or any convenience. It was the eve of the *Fête Dieu*. Ld. Hd. and I walked about a large bonfire in honor of the morrow. The church was humble, and the single bell and solitary clapper reminded one of the feelings of him who planned the colony; he excluded monks and suspended tithes. We were close to the bell at *las animas*, which follows the *oracion*. A *suppôt* of the church with a lantern and bell goes about the town soliciting the assistance of the holy; he visits all houses, all *posadas*, and all the rooms in them to obtain money to 'sacar las almas'<sup>3</sup> out of Purgatory. Previous to an execution a clerical syndic sallies forth with his bell and begging box to implore from the pious compassion of the devout some *cuartos* to *saquear* (*sic*) the soul of the criminal. At Valencia, the evening before the poor soldier was shot he must have been dinned by the sound of the bells tinkling for this purpose. Soon after the *animas*, the streets are filled with processions of the diff't. *cofradrias*, *gremios*,<sup>4</sup> brotherhoods; they are called *rosarios*. They carry a standard on which the figure of the Virgin is represented; 10 or 12 lanterns and sometimes more,

<sup>1</sup> For their misfortune.

<sup>2</sup> Thirteen new villages were built in this district by Charles III in 1790, and populated with 6000 Bavarians, in order to assist travellers and exterminate the brigands, who were the scourge of the mountains.

<sup>3</sup> To rescue the souls.

<sup>4</sup> Confraternities, companies.

according to the wealth of the fraternity, precede the holy banner ; musicians accompany the holy band chanting staves in honor of the Queen of Heaven, which is interrupted at fixed intervals by pauses, during which the pious troop kneel and repeat *Ave Marias*. Carriages stop whenever they meet these *rosarios* ; persons put out candles from the balconies, and all join, or appear to join, in this homage. At Seville they were very fine and numerous ; it, in early times, was the seat of extravagant and gloomy superstition. During the epidemical disorder 3 years or less ago, among the various causes assigned for this calamity, the impiety of theatrical representations was suggested as being an offence of such magnitude as to draw down the Divine wrath. Hence all dramatic performances were ceased by order of the Bishop ; the innoxious and humane spectacle of a bull feast however remains ! Seville was the first place where the Inquisition was established, in an old, gloomy castle in Triana, now abandoned.

9th June.—Dined at Valdepeñas, celebrated for its wines, which are esteemed beyond any in Spain. Mr. Gordon, of Xerez, said he had often attempted to export it to England, but that it could not stand the voyage. The town is filthy and ill-paved. Most tedious road across the unvaried flat plain. At about 2 leagues we passed the post house. About a quarter of a mile beyond, three men on horseback, well armed, and two on foot, passed us. Ld. Hd. thought it advisable to announce that he had been apprised that a band answering exactly to that description robbed about 2 leagues from Manzanares ; all the arms were made ready, and we were at least prepared for even a more formidable band. The chief robber is well known, and called *El Zapatero*, the shoemaker. There was no doubt of their being *ladrones* ; they had a blunderbuss and other unusual arms, but

they found us too numerous. There was another alarm ; several men lying flat upon the ground by the side of their horses saddled was suspicious. We reached Manzanares safely. A bad *posada* ; they are worse in the Mancha than elsewhere.

*Sunday, 12th June.*—Dined at Ocaña, a large, fortified city, formerly the residence of many of the kings of Castile ; Isabella frequently resided at it. The Alcazar, or palace, is now converted either into a hospital or barracks. We found a letter from M. de Bourke apprising us of the difficulty of getting apartments, as the following day was a gala and *besamanos*<sup>1</sup> at Aranjuez. As soon as we arrived at the inn the Consul-General called to offer a share of his apartment : we had only 2 rooms. M. de Bourke kindly gave us a room ; left the baby at the inn. Found among the *Corps Diplomatique* many acquaintances. Heat beyond all bearing.

*San Ildefonso, July 6th.*—The heat of Aranjuez and the cutting of 4 of his double teeth, made the dear baby so ill that for 3 weeks I have been unable to attend to anything. We left Madrid to try the effect of a change of air upon his complaint ; he is now better and we return to-morrow. We quitted Aranjuez on the night of the 17th June, stayed a couple of days at M. de Bourke's house, then removed to the Cruz de Malta.<sup>2</sup> On 27th, at night, quitted with part of family for La Granja or San Ildefonso, where we inhabit the house of the Duque de San Teodoro, which he has lent to us. Yesterday, the 5th of July, we went over to Segovia distant 2 short leagues.

*27th August, Madrid, 1803.*—After fluttering between life and death for 6 hours, the former gained the victory, and I am again restored to animation and the enjoyment of beholding those I love. Anxiety of mind caused by

<sup>1</sup> Court festival.

<sup>2</sup> Posada de la Cruz de Malta,

the war which renders our return both difficult and unsafe, the heat of the weather, and several other circumstances of inconvenience brought on a most dreadful miscarriage, the consequences of which nearly proved fatal. This is the 16th day, and I can only pass 4 or 5 hours out of my bed. I suffer excruciating torment from the pains of my head, and it is only from the desperate feel (*sic*) of knowing I cannot be worse, that I incur the *risque* of increasing my sufferings.

Retrospect from 13th June, on which day we dined with M. de Bourke at Aranjuez. The gala at Court was a *besamanos*. Inadvertently I followed Mde. de B.'s example and advice by going full-dressed into the gardens, where she assured me the whole Court were to be seen. Such might have been the custom in the days of Philip V, but certainly never has been such since. The gardens are justly praised; the shade is so thick from the lofty trees weighed down by luxuriant foliage, that one may defy the rays of a Spanish sun even at midday. In the garden we were shown a small hunting villa built by Charles V, now falling into decay; in front of it are three venerable trees (either elms or oaks), which according to oral tradition are said to have been planted by the Emperor Francis I during his captivity, and Philip II. Two are flourishing, but one, which I hope may be that planted by Philip II, is in a piteous condition, and may be accepted as but too just an emblem of the state into which the monarchy has fallen in consequence of his pernicious political doctrines. In the evening the fountains played in another garden called *del Principe*: the King and the Princess of the Asturias<sup>1</sup> were present. His amusement consists chiefly in running as fast as possible

<sup>1</sup> Da. Maria Antonia de Bourbon, daughter of Ferdinand IV of Naples, and Queen Marie Caroline, who had been married in October, 1802, to Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias. She died in 1806.



from one fountain to another, and in seeing the unwary spectator wetted with the spray or by the secret pipes. He appears a hale, good-humoured, obliging man. The Princess is very little, rather pretty, and bears a strong resemblance to her mother, the Queen of Naples. The walks are delicious; one upon the banks of the Tagus especially. The Royal dock-yard is near it; the frigate is reckoned excellent, and only requires space to excel most of those in his Majesty's navy. After walking, went to the Promenade, which is in the Calle de la Reina, with the Duchess of San Teodoro.<sup>1</sup> It is a magnificent avenue of considerable length; the Royal family drive up and down the center of the walk preceded by a detachment of *gardes de corps*, and followed by all the *Infantes*, lords and ladies of Court, pages, physician, and surgeon. The Prince of the Peace follows, accompanied by his Princess. He is a large, coarse, ruddy-complexioned man, with a heavy, sleepy, voluptuous eye, not unlike Ld. Amherst in the form of his face and some of the features, but with a different expression. In the evening the *Corps Diplomatique* assemble at M. Bourke's, where a *rouge et noir* table attracts the spare medals of the society.

14th June.—Dined at the English Minister's, Mr. Frere,<sup>2</sup> a singular personage to represent a powerful nation! He was better employed for *his* credit and *ours* as editor and poetaster of the *Anti-Jacobin*.

<sup>1</sup> Lady-in-waiting to the Princess of the Asturias.

<sup>2</sup> John Hookham Frere (1769-1846), son of John Frere, Esq., of Roydon Hall, Norfolk. He was an intimate friend of Canning and was joint-editor with him of the *Anti-Jacobin*. He succeeded his friend as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1799. He was sent to Lisbon as Envoy Extraordinary the following year. He occupied the same post at Madrid 1802-4, and again in 1808-9. He was recalled after Coruña, and refusing all offers of employment after that date went to Malta in 1818, where he resided until his death. He married in 1812, Elizabeth Jimima, Dowager Countess of Erroll.



Dined every day at Bourke's. On ye 17th I was presented to the Queen and King by the Dss. of San Teodoro. It was a private audience, which made Her Majesty dispense with my appearing in a hoop; but not even the plea of being a stranger could obtain a dispensation from the custom of appearing *without* gloves before his Catholic Majesty. That species of clothing produces such a sudden and violent physical effect upon him that the Queen alone chooses to encounter the consequences. White leather gloves produce similar effects upon many of the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family. The Queen's manner is uncommonly gracious. She shows great readiness in making conversation, and taste in choosing her topics; all she said was flattering, obliging, and well-expressed. The King was quite a *bon homme*, and his great talents lie in the skill of a *garde de chasse*. The Queen called her favorite child, the Infante Don Francisco,<sup>1</sup> a pretty, lively boy, bearing a most indecent likeness to the P. of the Peace. She enumerated the children she had, and those she had lost, - 22!! 6 only remaining. 'My eldest son whom you are going to see you will find ugly, he is the counterpart of myself.' She begged I would come in the evening to see her diamonds, for which she has a royal fondness. From thence we went to the Princess of the Asturias and the Prince, a gawky lad like the Bentincks: very agreeable in her manner, the little Princess. I was not dressed properly; the mourning for the King of Etruria<sup>2</sup> being woollen, whereas my dress was merely black crape and bronze. I made an apology to the Queen upon the score

<sup>1</sup> D. Francisco de Paula Antonio, born in 1794.

<sup>2</sup> Louis I, King of Etruria (1773-1803), son of Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duke of Parma. He married the Infante Maria Luisa, daughter of Charles IV of Spain. The kingdom of Etruria was created by France in 1801.

of not having had time or notice to prepare myself. Altho' Ld. Hd., owing to Frere's unaccountable ignorance of all rules, &c., had not been presented, she desired he might see the jewels. I hardly know which is the finest collection, those of the late King Augustus of Poland now at Dresden, or these. The baby alarmed us greatly.

The town of Aranjuez is regularly built, but remarkably ill-calculated to suit the climate. Houses are low, streets excessively wide and covered with a white, loose sand over the pavement; houses built of white stone which reflects powerfully the heat and light. The walks and roots of the trees are regularly watered, which gives a coolness to the air, almost pernicious from the damp feel which it emits. It is a healthy and pleasant residence till ye end of May, but it then becomes hot, and from the marshy ground in its neighbourhood, the people suffer from agues, &c. The air is in some places infected with putrid matter; as it is not allowed to bury any body or animal at the *sitio*,<sup>1</sup> therefore they are thrown on a heap and allowed to rot. The King, besides, is not averse to this custom, as the carcasses serve for food to crows, &c., which is so much fish to his net, as he is indifferent about the quality of his *chasse*. The horses killed in the arena by the bulls also lie exposed to the heat of the sun. The *Casa del labrador* is a small house built by the King in the garden *del Principe*, most beautifully fitted up with French furniture, and Italian fresco walls. In a circular or octagon room large glasses fill the corners or panels, which open by a spring and discover in one recess an oratory, in another a writing-table, &c. But the *bonne bouche* is a *cabinet à l'anglaise*, most richly fitted up. They dwell with peculiar satisfaction upon this luxury and do not *faire grâce* upon the most minute pipe, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The King's country residence.

The Royal family often breakfast at this supposed rural mansion.

19th.—The baby so ill that we resolved to try the cool mountain air of San Ildefonso. Remained there until the 7th July. The gardens are reckoned among the finest in Europe; they are in the old French style of high clipped hedges, *salons de verdure*, alleys, &c. Tho' that is the style I prefer far beyond any other, yet these gardens are *sombre*, and only striking from the number of their fountains, which stand unrivalled. We obtained permission from the *Intendente* to have the fountains play for us, a request usually complied with upon paying two ounces of gold. I was surprised at seeing channels to convey water to the roots of the trees, the same as is used at Aranjuez and at Madrid. There there is no moisture or coolness, but here the neighbourhood of the mountains cause frequent storms of thunder and rain. Besides the great garden, we saw the private ones of the King and Queen; in one we were shown the hedge behind which the K. conceals himself to shoot at sparrows. The facade of the palace for a moment reminds one of the ugly front of Versailles; the *corps de logis* is the church. The garden front is rather handsome; the windows are of large plate glass made at the manufactory, joined without frames. The interior of the palace is not remarkable; the best apartments are not occupied, as Carlos III lived in them, and the Queen, who dislikes the stillness of the gardens, prefers remaining in those she occupied whilst Pss. of the Asturias, as from them she can see the court in which the *gardes de Corps* exercise, &c., &c. In the lower rooms is the collection of statues, busts, and bronzes belonging to Christina of Sweden, and purchased at her death by Philip V at Rome. We saw in detail the glass manufactory; they ran a large plate for us. In point of size,

several have been made which surpass those cast either in France, Bohemia, Venice, or England. They reckon extreme slightness a merit in the material; the goblets that are highly wrought, hardly weigh more than writing paper would in the same form.

Left S. I. at 6, afternoon of the 7th July. Met many forerunners of the Court upon the road coming with goods, &c., to prepare for the Royal residence. As we descended we had moonlight, which lasted us to the Escorial, where we arrived at 4 in the morning. The convent and palace of the Escorial form a building of prodigious magnitude, solid, dull, and gloomy beyond imagination. The walls are high, and the perforations for windows extremely small. The church is uncommonly lofty, the arches of considerable span, and the columns immense. The greatness of the scale diminishes the apparent size of the *vaisseau* (I know not an English word which corresponds with that so well). . . . The pictures in the sacristy are very fine, but we had no light to distinguish them, as a heavy storm was approaching, and the heavens were darkened by heavy clouds. I did not see the cloisters, or any of the interior of the convent except a couple of *patios*, as Mr. Frere as usual had made a blunder about the Nuncio's Bull; as without that permission no woman can enter. The disappointment was less on acct. of the weather, and our intention of returning there. At 11 at night set out for Madrid, where we arrived at 9 in the morning.

On 18th July Ld. Hd. went to Court to see the ceremony of the *besamanos* on acct. of the marriage.<sup>1</sup> Ladies

<sup>1</sup> The festivals were given in honour of the double marriage which had been celebrated at Barcelona in October of the preceding year. Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, there married Princess Maria Antonia, and her eldest brother, the Prince Royal of Naples, married the Spanish Infanta Maria Isabella. The Spanish Court had only just returned to Madrid after an extended tour in the provinces.

did not attend. 1000 persons kissed the hands of their Majesties. On the 19th the Royal family went in procession to Nuestra Señora de Atocha to return thanks for the happy marriage. Heavy old coaches for the suite, some as old as the time of Charles II. Illumination in the streets through which they passed; outsides of houses richly ornamented with carpets, tapestries, &c. A very showy and splendid sight.

On the 20th, the grand *Funcion de los toros*, or bull feast, in the Plaza Mayor, given by the Court in honor of the marriage. The Plaza had been prepared for this big show by enclosing its area within wooden barriers, which formed seats to the height of the first floor of the houses for spectators. The seats were presents from the King, but sold; I gave 24 *duros* for a seat for a friend. I went in our Minister's balcony, *au second*: the ambassadors had balconies on the first floor. We were opposite the Court. A window was fitted superbly for the Court: the King and Queen were sitting under a canopy. Next to the Queen stood the Prince of the Peace. P. and Pss. in another balcony; present above 100,000 persons. Under the Royal balcony a line of halberdiers were placed, exposed to the rage of the bull; their only defence was in their halberds, with which they kept off the animal; if they killed him, the flesh was their perquisite. The *alguacils*<sup>1</sup> on horseback stood opposite to them; they had no means of defence. They contributed much to the amusement of the populace by galloping off with great celerity whenever the animal approached. The mode of fighting the bulls is very different from that practised in the common feasts. Formerly upon these occasions the Grandees themselves fought, they now content themselves with adopting inferior nobles whom they equip in old Spanish dresses,

<sup>1</sup> Police.



mount upon fine Madrid horses, and grant a numerous suite of followers dressed in singular dresses to accompany them on foot—Mamelukes, Hessians, Romans, &c. The disgusting scene ended with the daylight.

One or other occupation, added to the great heat, has prevented me keeping any regular dates.

*1st August.*—Dined at the Bourkes. Present, Prince Masserano,<sup>1</sup> St. Simon, Freire the Portuguese Minister, &c. The first is the son of an Italian or a Spanish Grandee, and one of the 4 captains of the King's Guard; he is lively, rattles away freely, which makes him rather an acquisition to a large party. What he says, however, is proverbially false. St. Simon<sup>2</sup> is a most diligent courtier; his flattery of the Court is so fulsome that refined ears would not endure it, but the P. of P., &c., have no standard but their own vanity, and that is immeasurable. He is intriguing to obtain the command of the army on the frontier in case of a war; he did distinguish himself in the last campaign. Since the peace he has been to Paris to endeavour to recover his estates, and to pay his court to the Corsican chieftain. Upon his introduction, the great man asked if he had not commanded the Spanish troops on the frontier, to which the Marquess replied in confusion that altho' he had served against France he could never forget that 'C'était ma patrie.' 'Comment donc! et le Roi d'Espagne ne vous a pas pendus.' This coarse reproof was deserved for the folly and meanness of his justification. Mde. Blondel has quitted her old spouse, and is with him, and her *grossesse* is just declared after 8 months' absence from him. Freire, the Portuguese Minister, is a whispering, civil man; he was employed in England, and for his sins, he says, sent for 3 years to America!

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Spanish Ambassador in Paris.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 11.



2<sup>nd</sup> August.—Went with M. de Lambert to the Cabinet of Natural History and to the Academia de las 3 nobles artes. The mineralogical specimens are very beautiful and well placed, and are infinitely larger than any I ever saw in other collections. The other branches of the collection were very imperfect and bad, except, I believe, the shells. Below the Cabinet of Natural History is the Academy. By favor we were admitted into the forbidden apartment into which the pious Monarch has banished all naked pictures; indeed an order was given for their destruction, but upon a promise being made that the eyes of the public should not be shocked by such sights, they were spared. Whilst the King of Etruria was here he could never obtain permission from his father-in-law to see them. They are merely a beautiful 'Venus,' 'Danae,' and others of that sort, by *Titian*, *Albano*, and other celebrated masters: some are exquisite, and might compare with those formerly at Naples and Florence.

Dined at home, only Mr. Vaughan. Mde. Bourke's in evening, after the Prado and Buen Retiro. Saw first time M. de Bétancourt,<sup>1</sup> superintendent-general of *les ponts et chaussées* in Spain; he was just returned from Granada where he had been to confine the overflowing of the Xenil. He is a younger branch of the family who discovered the Canary Isles; he is well-informed and quick, but dogmatical and positive.

3<sup>rd</sup> August.—Dined at Frere's to meet Pellicer,<sup>2</sup> the King's librarian, the editor of *Don Quixote*, to which he has added explanatory notes—very good. An old

<sup>1</sup> Augustin de Béthencourt y Molina (1760–1824), an authority on dams and waterworks. He entered the service of Russia in 1808.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pílares (1738–1806). His edition of *Don Quixote* was published in 1797. See p. 191, where Lady Holland refers to him as librarian to the Prince of the Peace.

man ; prolix and extremely minute in all particulars of a story, which, altho' one says sufficient to convince him one knows the anecdote, he nevertheless pursues with a becoming perseverance. Marqués de la Romana<sup>1</sup> and his brother-in-law, a Neapolitan.

4th.—Morning at the palace ; the Court quitted it the preceding day. Apartments magnificent, infinitely more splendid than any palace I ever saw ; the pictures are very fine, and so numerous that it would require many visits to do justice to them. The large saloon, in which are placed the equestrian pictures by *Velasquez* and *Titian*, is very striking. Charles V equipped in armour with his lance in arrest is admirable, and the figure so very *chevaleresque*. King's private library large, and contains a number of excellent books in different small rooms, also much theological *lore*. One bookcase full of MS. relating chiefly to the secret history of Spain during the reign of the House of Austria. The present Governr. is as jealous of the circulation of political opinions and papers against the Court of Philip II and downwards, as against the present. Dinner at home : the Bourkes, St. Simon, and M. de Riche, the new Danish Secretary. I took a box at the play, and went almost every evening to the Caños del Peral ; only once to the Cruz, as it is not opened but on feast days. The latter is infinitely the best theatre for the representation of the national pieces, and the *troupe* is also better.

5th.—Freres<sup>2</sup> dined with us. Had a visit from the

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Caro y Sureda, Marqués de la Romana (1761–1811), Spanish general. He was sent to the Baltic in 1807, in command of the Spanish troops destined for French service, but extricated and brought them back to their own country the following year on the outbreak of the war in Spain. He took a leading part in the commencement of hostilities against the French, and died in 1811 worn out with the hardships he had undergone.

<sup>2</sup> Hookham Frere and his brother Bartholomew.

Duke of Infantado ;<sup>1</sup> I shall say more of him hereafter. He told us an important fact, as his opinion and practice for 12 years had been to refute it : he reckons the fineness of the *Merino* wool to depend on the migrations of the sheep, continue for a generation or two as good when stationary, but afterwards lose the excellence of its quality.

7th.—English letters and papers. A general arming of the people. News by express from Lisbon of an *alboroto*,<sup>2</sup> an affray between 2 regiments quelled and the commanders imprisoned. Some imagine the origin of the affair to have been a scheme concerted with the French general Lannes and the Opposition party against the Ministers, to get them dismissed ; others that Lannes wanted it merely to get a civil war and to call in his troops to conquer.<sup>3</sup> The only thing certain is the *foolish*

<sup>1</sup> Pedro de Toledo, Duque del Infantado (1773–1841), was brought up in France. He was closely connected with the Prince of the Asturias, and accompanied him to Bayonne in 1807. He there took service with Joseph, but turned against him in 1809. He commanded one of the Spanish armies, but was singularly unsuccessful in his military dispositions. He held several offices of state, but retired into private life in 1826, owing to his failure in carrying through certain reforms which he considered were necessary for the good of his country. His children by Da. Manuela de Lesparre were legitimised in 1825.

<sup>2</sup> Riot.

<sup>3</sup> After the Queen of Portugal, María I, finally lost her reason in 1792, it became necessary for her son Dom John to take over the management of the affairs of that country, though he was not actually appointed Regent until 1799. He attempted to take up a neutral position in the Continental wars, but was not allowed to do so by Napoleon, who insisted on regarding Portugal as a sort of province of England, and did all he could to compass her destruction. With this intent the First Consul brought about the war between Portugal and Spain, which terminated so disastrously for the former at the Treaty of Badajoz in 1801. After the Peace of Amiens Dom John tried to maintain his neutrality, but again Napoleon stirred up strife by sending the blunt and undiplomatic Lannes as Ambassador to Lisbon. The latter succeeded only too well in creating discord in the country during his two years of employment there. He was superseded by Junot in 1804.

The Duke of Sussex appears to have been the Prince Regent's guest in Lisbon. Lord Robert Fitzgerald was British Minister there.

behaviour of the Duke of Sussex, who went to the Prince Regent to remonstrate against the confinement of the officer notoriously in the French interest. The Princes quarrelled, and the former was going to quit the palace where he resides in a passion, but Ld. Robt. Fitzgerald interfered and pacified matters. Prince openly follows the R. Catholic worship, abjured Protestantism 2 years ago.

✓ Tierney joined Addington, and made Treasurer of the Navy, with a house, perquisites, £6000 pr. ann., and pension of £1500 upon retiring. *Bravo! bravo! amigo mio!*

12th.—I was taken ill and confined to my bed, where I lay for weeks. About the end of a fortnight I lay for a few hours on a sofa and saw a few people. Lambert often, Cabarrus. He told us that Madrid was the city of Spain the worse supplied with provisions on acct. of the heavy duties and impolitic regulations. When he imports wine, oil, and provisions from his own estate, he finds the expense from the duties to be nearly as great as if he bought them in the market, besides the trouble of getting at least half a dozen passports for every distinct cartload. All the Ministers owe their nomination to the P. of the Peace, except Caballero,<sup>1</sup> Minisr. of *Gracia* and *Justicia*, who owes his to the whim of the King. Said of him by an indignant Spaniard, that he was neither *graciable*, *justiciero*, *ni caballero*. The P. of the P. made an insolent but certainly rather witty reply, when he came to compliment the P. on his birthday. The P. perceived him in the crowd and made towards him expressing his surprise at seeing him, as on that day his *friends* came; the rebuffed Minister said he thought as

<sup>1</sup> José Antonio, Marqués de Caballero (1760–1821). He held this post from 1798 till 1808, when he took office under Joseph whom he followed to France in 1814. He returned to his native country in 1820,

his Excellency's 'mero conducto,'<sup>1</sup> it was his duty; 'Es un muy sucio.'<sup>2</sup> Aranda<sup>3</sup> used to say that the Jesuits would have been still in existence if Voltaire had known of the intention to suppress them; for, after their destruction, he had in contemplation to put an end to the *Saint Office*, but imprudently confided his intention to Voltaire, who, as might be expected, boasted of his knowledge of the secret, which excited such a sensation in Spain that he was compelled to drop his project.

*4th September, Madrid.*—Dined, B. Frere,<sup>4</sup> Lambert, and Lasteyrie.<sup>5</sup> News confirmed of Lannes' triumph at Lisbon. Almeida dismissed from Ministry, Pinto appointed in his place; the changes not to stop there. The French troops are augmenting on the frontier, and when it was reported that General St. Cyr was to command the army, Beurnonville was extremely irritated, and betrayed evident symptoms of his disappointment at not being named himself to the command.

*5th September.*—I dined for the first time at table since my illness; only B. Frere. Great failures throughout the Peninsula in corn crops, especially about Seville and in Portugal. Yesterday there were only 4000 *fanegas* of wheat in Madrid, and but for a fortunate supply this morning, a ferment would have taken place in the town. Bread is exorbitantly dear; many bakers'

<sup>1</sup> Intermediary.

<sup>2</sup> You are a very tainted person.

<sup>3</sup> Don Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de Aranda (1718-1799), Spanish statesman, who held office 1765-1773, and again for a short time in 1792 in succession to Florida Blanca. He commenced his attacks on the Jesuits in 1767.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomew Frere (1778-1851), youngest brother of John Hookham Frere, diplomatist. Though Secretary of Legation at various European towns, he never held any independent post.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Philibert, Comte de Lasteyrie du Saillant (1759-1849), a prominent French philanthropist and economist. He travelled through all the countries of Europe studying the social status and the modes of living of their inhabitants.



shops have been assaulted. Within these 10 days the streets are infested by robbers, who rob, insult, and even strip those they fall upon. In consequence of this numerous patrols on horseback go about the streets soon after the *Angelus*.

6th September.—Great anxiety prevails respecting the question of peace and war; some think the demand has already been made of passage for troops to Portugal, others that *money* is the sole object of the French Govern.<sup>1</sup> The only fact that is certain is that our poetical Minister has been, and will be completely bamboozled. It appears certain now that a speculation of Ld. Hd.'s has been realised, viz. :—that a neutral treaty between the neutral powers has been in agitation; that a sketch has been sent to the Emperor of Russia for his approbation, putting him at the head of it; that the Ministers here do not yet know of its arrival at Petersburg, but that by the extreme activity of the French it has fallen into Bonaparte's hands. The effect has been a most thundering message from him to the Court, and a reprimand to Beurnonville for allowing such negotiations to pass under his nose without discovering them.

The King of Spain is so little *au courant* of the history

<sup>1</sup> The history of the whole transactions between France and Spain at this juncture shows Napoleon's entire disregard for the justice and political morality of any question which interfered with his vast schemes. The invasion of England, as a means of curbing the power of his only formidable foe, was at this time his fixed object, and everything was to be made subservient to it. To this end he sold Louisiana to the United States to obtain funds, though the act was entirely contrary to the clauses of the Treaty of San Ildefonso. He went much further, for he insisted that Spain should declare war on England and hand over her fleet and resources to assist him. This was too much even for Godoy, as England was Spain's only chance of emancipation from the yoke of the First Consul. A judicious insistence, however, on the dismissal of the Spanish Minister had its effect at the Court, and Azara, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, was forced to sign the Treaty of Paris (Oct. 1803), by which peace was bought at the price of six million francs a month and other concessions to France.

of our times that he is as yet not aware of the independence of America, and to this day denominates the Minister of the United States *El Ministro de las Colonias*, being perfectly satisfied that these colonies still belong to the English. When the unfortunate Mallo<sup>1</sup> was the Queen's favorite, he squandered away with profusion the sums she fondly lavished. He was remarkably addicted to show, especially in the number and variety of his equipages. One day the King, Queen, and Prince of the Peace were standing on the balcony of the palace of Aranjuez, when Mallo drove rapidly by in a new and splendid carriage, upon which the King exclaimed that he had often observed lately and wondered how he found means for such expense. The Queen remarked that she concluded he had inherited from a relation in *Las Indias* (he is an American). 'No, no,' replied the P. of the P., 'he is supplied by an ugly, old woman without teeth or *agrément*, who has fallen in love with him.' The King laughed heartily; the Queen was compelled to force a companionable smile. Certainly it was a laugh on the wrong side of her mouth.

*8th September.*—Exactly 4 weeks this day since I was taken ill and confined to this apartment, without once going out. Lasteyrie and Quintana<sup>2</sup> dined. The former after following our route to Granada, struck off to the Alpuxarras down to Malaga, from thence to Cadiz, San Lucar Barrameda, to Estremadura. He has obtained some curious information respecting the interior of the Inquisition, which he dare not publish in France, since the Chieftain of the Govern't. has taken Catholicism

<sup>1</sup> The Duchesse d'Abrantes in her *Memoirs* calls him Mayo, and Lady Holland, Majo, but she adopts the usual spelling in a later passage.

<sup>2</sup> Manuel José Quintana (1772-1857), Spanish poet, playwright, and politician; whose ultra-liberal views cost him six years in prison under Ferdinand VII. Later in life his doctrines became somewhat milder and he took office.

and Papacy under the tricolor standard. At Murcia he was told by the Grand Inquisitor that had he been apprised of my attempt to see the prisons he would most readily have given every assistance, but he only heard of it after we were gone.

Comte Etty, the Imperial ambassador, arrived lately sooner than was expected, as he intended to prolong his stay at Paris some months further into the winter, but the Consul, it is reported, rebuffed him in a manner so offensive to his German *morgue* that he decamped. He is a proud, haughty, empty-noddled *nobleman*, better calculated for embassies where nothing is required but a rosy, plump subject properly decorated with stars and ribbons, than one either for business or show: of the first he is incapable, and for the latter he will not untie his purse-strings. His wife, a daughter of Prince Collorédo, is to all appearance a very worthy woman; nothing strikingly pleasing or the reverse in her person or manner. They were at the Court of Dresden several years before their nomination to this one. Andreoli,<sup>1</sup> a Tyrolese or Milanese, was *chargé d'affaires*, and is now secretary to the legation and resident from the Hanse towns. An interested, selfish *debauché*, with an inferior species of humour, which he owes chiefly to the gravity he preserves whilst telling a droll story. Very little reliance ought to be given to his facts. It is not improbable that the suspicions against him are founded, of his being a spy of the P. of the Peace.

13th September.—I have already been out 3 times and do not feel the worse for the exertion. The political ferment which agitated the public has subsided into a perfect state of stagnation. There is a report which

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland, in his *Foreign Reminiscences*, calls him a Venetian by birth.

the P. of the P. sedulously puts into circulation, that the French demands are insolent, and the conduct of the English so generous in allowing their money and ships to pass, that to comply with the French in declaring war against them the difficulty would be in finding *grievs* to make out a manifesto. On the discovery of a negotiation being on foot here to form a neutral confederacy, Bonaparte was highly incensed and directed an immediate application to be made to the S. Govern. that they should fulfil their treaty (of defensive and offensive alliance). The reply from M. de Cevallos<sup>1</sup> was (about a fortnight ago) that till that instant the S. Gov. were ignorant of hostilities having taken place between F. and E. ; that as they were no parties in the Peace of Amiens they could not assist in the breach of it ; that the S. Gov. at that time had entered a *caveat* upon the cession of Trinidad and their treaty they considered as annulled thereby.<sup>2</sup> Beurnonville repeatedly asked whether they seriously intended this reply to be transmitted to his Court. The First Consul in his *own* hand wrote a most threatening reply, observing that unquestionably M. de Cevallos was the only man in Europe ignorant of the war between E. and F. Ld. Hd. does not think it improbable that this violence in the article in the *Moniteur* against the P. of Denmark, may proceed

<sup>1</sup> Don Pedro de Cevallos (1761-1838). He was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by the influence of Godoy, whose niece he had married. He continued in office after Charles IV's abdication, and even accepted the advances of Joseph and remained in his post. He soon retired, however, from his service, and became a member of the Supreme Junta with his accustomed portfolio. He was sent to England in 1809. He held high office after the Restoration, but opposed Ferdinand's marriage, and was dismissed. He then went as Ambassador to Naples and afterwards to Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> Trinidad had been ceded to England in the Agreement of London, 1801, by a secret clause which had not been made known to the actual owners of the island—Spain. The interests of that country were completely sacrificed by France at the Congress of Amiens, notwithstanding the persistent protests of Azara, the Spanish Minister.

from the detection of this neutral project of protection for Spain, Portugal, &c., &c.

The acct. of the army at Bayonne varies from 3 to 36,000; each Govern't. exaggerate their numbers. Ye one to intimidate the S. Gov., the other to show that whatever monies they pay the people will be better off than by having a foreign army traversing the kingdom. Of the sums required, there is also a great difference in the reports; one fixes it at a million of *livres tournois* pr. month; another, at 6 and the admission of French garrisons into their ports.<sup>1</sup> Orders are issued to grant passage to 1500 sailors to pass from Bayonne to Ferrol, and the S. Govern't. have agreed to equip and victual the ships of war belonging to the French which have miraculously arrived safely there from St. Domingo. Another arrived about 10 days ago, briskly pursued by our cruisers, who had only time to fire a broadside into her (which unfortunately killed many men) and then upon the fort signal that she was under the protection of the Spanish coast had the moderation to withdraw. Augereau<sup>2</sup> is named to the command of the army at Bayonne, which may after all be destined to Galicia and so to go to Ireland, instead of, as is reported, to conquer Portugal. The scarcity is alarming throughout the kingdom, and those who understand the subject suspect that the meddling laws may convert it into a famine. This calamity extends to Portugal. Many bakers' shops have been assaulted. A man endeavoured to force the door of

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty of neutrality Spain was, among other conditions, to pay France 6 million francs a month or expend it on refitting and revictualling French ships, and was to secure a payment of a million a month from Portugal. The latter country was also bound, by a treaty concluded on December 25, to pay France 16 million francs a year to obtain exemption from hostilities.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre François Charles Augereau (1757-1816), Duc de Castiglione, one of the most famous of Napoleon's marshals.



the Chief of the Council's house. The streets are infested with numerous bands of robbers; two days ago an order was issued that any person upon applying to the *Corps de gardes* might obtain an escort. Cavalry patrols are in every street. Above 20 gentlemen have been plundered, some even to their shirts; many severely wounded.

*September 16th.*—When poor Ld. Henry S.<sup>1</sup> was quitting Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania,<sup>2</sup> then Regent, sent him the usual present of a snuff-box, but as an impertinence, instead of its being either a portrait or cypher of the King, the painting represented naked nymphs in various groups, making rather an indelicate composition. On receiving it, Spencer thanked the D. of S.'s messenger for the gift, observing that altho' it did not bear a portrait of his Majesty, yet it was a 'tableau fidèle de sa Cour.'

*17th.*—Ld. Hd. was yesterday seized with a smart attack of gout in his foot which gave him great pain. I sat up reading *The Sicilian Romance*<sup>3</sup> till 6 o'clock to him; all this day at intervals he has suffered great anguish.

✂ The Alba palace,<sup>4</sup> situated by the Prado in the most

<sup>1</sup> Lord Henry Spencer (1770-1795), second son of George, fourth Duke of Marlborough. He so distinguished himself in diplomacy that he was made Minister to the Netherlands in his twentieth year. He was Minister in Sweden 1793-5, and died at Berlin the latter year.

<sup>2</sup> Gustavus IV of Sweden, who succeeded to the throne upon the assassination of his father, Gustavus III, in 1792, was only thirteen years old at the time. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania; who succeeded him when dethroned in 1809, as Charles XIII, acted as Regent until 1796, when Gustavus took over the reins of government.

<sup>3</sup> *Mrs. Radcliffe.*

✂ <sup>4</sup> The original Alba palace, known as the Palacio de Buenavista, is situated in the Calle de Alcalá, and is now the War Office. The land was actually bought in 1769 for over four million reals, but the building, which was carried out at vast expense, was still unfinished at the death of both the Duchess and her husband. The town of Madrid then bought the palace from their heirs in 1805, and presented it to the Prince of the Peace. He, however, had no time to enjoy it, and after

commanding situation, was built by the late Dss.'s grandfather. The plan was magnificent; she almost finished its execution when a fire broke out and destroyed much of the work. However not discouraged by the accident, she pursued the plan, and the palace was nearly ready for her reception when another fire, more violent and destructive than the former, destroyed the labour of years. Every search was made among the workmen to ascertain how the disaster was occasioned, but the vigilance of enquiry was eluded and enough was discovered to convince that a further attempt to finish the noble edifice would end in a similar disappointment, the train being laid by a high and jealous power. The library contained manuscripts of considerable value which were consumed by the flames. The Dss. was always an object of jealousy and envy to the great Lady; her beauty, popularity, grace, wealth, and rank were corroding to her heart. A short time before her death she was banished for 3 years, and the only favor shown was allowing her the choice of her estates. She chose to reside at her palace at St. Lucar Barrameda in Andalusia. Capmany<sup>1</sup> insinuated the above, which recital was followed by an anecdote of Philip II, who was actuated by the same ignoble species of envy. In passing on horseback he observed a noble edifice nearly completed. He enquired to whom it belonged, when upon hearing that it was raised by his jeweller, and called *El Palacio de Jacome*

the confiscation of his estates in 1808 it became the Military Museum. It was later occupied by the Regent, the Duque de la Victoria (Espartero); became the Turkish Embassy; and finally the War Office.

The present residence of the Alba family is called the Palacio de Liria.

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio Capmany y de Montpalau y (1742-1813). Originally a soldier, he left the service in early life and devoted himself to literature and history. He became secretary of the Academy at Madrid, and took a leading part in the deliberations of the Cortes at Seville in 1812 and 1813.

*Trezzo*, he sternly replied that in Spain none occupied a palace but the King. The work was stopped, and for two centuries the half-reared fabric remained unfinished, and indeed may be so to this day.

*17th September, Sunday.*—This evening Lasteyrie brought, at my desire, a French officer lately arrived from St. Domingo, his name is *Alvémar*; he went thither in *Le Clerc's*<sup>1</sup> expedition, and is among the few who have escaped the fury of the negroes and the ravages done by the yellow fever. He described with warmth and execration, the cruelties committed upon the blacks, thousands of whom were shot, burnt, and drowned; those disposed of in the latter manner were put into vessels which were sunk in the harbour. The putrefaction from the dead bodies floating on the surface of the calm sea caused an insufferable stench. He was employed by *Le Clerc* in Spanish America, to obtain, he said, succour for the army. This commission enabled him to see Mexico, the Floridas, Lima, Louisiana, &c. He estimates the loss of the negroes massacred at 11,000; the numbers of the French at 53,000. When I expressed

<sup>1</sup> Victor Emmanuel Leclerc (1772–1802), who married Pauline Bonaparte, afterwards Princess Borghese. He accompanied his brother-in-law to Egypt, and afterwards took a leading part in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. He died of yellow fever while at St. Domingo, and was succeeded in the command by General Rochambeau.

Part of the island of St. Domingo had been ceded to France at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. At the time of the French Revolution it was a most flourishing colony, but elements of disorder between the white, mulatto, and black populations were introduced by demands for the acceptance of the new principles. During the civil war which ensued, the English invaded the island, but were finally driven out in 1798 with the assistance of the black commander Toussaint l'Ouverture. The latter established himself as President for life, but was not recognised by Napoleon, who sent a force of 25,000 men to reduce the colony. Toussaint was treacherously murdered, and the blacks, assisted by the British fleet, forced the French troops to surrender and evacuate the island. The independence of St. Domingo, or Hayti, was proclaimed in 1804.

astonishment at the latter number, which he construed into a doubt of his assertion, he said he must be certain in his calculation, as he was ordered by General Rochambeau to make that report. At no period had the army a disposable force beyond 10,000 soldiers ; disease drove above four-fifths into the hospital.

He was in Egypt, tho' he denies having formed a part of the expedition, as he was employing himself as an artist. On Bonaparte's arrival he joined him, and in consequence of some disagreement between them, which must have been very serious, he ventured to put himself into Dhezzar Pacha's power at Acre, from whence he escaped with 3 Turks in a small open boat. But on their way to Cyprus they were captured by Ld. Nelson, who treated him remarkably well, but having a suspicion that he was the bearer of dispatches from Bonaparte never allowed him for 11 months to put his foot upon land. He spoke with freedom of Bonaparte, and described with some humour the progress of a French army invading a country ; how little profit of the plunder came to the Governt. as the exactions went merely to enrich the Commander, the *état-major*, and so down to the common soldiers. That the reply made to the Governt. was that they had been misinformed in supposing the country wealthy, as on the contrary, it was poor : in the churches the *calices* were plated, the jewels in the shrines false, and all that was precious had been secreted by the monks. If, added he, this cruel system of plunder, shocking and impolitic as it is, saved France from taxes, yet the people in it would lament less, but *their* impositions are not diminished one *sol* by this pillaging system. He has been 8 times in England ; is acquainted with Sir Lionel<sup>1</sup> and Mrs. Crewe. Ld. Hd.'s

<sup>1</sup> Sir Lionel Copley.

confinement brings many people in the evening ; chess is his chief resource.

Bonaparte, to vex the English, as he knows the taste of their palate, has prohibited the exportation of Bordeaux wines and Dutch cheeses—a measure that will recoil upon himself. Letters of marque are withdrawn from all French corsairs, in order to augment the number of sailors to navigate his famous Armada against our coasts. I hear, with regret, that the House of Grammont at Bordeaux is become bankrupt ; great failures both in France and England since the war. Another revolt in Ireland, in which the Chief Justice, Ld. Kilwarden, was murdered by the mob.<sup>1</sup> General Fox <sup>2</sup> is the Commander-in-chief ; a high, but perilous post. She and the children have joined him.

I showed to Alvémar the passage in Sr. Robt. Wilson's book upon the English expedition to Egypt, in which Bonaparte is accused of having murdered in cool blood 3000 of his prisoners at Jaffa, after they had capitulated. On ye first reading, he denied the fact altogether, but upon examination explained the circumstance, which was as follows. 500 *cannoniers* or engineers arrived in Syria from Constantinople, all instructed by French officers there, understanding their business admirably to the full as well as any of the *corps-du-génie* in B.'s army. This body of men he took prisoner. Being on a march, he could not keep them, or trust to their parole of not serving, therefore ordered a general-of-division to

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Wolfe (1739-1803), created Lord Kilwarden and Chief Justice of Ireland in 1798. He and his nephew were murdered on the night of the Emmet rebellion, while driving from his home in the country to Dublin Castle.

<sup>2</sup> General the Hon. Henry Edward Fox (1755-1811), Lord Holland's uncle. He held the chief command in Ireland 1803-1804. He had married, in 1786, Marianne, daughter of William Clayton, Esq., and had one son and two daughters.



surround and shoot them. The general considering humanity more than expediency, refused. B. called him a 'Capucin,' and found another more ready to obey his orders.<sup>1</sup> The chief difference in the stories consists in there being no capitulation, in the numbers, and the dates. He smiled at the total ignorance displayed of Bonaparte's character, where the military author describes him as looking through a glass to feast upon the bloody sight.

21st.—Arriaza,<sup>2</sup> a Spanish poet, went off to-day to the Legation in London; he has quickened his departure in order to secure seeing England before the declaration of war shall compel them all to decamp. He was formerly in the Navy, but his shortness of sight and loss of one eye obliged him to quit the service; he is gentlemanlike in his manner and appears popular among his brother *beaux esprits*.

Augereau has taken the command of the camp at Bayonne; he is too active and distinguished an officer to be given a command unless real service was intended. He was expelled from Portugal at the beginning of the Revolution; he was then a fencing master by profession. The choice is not amiss, as Augereau, it is said, feels a great degree of irritation against the Portuguese Government for their treatment of him upon that occasion.

The bridge over the Bidassoa is completed; it was undertaken and finished without the participation of this

<sup>1</sup> Bourrienne, who was also an eye-witness of the whole affair, mentions 4000 as the number of the prisoners. He does not mention Napoleon's reason for the necessity of the slaughter (*A Voice from St. Helena*), i.e. that he had already taken many of the same Turkish troops at El Arish, where he released them on parole.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Arriaza (1769-1837), who entered the navy at the age of 12, and served in the campaigns of 1793-1795. He was military attaché to the Embassy in London for a time, and was later employed in the Secretary of State's office. He was the author of a number of poems and verses.

Government., or even was their consent required. Already Augereau has been as far as Fuenterrabia to survey the ground and fix posts, &c., previous to the threatened attack upon Portugal. With all this it appears strange that both Spain and France should expect a war with each other. Here many of the F. are getting off as fast as they can ; and at Paris the S., fearful of undergoing the same captivity as befell the English, hasten away also. If this abject, weak, and contemptible Government could venture to resist the insolence of the French demands, the country would for ever be freed from the thralldom it now labours under, but to do that with success and glory so much must be renounced on the part of the Court that to hope it is in vain. Besides, the influence which must necessarily be given to the people to excite them to repel the enemy, by letting them have something worth defending, would to this corrupt Minister be infinitely more alarming than even seeing the enemy lodged in all the forts and garrisons of the kingdom. The expenses of the Court is exactly one-third of the revenue, and the Queen's share is ——— exclusive of the expenses she shares with the King, such as in equipages, mules, attendants, board, &c. Some think she has amassed large sums, foreseeing from the fate of other sovereigns how necessary such an aid might become ; but the most like the truth is the opinion that she is prodigal upon herself and profuse to her lovers, many of whom enjoy good fortunes.

*29th September.*—Both yesterday and to-day we dined at the Bourkes to interfere as little as we could with the servants whilst they were changing from the Cruz de Malta to this house in the Calle de la Abada. We have more space, and in case we should be detained from home by circumstances either of health or war, we shall be warmer in the cold days of October and November.

News is come of the capture of another *paquet* from Lisbon to Falmouth. The coast of Portugal is very much exposed to the danger of privateers, as we have not a single cruiser, owing to a quarrel between Admiral Cornwallis and Ld. Nelson, each saying it is the business of the other's fleet to cruise there. Thus for this squabble trade and business suffer, and lives are lost. The captain of the *King George* died in consequence of his wounds. All communication from France to England is cut off by a decree of Govern't. ; even a flag of truce will not be admitted into their ports, and, if it approaches, will be fired at from the batteries. A Spanish courier dispatched to London from hence has been arrested at Paris, and compelled to return ; it is not yet known whether with or without his dispatches.

*2nd October.*—Confined again to my couch. Hermann,<sup>1</sup> the First Secretary of the French Embassy, is returned. His re-appearance here is a proof of the disapprobation of the F. Government towards Beurnonville ; indeed would be difficult to mark it stronger than by this measure. Hermann was here upon Beurnonville's arrival, but in consequence of being treated with coldness and a total want of confidence, he asked his recall, which was granted. He was, on his return, employed by Talleyrand, whose confidence he enjoys, and as he is remarkably conciliatory in his manners, it is supposed that he is come to pour oil upon the flame so injudiciously kindled by B.'s violence and insolence. He was once

<sup>1</sup> François Antoine Hermann (1758-1837), French diplomatist. He left France after the death of the King, and only returned in 1801. He was employed in Spain and Portugal, where he acted as Minister of the Interior during the French invasion, and levied a large contribution from the country. After the Restoration he for some years held the post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

His mission in reality was to deliver a letter from Napoleon to the King, demanding the dismissal of Godoy under pain of instant invasion.

before employed upon a similar occasion, having been the pacificator at Lisbon after Lannes' great *esclandre*. He was, under the *ancien régime*, 10 years Consul-General in England, where he married an Englishwoman and conceived an attachment for the country. During the war on the continent he served in the Royalist army, was the confidential friend and secretary of the P. de Condé. On Bonaparte's accession he went and offered his services, stating that he had served his King as long as there was a chance of success, but that all hopes, even among the most sanguine, were over: that as a father of a family he felt it incumbent upon him to seek an existence, and he preferred feeling an obligation to his own country than to a foreign one, and would serve the Governt. that employed him with the fidelity that he had manifested towards his King and the cause he served. No immediate reply was made, but owing probably to Talleyrand's strong recommendations he was sent hither as *chargé d'affaires* between Lucien Bonaparte and Beurnonville. The latter, who has been guided and governed by Belleville,<sup>1</sup> spoke very slightly of him to us, and Belleville asserted generally, without any apparent reference to Hermann, that under the present Governt. no Royalist was *actually* employed; implying, one may presume, that if there had been any they were removed from their trusts. This was said 3 months ago. If Beurnonville really ventured to hold the language to the Queen that he boasted to us of doing, one cannot be surprised that much secret influence was employed to get him recalled or superceded. He told us that he had said to the Queen *herself* 'de vive

<sup>1</sup> Redon de Belleville (1748-1820), a French official, who served his country in various capacities. He was at this time in charge of the commercial interests of France in Spain, and remained at Madrid till 1804.

voix,' that were his advice to be followed, Bonaparte would send 80,000 men ' pour mettre ce pays-ci à la raison.'

6th October.—The F. Ambassador's house is thronged with all the best and worst company in Madrid, not to visit him but his *shop*. It seems that several of his lower apartments are converted into a *magasin*, where may be purchased all that is fine and curious from Paris. The servants are allowed this indulgence, and under his *franchise* import counterband (*sic*) articles upon which there is much appearance of his getting a percentage. We have long purchased wine at his house. In some of his quarrels with the Ministers, he made, as the price of his forgiveness, an extension of *franchise* six months beyond the period commonly allotted to Ambassadors and Envoys. The morning after Hermann's arrival he went to the *sitio* (which is now at the Escorial) without Beur. He returned this morning, and Beur. set off instantly for the *sitio*. Frere also went off suddenly. Within these few days, 3 men, one a Frenchman, have disappeared, supposed to have been arrested by the Inquisition in consequence of their having held imprudent language about the Govern't. That awful tribunal is now become a civil court and a mere instrument of state; persons whom they dare not arrest and fear to bring to trial as political offenders are seized by the Inquisition, and public opinion is still so strong in favor or rather in its fear and respect of that authority, that no enquiries are made.

7th October.—After a confinement of 8 days to my couch, I drove out to take the air, and find myself better. Lambert, Mouravieff-Apostol,<sup>1</sup> Frere, Rist,<sup>2</sup> Andreoli,

<sup>1</sup> Ivan Mouravieff-Apostol (1769–1851), a Russian belonging to one of the collateral branches of the Mouravieff family. He was Russian Ambassador at Madrid for some years, and became a Senator on his return home. He was a marvellous linguist, and translated various classical works into the Russian tongue.

<sup>2</sup> Johann Georg Rist (1775–1847), secretary of the Danish legation at Madrid, and later *chargé d'affaires*. He held the same post in



Quintana, Balbi, Mr. Chamberlain, have dined ; the three first frequently, besides generally passing the evening. Ld. Hd.'s gout still troublesome. He has, within these few days, got on by means of crutches, but is generally carried up and down stairs. Children well ; family recovered. Weather rainy for 6 days ; no cold winds as yet. Delicious temperature at present. Azara,<sup>1</sup> the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, is recalled, and General O'Farril is appointed in his place. Hermann returns to Paris immediately ; no person hitherto knows the cause of his coming.

*Madrid, October 7th, 1803: Calle de la Abada.*—Went this evening to the Teatro de la Cruz to see the celebrated actress La Rita Luna. Kemble's admiration of her talents has added considerably to her reputation, and the crowds who flock to see her are as great as those which press to see him and his sister. The part she represented is not one calculated to show off her powers. The play is an old piece. The intrigue is less complicated than is usual for a Spanish drama. A young lady of high birth, wealth, and beauty is left by her father's death at her own disposal ; he died without a will, and his only admonition was as the name imports : ' Be careful in the choice of your husband, or look before you leap.' She is surrounded by numerous suitors, whose pretensions and qualities are enumerated in an excellent scene between her and her secretary. In expatiating upon their characters, she comments wittily and satirically upon many local prejudices. The man she prefers is traduced

London, at the time of the British attack on the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, in 1807.

<sup>1</sup> Don José Nicolas de Azara (1731-1804). He was for many years the chief agent of the Spanish Government in the Papal Court, and was first sent to Paris as Ambassador in 1798. He died shortly after his removal from the post.

He was succeeded by D. José Martinez Hervas, who soon, however, gave place to Admiral Gravina.

by a jealous woman, whom he deserted: the great defect, and one which it is admitted on all sides as being insurmountable, is that he has an issue, *una fuente!* This objection would be felt by the audience, as, after being accused of Judaism or called a Moor, the next injury or insult is to be reproached with having an issue. The play is full of blemishes, long metaphysical disquisitions, which, though full of subtlety, are extremely tedious. Rita Luna is squat and short, her countenance open and pleasing, her voice agreeable. Lambert dined and went with us.

8th October.—Mouravieff and Lambert dined. In evening Mde. de Montijo, Mde. Ariza,<sup>1</sup> &c. The latter is a daughter of the Duque de Hajar and sister of the Duque de Alliaga. She is the widow of the Duque de Berwick, now married to the Marqués de Ariza. Her son, an infant, is Duke of Berwick, and heir to a great portion of the *mayorazgo* of the D. of Alba. Mde. A. has been pretty, but her bad health and extreme thinness has destroyed her beauty; she is sprightly, and possesses small talk of a better sort than most Spanish women. Mde. de Montijo<sup>2</sup> has the reputation of being the cleverest and best informed woman in Spain. Her society is the best in Madrid, and was composed of the most remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Da. Teresa de Silva Palafox y Centurión, daughter of D. Pedro de Silva de Hajar, X Duque de Hajar, and his wife Da. Rafaela Palafox Centurión, daughter of VI Marqués de Ariza. She married, in 1790, D. Jacobo Felipe Carlos Stuart, V Duque de Liria; and secondly, in 1801, her cousin D. Vicente Centurión Palafox y Silva, VIII Marqués de Ariza.

<sup>2</sup> Da. María Francisca de Sales Portocarrero y Zuñiga, born in 1754, and daughter of D. Cristobal Pedro Portocarrero, VI Marqués de Valderábano. On his death in 1763 she succeeded to all the titles, including that of Condesa de Montijo. She married, in 1768, Don Felipe Antonio Palafox, son of VI Marqués de Ariza, who took the name of Conde de Montijo from his wife's title. He died in 1790, aged 51. Mde. de Montijo lived until 1808. She had several children, and her eldest son took an important part in the struggles against France. One of her daughters married the Marqués de Lazan.

men: the unfortunate but estimable Jovellanos is her intimate friend. She was calculating lately how much her society had been diminished, and counted the number of *seventeen* who were exiled or imprisoned within ten years by the P. of the P.

9th.—B. Frere and Mr. Chamberlain<sup>1</sup> dined. The latter is a sensible, candid, agreeable man, employed at Lisbon to regulate the packets: a subordinate post, and one he is far above in point of talents. He came express from Lisbon to the Minister here, probably to excite some activity about ye claims of our merchants.

10th.—Mouravieff and Le Voff dined. The first is the Minister from Russia, of splendid, brilliant talents, with more information than one might conclude he possessed from the aptitude with which he blurts it out upon every occasion. He was of Catherine's private society, and employed to write and act at her theatre. He translated *The School for Scandal*, and others of our pieces into French. It is astonishing how well he speaks and understands languages; already he is reckoned a good Spanish scholar. From *étourderie* he is without a groat: this being his first exit from Russia he totally forgot to learn that the mode of satisfying a creditor is different in other countries. There blows and refusals are current coin, but stirling gold is necessary elsewhere. He was placed about the present Emperor by Catherine, to teach him English. Le Voff is attached to him by stronger ties than those of mere good will to his *parents*, being his living image.

11th.—Wrote for the first time these several weeks letters to England. Infinitely diverted at Luzuriaga's<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was subsequently British Consul at Rio Janeiro.

<sup>2</sup> Don Ignacio María Ruiz de Luzuriaga (1763-1822), who commenced his studies in Paris at an early age, and studied at the University of Edinburgh under Dr. Cullen. He went on to Glasgow and London, where he became a fellow of many of the leading medical societies. He

account of the treatment of the patients entrusted to the care of the Confraternity of San Juan de Dios. . . .

12th October.—Mouravieff, Le Voff, Sapia, Lambert, and a M. Voisin, his cousin, dined. Sapia is Secretary of Legation to the *Ministre de la Republique ligurienne*. Having been 14 years resident from Genoa he feels himself ill-used at being placed in a subordinate station, and the struggle between pride and poverty is not yet decided, tho' the latter must ultimately triumph and make him stay and submit. He is a civil and obliging person, full of the *caquetage* of the Court and Madrid. In addition to this humiliation, he has neither esteem nor regard for his superior, a wary, wily Genoese of the name of Serra.<sup>1</sup> During the bloody period of the Revolution he tried to act similar scenes at Genoa; the people at one moment were so incensed that the cry throughout the streets was 'Morte a Serra, Serra a la morte.' Bonaparte dislikes and fears his principles and talents; refused his returning to Genoa where he dare not trust him, and neither liking to offend or allow him to remain at Paris gave him this honorable banishment to Madrid. His countenance is an index to his character, shrewd, false, cunning, and clever. I see him often, as living in the world one must know all the motley humours of those who compose it, and not incur the ridicule of being a censor by excluding those whose morality may not square with rigid theories. *Au reste* he is rather pleasant, nor is it difficult to perceive, notwithstanding the decorum he observes towards the Govern. of his *Master*, that he is dissatisfied and not convinced of its stability. In common with many others, he was astonished at Amiens that we did not stipulate returned to France for a short time, and thence went to Madrid, where he published a number of medical works.

<sup>1</sup> Jérôme, Marquis de Serra (1761-1837), Genoese statesman and author of a *History of Genoa*. He was later French Ambassador in Dresden.

for the liberties of Holland, Switzerland, and the restoration of the King of Sardinia ; all points he is of opinion we might have carried. Those who know the negociators, Ld. Cornwallis and Merry, are equally astonished we did so well there, the former being a plain, honest, uninformed soldier, with good intentions and slender capacity, the other *nulle, nulle*, perhaps formerly a decent head of a factory and then chiefly from being able to speak Spanish fluently.

The *vales* rose, or rather fell, as they are reckoned by the discount, whilst Hermann was here, but since his departure the general has undone all that he settled, and the *affaires* are more jumbled than ever. The army at Bayonne is not nearly so great as has been reported. Yesterday's post brought me a letter from Lasteyrie, who is there ; he says the forces do not exceed 11,000 men. He adds in a mysterious manner, but intelligible to us, that public opinion was much changed in France about their *Sovereign*.

24th October, Madrid.—Since I have been able to enjoy this delicious weather, most of my time has been employed basking in the sun. On the day of San Pedro, 19th, Mde. Ariza (*ci-devant* Duquesa de Berwick) gave a ball, it being the name-day of her father, the Duque de Hajar. The company were in gala, well and magnificently dressed ; the whole of the entertainment handsomely and judiciously conducted. The supper was disposed upon many small tables, to which different parties succeeded each other. The only difference from a ball anywhere else was the dancing upon carpets, a general custom, they told me, at Madrid. The two prettiest women were the Marquesa de Santa Cruz,<sup>1</sup> Osuna's

<sup>1</sup> Da. Joaquina (1784-1851), second daughter of D. Pedro Tellez Giron, IX Duque de Osuna. She married D. José Gabriel de Silva y Bazán, X Marqués de Santa Cruz, in 1801.



daughter, and the eldest daughter of Mde. Taruco. The D. of Infantado was by far the most pleasing and gentlemanlike man. One cannot but regret that an obscure connection deprives society of his example and talents. I went three times to see Rita Luna in an old play of Lope de Vega's, *Lo cierto por lo dudoso*. Her acting is admirable, her taste in dress deplorable, which, added to rather a clumsy figure, prevents the illusion of supposing her a youthful, captivating woman. Went last night to Los Caños del Peral, where the new opera was too bad to listen to. Dined to-day at Freres' to enable the servants to see the bull feast, and to which I also went, it being probably the last I can ever see, as it closes the season of those *fiestas*. The *plaza* is of wood and compared to those of Valencia, Granada, Cadiz, Seville, &c., is very shabby. After fighting three bulls in the usual manner, the 4th was to be killed in a new way. A man on his knees was placed opposite the gate through which the animal was to enter; he held a thick pole, at the end of which a broad spear was affixed. The intention was that the animal should rush upon it and kill himself; this he did not do, however, he only threw the man over. The *banderilleros* fought him with their *capas* without the *picadores*. For the last three bulls, the arena was divided by a high fence of wooden paling, which enabled them to regale the public with two *fiestas* or *corridas* at once; those animals were very furious, several horses were killed, and the *picadores* thrown. The only extra accident was the tossing of a poor fellow, whose eagerness carried him into the arena to see the bull come forth, who, instead of attacking the *picador*, attacked and threw him over his horns with the utmost violence. Such however is the indifference about a victim in so *great* a cause, that as yet I cannot ascertain how much he has been hurt. The only merit in my eyes of this

representation is the eagerness of the people, who can neither contain their delight nor displeasure when the *matador* makes a bad stroke and the bull vomits blood; they cry 'Picaro quere hacer de caballero,' alluding to the phrase that a high-born noble throws his noble blood in your face—'il vous crache sa noblesse à la figure.' An expert *matador* only inflicts one wound, but that is mortal. The *matadores* are the *toreros*<sup>1</sup> admired by the ladies; the Dsses. of Osuna and Alba formerly were the rivals for Pedro Romero.<sup>2</sup> This evening when Rocca fought, the Marquesa Santiago withdrew to the back of her *balcone* (*sic*) not to see him in danger. The Santa Cruz is suspected of beginning to follow her mother in her tastes, as she goes in the *gradas*, where the *aficionados*<sup>3</sup> sit within reach of the *toreros*!!!

We have not been without alarm at the possibility of the yellow fever reaching Madrid; it was brought to Malaga by a French vessel from St. Domingo, and from thence was spread to Antequera, and some say to Granada. The number of deaths at Malaga amount to 60 a day: the French capt., fortunately for the believers in retributive justice, was among the first. Cabarrus' father-in-law died in 2 days.

A cordon of troops placed round the district, but the Governor of Malaga, Truxillo, being brother-in-law to the Tudo, none dare speak openly of the calamity, and to avoid spreading alarm the letters are not steeped in vinegar and undergo no manner of fumigation.

30th October.—In order to flatter, the public entirely discredited the accounts from Malaga, and altho' by them the disease appeared to gain daily, its very existence

<sup>1</sup> Bull fighters.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known bull fighter (1754-1839). Moratin composed an ode in his honour.

<sup>3</sup> The habitués of the ring.

was denied. We saw the private letters to Cabarrus, which represent the deplorable state of the town; 97 deaths in a day, upon a population considerably reduced in consequence of the flight of the principal inhabitants to the mountains and adjacent towns. To fall in with what appeared the wishes of the Prince, Vasco, the Capt.-General of Granada, published a *bando*,<sup>1</sup> the substance of which was to quiet the minds of those persons who had allowed themselves to be imposed upon by foolish reports of an epidemical disorder at Malaga, whereas the only illness which prevailed there was the one incidental to the season. This conciliatory proclamation satisfied the Court till yesterday, when, however, an alarm as great as the previous indifference arose. The Council of Castile issued an order for the immediate formation of a cordon; the Court sent a notification to Vasco, declaring that as his false information had lulled them into a dangerous security his head should pay the forfeit, if the contagion spread into Andalusia: and couriers were this morning dispatched to the seaports with orders that no vessels from America, Spanish or English Islands of West India, Malaga, &c., should be admitted either at Barcelona, Alicant, Carthagen, Cadiz. Cabarrus sets off to-morrow to drag away his imbecile wife, who, not content with incurring danger for herself, has by remaining endangered her three children. We feel anxiety on his account, as he will not be able to return when he chooses, the cordon being intended to be an impenetrable barrier, tho' in the former plague, report says it was opened by *duros*.

We went a few mornings ago to see the Palacio del Buen Retiro, the favorite residence of Philip IV.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Edict.

<sup>2</sup> The palace was built for Philip IV by the Conde Duque de Olivares, after the earlier one had been burnt about 1630. It was also seriously

is on the other side of the Prado in a spacious, handsome garden, in which are two statues; one an equestrian figure in bronze of Felipe IV, executed after a design of Velasquez's by Pedro (*sic*) Tacca, a Florentine sculptor; the other a marble statue of Charles V. The former is much admired, and deservedly, as it is a fine specimen of workmanship; it has not, however, the spirit of the equestrian statue of Charles I of England at Charing Cross. The palace is neither magnificent within nor without; the Royal apartments are stripped of their furniture. A few excellent pictures alone remain. The theatre is very beautiful; it was originally erected by Philip IV, whose taste for show and profusion was encouraged by his injudicious Minister, the Conde Duque. It has since been decorated afresh by Ferdinand VI, no less an admirer of theatrical exhibitions than his predecessor. One was the patron of Calderon and Moreto, the other a zealous partizan of Italian music and Farinelli. One large hall, where the Junta of the cities who vote for the Cortes assembles, is adorned with the arms of the diff. provinces who have votes. The pictures, of which there are 12 in number, represent different historical subjects. A curious picture of the last solemn *auto da fe* celebrated in the Plaza Mayor at Madrid, by *Francisco Rizzi*.<sup>1</sup> It represents the King Carlos II, his Queen Maria of France (Orleans), and the Queen-mother, seated in a balcony as spectators of the bloody scene: the tribunal of the Inquisition in the center, and the victims dressed for sacrifice. The young Queen was so overcome at the

damaged by fire in 1734. It was restored by Ferdinand VI, but was hardly treated by the French during their occupation, and the only portion now standing is the Artillery Museum, the rest having been pulled down in 1868, when the whole gardens were thrown open to the public.

The equestrian statue of Philip IV, here mentioned, is now in the Plaza del Oriente.

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Picture Gallery.

sight that she could not refrain from expressing her horror. A fine portrait of Henry II of France by *Titian*. Full length of Fernando and Isabel. Several fine pictures of stag and boar huntings by *Rubens*. Some admirable pieces by *Snyders* and *John Tillen*, and 'Hawking' by *Pedro (sic) de Vos*, and a 'Chasse at the Prado.' Two portraits taken at different periods of Felipe IV by *Velasquez*, and a '*bufon*' very good. The mother of Carlos II, young, and another in the dress of a widow. Several ceilings by *Luca Giordano*, and fresco walls of the taking of Granada. One large saloon, very handsome, with a cabinet or recess entirely lined with mirrors. The palace was burnt while Felipe IV and all his Court were in it. An account of the disaster and the distresses of the ladies is given in the *Semanario erudito*; therefore one cannot distinguish the old part from the new. The fire did not prevent the festivals, as the theatre escaped the flames; and whilst the palace was smouldering, the Court assisted at a *fête* ordered by the Conde Duque. The *estanque* and lake in the gardens was used, and dramatic performances exhibited on it in gondolas by torch-light.

A few days after we went to the Pardo, a *sitio real*, made such by Charles V, whom the scandalous chronicle accuses of having used it as retreat for a favorite and mysterious mistress. We passed through the *Bosque*, where at this season all Madrid flock daily to gather and eat the acorns from the evergreen-oaks, called *bellotas*. A circuit of wall of six leagues encloses the park solely reserved for the royal *chasse*. The road excellent, and several views of the river, trees, and abundance of game, very pretty. The Pardo is about two leagues from the town; at present it is totally abandoned, pictures, glasses, and furniture being removed. Carlos III added some handsome apartments to the original *château*, but



the present King since his accession, has never inhabited it. He has built a small pavilion called el Casa del Campo, where he dines after hunting; it is executed in very good taste, and is really a *bijou*.

3rd November.—Mouravieff told us of the First Consul's violence towards Marcoff,<sup>1</sup> in consequence of which the latter has demanded his recall. It seems that at Barèges this autumn, Marcoff lived a good deal with Ld. Elgin,<sup>2</sup> an offence to the great man, whose temper towards the English is implacable. At the first audience for Foreign Ministers after his return the Consul addressed himself to the Saxon Minister, expressing his indignation that protection was granted to a person proscribed by the French Republic; the Saxon made a discreet reply, and referred him to Marcoff. The short and the long of the business was that the Consul lost all temper, and openly abused the Russian Governmt. for allowing M. d'Entraigues<sup>3</sup> to write and publish against him. Marcoff's wit and repartee deserted him; he mumbled a few words which no one heard. The next day invitations were issued to all the Russians to assist at a *fête* at St. Cloud, with the exception only of Marcoff: the whole of that nation declined attending. If the Emperor Alexander had not unfortunately been educated by La Harpe in the modern principles of philanthropy, &c., he would feel stung at the insult, and resent the offence in a way that might awe the little man; would that

<sup>1</sup> Arcadi Ivanovitch Marcoff, a favourite of Catherine II; who was Russian Ambassador in Paris 1801-1803.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, seventh Earl of Elgin (1766-1841), the collector of the 'Elgin Marbles.' He was detained in France with other English after the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens.

<sup>3</sup> Emmanuel Henri Delaunay, Comte d'Entraigues (1755-1812). He was a member of the *États-Généraux* and signed the Declaration, but emigrated soon afterwards. He became a diplomat in the Russian service, but continued to publish *brochures* against the French Government, and perhaps assisted to provide the English Government with information of the secret clauses of the Treaty of Tilsit.

it might be so, as a war or threat of one would create a diversion of some of those forces all of which now menace our little Island.

Cte. de Lambert, employed confidentially by Panin during his Ministry, told me he had had in his hands two thick folio vols., in manuscript, of memoirs of the life of Catherine II, written by herself; they come down as late as three months after her husband's accession. Affairs thickened so fast after that period that probably she could not keep pace with them preserving the exactness and fidelity she observed heretofore. He remarked from them that altho' she was laying plans and creating a party for herself, it appeared more to form a system to govern than to destroy her husband. Also he read a large packet of Catherine's letters to Potemkin, returned to her upon his death. These with the Memoirs are deposited in the Imperial Archives, and will in all probability never see the light during our time at least.

Considerable alarm prevails in consequence of the yellow fever. Some have died of it in Barceloneta, and also a few at Alicant: precautions are taking to prevent its progress. The Corps Diplomatique are gone to the Escorial to compliment his Catholic Majesty to-morrow, it being his name-day, San Carlos. Comte Etty alone keeps aloof; he will not incur the expense of mules and apartments. The dull uniformity of the Court life is insupportable to the little Princess, who already listens to projects of reform against the time she may possess power enough to enforce them. *En attendant* she employs the livelong day in reading novels. Having heard so, and that there had been a fuss about them with the King, I asked the Duque de San Teodoro the truth. He acknowledged having supplied her with a stock of 140, advising at the same time 'de ne pas en abuser.' Unluckily the King, who pries into every corner, detected

one in her private apartment, and not approving of the engraving, 'fit la grimace.' She was conducted according to custom on her arrival at the Escorial into the Mausoleum; the Queens and Princesses of the Asturias are admitted *once* only during their lives through a door which never opens to them again until they are carried to their last niche for ever. The poor little thing was so violently affected, that the prior, whose office it is to admit her into the dismal vault, had much difficulty in recovering and conveying her above into the church. At the high altar she knelt and received his benediction. When the Queen underwent the same ceremony, she acted more heroically; on being shown the sarcophagus destined to contain her perishable remains, she drew from an *étui* a pair of scissors, and engraved upon the porphyry 'Maria Luisa.'

The weather is always cold and tempestuous at St. Lorenzo <sup>1</sup> at this season; there are neither promenades nor gardens, nor anything to enliven the desolate environs. The only walks are in the cloisters, and the Psse. skips about the sacristy and church *pour se distraire*. The P. of the Peace passes a week alternately at the *sitio* and here: one for the voice and support of the Queen, the other to secure the *silence* and obedience of his first and legal wife, the Tудо, whom he both loves and fears. In spite of the pains we have taken to get at the truth of the nature of those jarring connections, it is yet as much of a riddle as when I first heard of them, nor do I believe anyone has the key of the enigma. Recently the French thought themselves strong enough to displace him, but the Queen was roused, forgot his indignities towards her, and shielded him with her influence. The letter of which Hermann was the porter was from Bonaparte to the King <sup>2</sup> containing many positive charges against

<sup>1</sup> The Escorial.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 98.

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the Prince, not only for incapacity, but duplicity and falsehood; one of the charges was that, notwithstanding the close alliance subsisting between the countries, the Prince had placed large sums of money in the funds of their common enemy the English. This charge the Prince mentioned publicly at his *levée*, affecting to treat it as preposterous and unfounded. This, in truth, he could not well do, as from a circumstance it has come to my knowledge that he has sums to a considerable amount in our stocks. When we first came to Madrid, Ld. Hd., in consequence of having been so well received by him during his last journey in Spain,<sup>1</sup> resolved in the course of conversation to say something on behalf of Jovellanos,<sup>2</sup> with whom he was well acquainted; but so great a change had a few years operated in his fortunes, that all access was prohibited by the forms established, and one audience with the English Minister present was all the intercourse he was likely to obtain, unless he had demanded another, which, not being in any official capacity, would have been intrusive and troublesome.

All hopes of saying a favorable word being thwarted, another mode was suggested by Mde. M. and C., under the promise on our part of the strictest secrecy. In consequence of the war, the great person alluded to had conceived some apprehensions about his money, arising chiefly from his ignorance of the mode of brokerage, &c. ;

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland's first visit to Spain was in 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811) a native of Gijon in the Asturias. He was by profession a lawyer, but by taste a playwright, poet, and man of letters. Banished in 1790 with his friend Cabarrus to his native town, he was made Minister of Justice by Godoy in 1797. He was again disgraced the following year, and was imprisoned in 1801 in Majorca for seven years. He took a leading part in the early stages of the Peninsular War, and it was mainly owing to his efforts with the Junta at Seville that the Cortes met at Cadiz in 1810. His letters to Lord Holland in that year and 1809, preserved at Holland House, are to be published in Spain during 1911, the centenary of his death.

it was therefore suggested that it might allay his fears if a man of rank and importance were to offer to superintend the motions of his brother in London. This, tho' from various circumstances it was in itself an unpleasant undertaking, would have been acceded to, if the liberty of J. were to be the reward. Accordingly a meeting was to have taken place, arranged by C. The scheme fell to the ground. As business from Paris pressed, he went to the *sitio*, remained there longer than usual, and the hopes of peace being maintained diminished his fears. The only reason for recollecting the circumstance is the assurance of the P. of the P. in talking so intrepidly on the First Consul's accusation.

His hatred towards Jovellanos is so rancorous, that little or no hope remains either of his deliverance or diminution of the rigor of his captivity. He was first imprisoned in a convent of Carthusians in Mallorca,<sup>1</sup> deridingly recommended to learn from those reverend fathers his catechism ; there he was permitted to walk in their garden (always accompanied by a holy brother), to use their library, and *enjoy* their society. During the two years he resided among them, he attached, by the goodness of his heart and *agrément* of his conversation, the whole confraternity to his interest, and the prior never named him without bestowing praises upon his character. This, added to his addressing a letter *directly* to the King, demanding a trial and reprobating the cruelty of condemnation previous to being allowed a hearing, exasperated the P. of the P. so greatly that he was instantly removed to the fortress in which he now languishes under the vigilant eye of a severe and brutal Governor, whose natural sternness is heightened by repeated orders not to relax to the smallest indulgence. He occupies a spacious chamber with one window only,

<sup>1</sup> Majorca.



at which a sentinel is placed ; at the door also stands another. His servant is allowed to attend him at stated hours, but never without a sergeant or corporal. He is deprived of the use of pen and ink, and has no books but those given him by the governor. The only air he enjoys comes through his grated window, and the only exercise he takes is such as the dimensions of his room allows. He is 52 years of age. Accustomed to an active life, this change to one so very sedentary, has affected his health ; his legs begin to swell, and after *three* months' application to be allowed a physician, it was then granted. The physician's report was that air and bathing were necessary ; after much delay in the reply, the request was granted, on condition, however, that he should only drive to the beach attended by the governor, the physician, the captain on guard, escorted by 20 dragoons. This permission Jovellanos rejected, not thinking the life of an old man worth troubling so many persons. The only favor he asks is to be allowed to retire to his native town in the Asturias, from whence he will engage never to stir without permission. This application is totally rejected. At present the persons of the highest consideration in that province have signed a memorial pledging themselves for his security if the P. of the P. will allow him to return. To this he is also inexorable, but his friends have a faint hope.

Urquijo and Saavedra<sup>1</sup> are comparatively well off ;

<sup>1</sup> Don Francisco de Saavedra. He took office as Minister of Finance with Jovellanos in November 1797, on the retirement of Godoy, and when the great writer left the Government a few months later, he became Prime Minister. This post he retained for a short time only, and falling into disgrace he was superseded by Urquijo. He lived in retirement in Andalusia until 1808, when he was made President of the Junta of Seville, and later Finance Minister to the Supreme Junta. He was a member of the Regency of 1810, but retired afterwards into private life. (See p. 303.)

Urquijo only held office for two years, and was also disgraced and thrown into prison for a time.

the former indeed is even in favor. He obtained his *grâce* thro' the means of the Dsse. de Alliaga, who is the favorite of Don Diego Godoy,<sup>1</sup> the Prince's brother. Beurnonville, whom I sounded in favor of Jovellanos, replied that he pitied his sufferings and esteemed his worth, but that any influence he might possess, he had and should exert on behalf of Saavedra, whose lot he already had ameliorated, as he was allowed to live with his family at Puerto Santa Maria.

4th.—Yesterday B. Frere and Lambert. From painful recollections I abhor birthdays, and availed myself of the *fête* of San Carlos to celebrate dear Charles's. He was very happy in presents and doing pretty much everything he liked; dined at table, had puppet shows, and a magic lantern, &c. Reports in the Puerta del Sol of the yellow fever being already in Madrid: 2 families lately arrived from Malaga are sent to the *lazaretto* established on the road to Aranjuez.

6th, Sunday.—Lambert dined. The people of Madrid call the Prince of the Peace, *El Bonducani*, the nickname of the Caliph at which all bow, obey, and tremble. On the day of the *besamanos*, the ladies were all in the outer chamber, and were approaching the Queen's apartment, but in the centre of the room stood the Prince of the P. playing with the Queen's little dog; the ladies did not venture to pass. The Queen impatient and surprised at the delay begged the King to look, who, seeing the impediment, said laughing, 'They won't pass the *Bonducani*!' <sup>2</sup>

24th Nov.—Ld. Hd. went this morning to the P. of the Peace's *levée*. In a private audience he was told by him the story that has been in circulation these 10 days,

<sup>1</sup> Created Duque de Almodovar del Campo.

<sup>2</sup> Another nickname was '*El Choricero*,' the sausage maker, from his native province, Estremadura, which is famous for its pigs.

to the authenticity of which the Prince is always cited, that of 4000 Frenchmen being sunk by the English off Boulogne: nothing to this purpose has appeared in French papers, and the truth of it is stoutly denied by the Mission here. He finished with great professions of national esteem, adding the two nations of Spaniards and English were exactly calculated to act together from their mutual esteem. His anti-chamber is crowded with all that is great and distinguished and beautiful in the kingdom, and tho' often fatigued by their servility, his manner never offends. Such is the power of beauty, that those who have favors to solicit, entrust their cause to the prettiest female of their family, who pleads *tête-à-tête* in the cabinet allotted and fitted up for the purpose of such secret audiences, and according as the charms of the fair one please, so is he propitious to the suit.

It is impossible with truth to ascertain, what are the ties between him and the Queen. He neglects, has insulted her, and possessed himself of the King's confidence, independent of her influence; and yet whenever he is hardly pressed by unpopularity or by French interference, she supports him effectually: for instance recently in the case of the letter written by Bonaparte which Hermann delivered, in which his dismissal was made a specific condition. Whilst the Court are at the *sitios* he passes a week alternately there and here. His riches are unbounded; all he acquires accumulates, as the Court supply his expenses. His table is shabby, and that is his only expense whilst here, for at the *sitios* he is furnished from the Royal kitchen. One of the reproaches made against him is that of covetousness and penury to the utmost rigor of the word.

29th Nov. 1803.—Having been so long confined without discovering the least amendment, I took a resolution of going out and conducting myself as if I were

well. Women are described as running from one extreme to the other, but in chonical complaints little is gained by attending to every symptom ; therefore in moderation variety of scene is serviceable. Went Wednesday, 23rd, for first *sortie* to see *Macbeth* in Spanish at Los Caños del Peral. It is whimsical that foreigners invariably object to Shakespeare's extravagances, and yet in their translations or imitations from him they out Herod Herod and create absurdities and superfluous crimes to become sublime. For instance in this tragedy, Lady Macbeth is represented with a son of 6 years old, who is introduced for no other purpose than that of enabling her to run upon the stage with bloody hands, fresh from murdering him in his bed. Mlle. St. Simon I took with me. Afterwards I went to the Comtesse D'Etty ; it was the first night of her opening her house, the company was treated with a game of blind man's buff. Mde. Bourke by dint of extreme court, very fortunately for the society of foreigners, has brought many Spaniards into her society, and the Court wink at it at present, but how long this indulgence may be accorded unto them is doubtful. The next day the Duquesa de Osuna called upon me in the morning to invite me to pass the evening at her house and to bring Charles. It was a very splendid ball and supper ; Charles was enchanted with her daughter, the Manuelita,<sup>1</sup> and her *futur (sic)*, the young Duque de Berwick. I did not stay till 6 o'clock in the morning, otherwise I might have seen her *fin de fiesta* Mass, which was said in the oratory of the Duquesa. Went to see *La dama duende*, a good play by Calderon. On Monday dined with Frere ; Pellicer, Lambert, Evening, Mde. Bourke's. Not late and fatiguing.

<sup>1</sup> Da. María Manuela Tellez Giron, the Duchess's youngest daughter, who married D. Angel María José Fernandez de Cordova, VIII Duque de Abrantes.

*Thursday, 1st December, Madrid.*—Ld. Hd. dined at Mr. Pinkney's,<sup>1</sup> the American Minister. The public have been amused by a domestic occurrence in the family of the D. of Osuna. The youngest son, Giron,<sup>2</sup> has been suspected of a design of marrying a girl of his own age nearly, the niece of ye late General Deroutier, *Generalissimo* of the Spanish armies and the bosom friend of the D. and Dss. of Osuna. But as, in Spain, great offices do not confer real dignity, the privileges of birth are not waved in their favor: thus Mlle. Deroutier was a sad *mésalliance* for a son of Osuna, and both he and his elder brother (accused of conniving at the scheme) were imprisoned—Peñafiel put under arrest and confined to barracks by order of his father (as superior officer), and Giron shut up at home. This made a great clamor in Madrid for a few days, but all is restored to peace and harmony, the young man having given his word to renounce all thoughts of the lady. The scarcity continues increasing, nor do the measures taken for the relief of it yet give hopes of bettering our condition.

*4th December, Madrid.*—Went yesterday to see the Casa del Campo, a small hunting palace belonging to the King: it is not above half a mile from the town, on the opposite side of the Manzanares, across the bridge of Segovia. The house is small and insignificant; in the garden is a magnificent equestrian statue in bronze of Philip III, designed and begun by John de Bologna

<sup>1</sup> William Pinkney (1764–1822), American diplomat, who was sent to Madrid as Minister in 1797, and returned to the United States in 1804. He was Ambassador in London 1806–1811.

<sup>2</sup> D. Pedro Giron (1786–1851), Marqués de Javalquinto, a general in the Spanish service in the Peninsular War. He married, in 1811, Da. María del Rosario Perez de Santillan, daughter of the Marqués de la Motilla.

His elder brother D. Francisco Giron, Marqués de Peñafiel, and afterwards X Duque de Osuna, was born in 1785; married, in 1802, Da. María Francisca de Beaufort y Toledo, eldest daughter of the Duque de Beaufort-Spontin. He died in 1821, his wife nine years later.



and finished on his death by Pedro Tacca, erected in 1616.<sup>1</sup> It is an admirable piece of workmanship, the defects are chiefly owing to the badness of the situation in which it is placed; the pedestal is too small and narrow, and the statue is so much larger in proportion than the house (close to which it is placed), that one might fancy a fly bite would impel him to leap over it, or like the good Alfonso in the *Castle of Otranto* the inhabitant of the castle had grown too big for it. In the garden there is also a beautiful white marble *jet d'eau*; the basin is richly sculptured and ornamented with the chains, &c., of the *Toison d'or* workmanship of the age of Charles V. There are some pictures mouldering on the chamber walls, chiefly bad portraits of the Austrian family. Some inexplicable allegories on human life by *Jerome Bosch*. The park is entered by a wall of two leagues in circumference; it contains an abundance of pheasants. Three large *estanques* abound in foreign ducks and geese. On an eminence is a small chapel built by the piety of Carlos III for the *gardes chasse*. The wood is very pretty, and the view of the palace in Madrid truly grand. On this side the town appears handsome, and does not betray the total nakedness and barrenness which disfigure its environs on every other side. Lambert, Quintana, and an agricultural friend of Lasteyrie's dined. Went to La Cruz; much pleased with the play, one of Lope's—*La hermosa fea*.

The day before (Friday) the Bourkes, Mouravieff, Rist, Lambert, and his cousin dined. Evening went to Mde. Etty, where the pleasures of the nursery were offered to grown-up ladies and gentlemen in the juvenile sports of blind man's buff, forfeits, hot cockles, &c. No letters from England since 22nd October. From the change in the tone of the French papers, it is not improbable

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Plaza Mayor.

that the projected invasion of England is renounced, and Ireland will be the object ; an alarming change for us, as in one instance they only exposed themselves to certain death and failure, but in the other to success as certain as they can hope for. However the very change exposes the First Consul to ridicule, and how far the French national character has changed upon the scorn attached to a ridicule, remains to be seen.

Le Chevalier,<sup>1</sup> who has been passing 80 days, and, as he adds, what is much more, 80 nights, on the heights above Tarragona measuring triangles, gave a letter of introduction to Messrs. Richards, Bingham, and Escher to us. The latter is a Swiss merchant from Leghorn ; the former a young Englishman, seized in France on his return from Italy and kept as a *détenu* 6 months at Nismes, from whence he contrived to make his escape by an Italian passport. He represents the situation of the English as deplorable, more however from petty vexations than from positive rigor, altho' there are examples of the latter. Those who have small, uncertain incomes suffer by the detention, as the bankers exact exorbitant profits upon the sums they draw for. At Fontainebleau the indigent part of the community suffer cruelly ; I rejoiced to find that the small sum of £50, which I had desired Perregeaux to give among them, was likely to be so useful. He represents the public opinion having changed, in the space of 3 months, from enthusiasm and exultation on the score of the invasion to indifference and doubt. The military offended at the rank granted to the *gens d'armes*, who have precedence. A sort of discontent arose in the army at Bayonne ; a suspicion of conspiracy excited some alarm, and for three days all

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Le Chevalier (1752-1836), French traveller, who published an account of his researches in Asia Minor, and a work on Homer.

the houses in Toulouse were searched for arms. The vulgar story was that the troops, irritated at the ill-usage of Toussaint and his family<sup>1</sup> (the latter reside at Toulouse), intended to make some effort in their favor. Toussaint is reported to be dead; others affirm that he is confined in the Château d'If, opposite to Marseilles. Bonaparte is personally disliked at Marseilles: a *voluntary* contribution for the *chaloupes canonnières* could not be raised.

5th December.—Three gentlemen and Lambert dined. Yesterday Charles spent the day at the D. of Osuna's, playing with her little daughter Manuelita. We went in the evening to the Bourkes. Many Spaniards, but in consequence of the ill success of the bank for many successive evenings, the company were compelled to revert to the games of their youth, and derive their amusement from the innocent pastimes of forfeits, &c. However *les petits jeux* languished and went off heavily. A considerable alarm prevailed in consequence of the report of a violent contagious fever having broken out in the prisons; it is not called the yellow fever, but by the accounts appears to be equally malignant. This evening more particulars; all the prisoners were removed last night, and conveyed in coaches to a *lazaretto* 2 leagues off. The fever was brought into the prison by some criminals lately apprehended, 5 of whom died; the others expired after 30 hours' illness; a lad who attended them is also dead, and the priest who administered is dying. The utmost precautions have been taken to stop the

<sup>1</sup> Toussaint l'Ouverture (1743-1803), a negro statesman and general, and native of St. Domingo. He took a leading part in the disturbances in that island, but after being named Commander-in-Chief by the French in 1796, he threw off their authority, and in 1801 proclaimed himself President for life. He was treacherously taken prisoner by General Leclerc, and sent to France, where he died in the Château de Joux, near Besançon.

contagion ; muriatic acid and other fumigations. Some fear the prisoners were a part of the gang lately seized in Andalusia ; others that they came from the Mancha, where 48,000 persons are sick of putrid disorders in consequence of the scarcity of provisions and want of fuel. Luzuriaga affirms that the famine is so dreadful and universal that the population of Spain will be materially diminished. At Burgos the people die like flies, the villages are deserted, as the miserable peasants crowd into the towns to obtain relief from the rich and pious.

There has been a slight misunderstanding, or more properly a coldness, between the Queen and the P. of the Peace on the subject of Morla<sup>1</sup> (Captain-General of Andalusia). She insisted upon his removal, to which the Prince acceded, provided Caballero was expelled. She refused, and the Prince remained a fortnight from the *sitio*, where he went yesterday, and the report is that this day Morla received the order to retire into a small village in Andalusia.

The French Minister in Sweden, replied wittily enough to the late King of Sweden,<sup>2</sup> who had long made himself ridiculous by vain boasting. When asked of what part of France he was, and perceiving the King's intention was to make him call himself a Gascon, answered, ' From the banks of the Garonne.' ' Enfin,' said the King, ' you are a Gascon.' ' Oui, Sire, *Gascon du Midi*.' The public had long named the King, ' Le Gascon du Nord.'

Another wearisome confinement to my couch has depressed my spirits, and incapacitated me from exerting either mind or body.

<sup>1</sup> Don Tomas Morla (1752-1820), Spanish general, who succeeded Solano as Governor of Cadiz, after his murder in 1808 by the mob, and captured the French ships there. He was instrumental in the surrender of Madrid to Napoleon in 1808, and sided with Joseph's Government the following year. He was disgraced at the restoration of Ferdinand VII, and retired to his estates.

<sup>2</sup> Gustavus VII, who was assassinated in 1792.

11th December.—The 9th was the *fête* of the Queen ; after it the Prince of the P. came to Madrid. Many days previously there were rumours of a quarrel between the Queen and Prince of the Peace, on account of Morla (the Captain-General of Andalusia), whom the Queen always detested and was glad of the pretext of complying with the request of the French to dismiss. It appears that the French complained of his want of respect to their flag in the not saluting properly a ship-of-war which entered the port of Cadiz. The Prince reluctantly agreed to Morla's removal, even tho' balanced by Caballero's disgrace, but the Queen would not come to those conditions and several warm scenes and *vives* altercations ensued. Some say Morla received an order to withdraw from Madrid and retire to an obscure town, but that the Prince ventured to call him to the *sitio* on ye 9th.

Orders were issued for the preparation of the castle at Arena for the reception of the Court, who were to go there, from thence to Toledo, and so to Aranjuez, without coming through Madrid. The cause of this unusual measure was both to avoid the danger of infection (a jail-fever having broken out in the prisons and alarmed the inhabitants of Madrid) and the clamours of a starving populace. Arena is an insulated mansion near the frontiers of Estremadura, about 30 leagues from hence ; it formerly belonged to the Infante Don Luis,<sup>1</sup> father of the Princess of the Peace, who is acknowledged as a Bourbon but not as his legitimate daughter, as the King calls her *cousin* not niece. On the day of the gala, the Queen lamented the necessity of the journey, expressing

<sup>1</sup> D. Luis Antonio de Borbón, born in 1725. He was made Archbishop of Toledo, but renounced that honour, and married Da. María Teresa Vallabriga y Drummond in 1761. One son and two daughters were born of this marriage : Infante D. Luis Maria, who was made Archbishop of Toledo, while the eldest daughter married Godoy and the youngest the Duque de San Fernando.



her aversion to travelling ; the King, on the contrary, testified the utmost delight, enjoying beforehand the pleasures of an unexplored *chasse*. Those who were at the *besamanos* remarked that he suffered excessively from the heat, and frequently to refresh himself had the windows opened, which considering the extreme cold (snow then being several inches on the ground) was unpleasant to the Queen and others. In the night he was seized with a suffocation, and bled *twice* ; apparently an apoplectic attack, similar to the one which had nearly proved fatal 3 years ago at San Ildefonso. An express was immediately dispatched to recall the Prince of the Peace, who was in bed but immediately set off to the Escorial. The bulletin of to-day reports a great amendment in his health.

Last night a messenger arrived from England ; he came in an armed cutter from Portsmouth, bearing probably dispatches of the last importance with regard to our decision relative to the fate of Spain, its neutrality, peace, or war. Mlle. St. Simon dined twice lately, her father once ; B. Frere, Lambert, and Rist, almost every day. To-day nobody. From England no news of great importance. Ld. Hawkesbury<sup>1</sup> called up to H. of Lds., which has left *the Doctor* without an orator in the H. of Commons. General Fox appointed Commander of the Home district. Ld. Stafford's death, by which Ld. Gower is become the richest subject (with the exception of Bonaparte's brothers and generals) in Europe. The invasion has ceased to alarm the English for their own island ; the preparations and threat are diverted towards Ireland it is supposed. Paul de la Vauguyon has entered

<sup>1</sup> Robert Banks, Lord Hawkesbury and afterwards second Earl of Liverpool (1770-1828), for many years Prime Minister. He was Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Addington ('the Doctor'), and was raised to the peerage in November 1803.

into the *Armée d'Angleterre*. The Dsse. is at Paris soliciting the Under Consuls, not having yet obtained admittance to the First.

14th December.—On the evening of the 12th went to a private play at the Marqués de Peñafiel's. The *dramatis personæ* consisted of the persons most distinguished for their birth and youthful brilliancy. The choice of the piece was bad, *Gabrielle de Vergy*, a wretched tragedy by Belloy, scarcely ever represented at Paris, not improved by the Spanish translation. The Conde de Haro performed the part of Fayel; his wife the Condesa de Haro, that of Gabrielle; Marqués Peñafiel, Raoul de Courcy; the *confidante*, Marquésa Santa Cruz; the confidant of Raoul, the Marqués de Silva, Santa Cruz's brother; the husband's confidant, Giron, Peñafiel's brother. The representation went off better than we expected. The *petite pièce* was very well acted, *Le rencontre heureux*. Decorations pretty, dresses costly, jewels in profusion.

13th.—Monsieur Couessens, recommended by Mr. Chamberlain, dined with us; he is lately arrived from Philadelphia at Oporto. During the voyage the vessel was frequently searched by English cruisers in hopes of discovering Jérôme Bonaparte.<sup>1</sup> He is a native of Brittany, and proprietor of large possessions in the Island of Martinique; praised much the conduct of the English whilst they were masters of the colony, and is evidently in hopes they may recapture it, as under its present masters the productions must remain shut up unprofitably until a peace. He has travelled through Mexico, where he passed 3 months with the Prussian traveller, Baron

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's youngest brother (1784-1860). He took part in the expedition to St. Domingo, and being summoned to return to France by his brother, went to the United States, in the hope of thus escaping capture by the English ships. At Baltimore he married Miss Elizabeth Patterson, but the union was not recognised by Napoleon, and he returned to Europe without her in 1805.

Humboldt, whom he represents as a very enterprising and diligent observer. At Philadelphia he saw Jérôme Bonaparte, who was amusing himself with the luxury, state, and profusion of a young Prince ; he describes him as rather clever, with a decided dislike to the profession his brother has chosen for him, and only fond of horses, equipages, &c. Mde. Bonaparte's mother<sup>1</sup> still remains at the Martinique, where she prefers the social intercourse of her old friends to the ridicule of beginning a Court life at Paris ; she allows no one to name Bonaparte in her presence, and her only enquiries are about her daughters' health.

20th December.—Dined with the Bourkes ; party consisted of the Freres, Mouravieff, Miners,<sup>2</sup> his secretary Falck.<sup>3</sup> In evening called upon San Teodoros ; returned to Mde. Bourke's, where as usual a motley society of foreigners and Spaniards, gamblers and idlers, assemble. Mouravieff imparted as a sort of *secret* the *ukase* (proclamation) which has been issued in Russia for the levying of additional troops, far beyond the necessary number for the peace establishment ; from whence it is inferred that, as Russia cannot fear being attacked from her geographical situation, the augmentation is not made to put her upon the defensive but to interfere actively in the concerns of Europe.

21st.—Mouravieff, Lambert, and Falck dined. Received in the morning a small box, brought by Mr. Hunter from Lisbon, containing *Cowper's Life* by Hayley, and *Lady M. Wortley Montagu's Letters*, published by

<sup>1</sup> Rose Claire de Vergers de Sannois, who married Joseph Tascher de la Pagerie, both descendants of French families settled in the Antilles.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch Minister in Madrid.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Reinhard, Baron Falck (1776-1843), Secretary of the Dutch Legation at Madrid. He held important positions of State in Holland both under Louis Bonaparte and William I, and was later sent as Ambassador to London.

permission from the family papers in Ld. Bute's possession. The whole novelty are a couple of volumes of her correspondence with her husband and daughter. There is in the first (whilst lovers) on her part a mixture of cold reasoning and forward importunity that renders his hesitation far from surprising, but the vanity of possessing such a wit probably decided him. I devour it with the same eagerness one feels about a new and interesting novel, with this difference, that the novel excites curiosity merely for the story, whereas Lady Mary's wit and sarcasm form its excellence, and novelty makes one pause to admire its justness. Her picture, or rather view of human life, is not flattering but faithful.

On Christmas Eve, in conformity to an Italian custom, the Neapolitan Ambassador gives a *buona notte* or *à l'espagnol, la buena noche*, consisting of a splendid supper after midnight and a numerous assembly, which is usually composed of foreigners, as the Spaniards who keep houses stay at home to receive their own *tertulianos*,<sup>1</sup> who always dine with the persons whom they visit on the preceding evening. We stayed very late, and I was not sorry on the morrow to doze away the day alone and by the fireside. On Monday, much amused with the theatrical representations at the Bourkes: they consisted of different *proverbes*, acted by Mouravieff, Falck, Lambert, Rist, Vaudeuil, Balbi, Le Voff. The first was a mock-heroic tragedy; 2nd, *Le mari absent*; the third and last, *L'étranger*, admirably performed by Mouravieff, who hit off the German accent and prolix method of arguing facts with the utmost humour and exactitude. After this there was a very cheerful ball.

On Wednesday morning I went to the Duke of Infantado's; he showed me his books, manuscripts, and pictures. His own apartment is very comfortable;

<sup>1</sup> Circle of friends.

his books and papers scattered about betrayed that his collection was more for use than ostentation. Ld. Hd. observed that it forcibly recalled to his mind the poor Duke's<sup>1</sup> own apartment at Woburn, for here there is also a medley of the useful and ornamental models of machinery for manufactures by the side of an inestimable *Rubens*, electrical apparatus, minerals, fossils, chemical instruments, fine porcelain, armory, and a thousand curious, useful, and costly objects huddled together. In addition to every modern publication, he has some rare and precious manuscripts. A *Romance of the Rose* splendidly illuminated, *Les quatre dames d'amour*: most all the romances of chivalry enumerated as composing Don Quixote's library. A Mexican record, in hieroglyphics, of the early manner of communicating with them by signs or symbols. A beautiful portrait by *Vandyke*. Quantities of sketches by *Rubens*, several fine portraits on horseback by *Velasquez*, especially one of Christina on the brink of a river. Prince Emanuel de Salm, brother of the Duchess of Infantado, and uncle of the Duke,<sup>2</sup> knowing my intimacy with the D. of Devonshire, came on purpose to meet me and enquire about them. He is a sensible, agreeable, well-informed old man, much connected in the early part of the Revolution with the Fayetteists, having long been the lover of the Princess of Bouillon, who was one of the four inseparables, with Mde. d'Hesnin, Psse. de Poix, Dsse. de Biron. He told me he had spent several days with Mde. d'Hesnin and Lally<sup>3</sup> at Mde. de Gouvernais's near Bordeaux, and that Lally was employed in writing a history of the beginning of the Revolution which he intended should have the

<sup>1</sup> Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, who died in 1802.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke's mother was Maria, Princess of Salm-Salm.

<sup>3</sup> Trophime Gérard, Marquis de Lally Tollandal (1751-1830), who wrote most of the work entitled, *Memoirs concerning Marie Antoinette*, published by Joseph Weber in 1804.



merit of *impartiality*; but many may be Lally's merits, but impartiality certainly is not one of the number.

Gravina, a Lt.-general of Marine, was highly rejoiced at meeting with Ld. Hd., whom he accompanied from England to Spain about ten years ago. He is an excellent, frank, warm-hearted man.

*Friday, 30th.*—Went to the Austrian Ambassadors'—rather dull. Frere sent circular letters to the different ports to desire the Consuls to put the merchants upon their guard, as war appeared probable. This intelligence was only known from the merchants at the ports, who wrote it back to Madrid; here it having been kept a most profound secret. If it was communicated, it was only to a Mr. Campbell, a mysterious character, a Scotch American, who has speculated considerably in *vales*,<sup>1</sup> and has assisted in the loan of large sums. Report says he has very recently acquired sums to a considerable amount upon the agiotage of the *vales*, and some are amazed at the *sagacity* of his speculations. It is unlucky for F.'s reputation that he has not a just discrimination between what ought to be reserved and what disclosed, as it renders him liable to various imputations, especially of the above nature. Both Bourke and others have smiled, and the former, who has a regard for him, has lamented his *boutonné* character, as it has deprived him of opportunities of serving him; as no equal will collect and give information without getting something in return. The Prince of the Peace said openly that he knew more about England from others than from the Minister, and foolishly enough, I think, accounted for it by observing that F. was not trusted by his own Court or rather Administration.

*Wednesday, January 4th, 1804.*—Dined at Frere's; Gravina, Nuncio, Freire (*Ministre de Portugal*), General

<sup>1</sup> Stocks.

Lancastre, Don Juan de Langara. The latter is the Spanish admiral who was prisoner in England.<sup>1</sup> Lancastre is the descendant of some follower of John of Gaunt, who came to assist Pedro the Cruel in his wars against his brother, and the family have been established in Spain ever since that epoch.

*January 12th.*—Weather has been very English for many hours in the day during the last month, with this difference that here we have well-grounded hopes that the eclipse of the sun by a dense cloud will soon be removed, whereas *chez nous* an impervious gloom is the settled habit of the weather.

*11th.*—Indiscreet language was used in the apartment of the P. of the Asturias during the King's illness at the Escorial, which naturally enough has indisposed the old Court towards the young one. Great apprehensions are entertained about the future reign: shoals of Italians, especially of Neapolitans, have arrived, hoping to bask in the sunshine of their native protectress's bounty. The Neapolitan Embassy are viewed with dislike and pique by both Courts; the Princess is supposed already to have selected among her countrymen a favorite, who is no other than Louis Caraffa, the *garde-du-corps*. This disposition was manifested in the zealous manner with which she undertook his promotion, reprimanding sharply the Dss. of San Teodoro for her preference to another competitor, whose name had not been so long upon the list as Caraffa's, but whom the Dss. wished to favor. In consequence of the observations made upon this occasion, it has been notified to Caraffa's superior officer, that he must not upon the pretext of gala days be allowed so frequently to visit the *sitio*.

<sup>1</sup> The commander of the Spanish fleet defeated by Rodney off Cape St. Vincent in 1780. He was there wounded and taken prisoner. He commanded Spanish fleets on two separate occasions off Toulon, and was Minister of Marine 1797-1798.

As soon as the King was better, an architect was dispatched to Badajoz to prepare a fit residence for the Court next October. This scheme was a project of the Queen's, who meant thereby to secure herself a palace for a retreat at some future period. The P. of the Peace is a native of Estremadura and has frequently declared his intention of retiring thither after the death of the King. The difficulties the King, &c., experienced in the journey to Vellada are supposed to have been increased by the contrivance of the P. of the P., who wished to pass 30 hours *alone* with the Royal family. On the second day of the journey, his Majesty received a note from Cevallos (Minister for Foreign Affairs), apprising him of the impracticability of crossing a rapid torrent, humbly advising that his Majesty should go to Talavera instead of risking the passage of the river. The King paused, but said nothing could be decided till 'Manuel' came, at the brink of the water. The result of the parley was that one of Manuel's *chasseurs* should plunge into the stream and examine the practicability of the safety of it, his report was that the water only reached his middle, that the bottom was sound. The King resolved to pass with the Queen, &c., and P. of the Peace, escorted by the *chasseurs* (which has offended his own *gardes-du-corps*). The consequence was that as no attendants crossed at the same time, the P. made the King's bed, and together they made the Queen's.

The effect of this privacy has been a decree confirming to the Prince all the grants hitherto made of the *Crown lands*, another estate, and another *chapeau* or *Grandesse*, with the remainder over of the title of *Prince* to his heirs. The wording of the decree is whimsical; it is almost a threat of his indignation should his successors infringe these rights. They call it here a *billet d'enterrement du Roi*, as it confirms the belief of his illness and approaching danger. It is a

great proof of the folly, vanity, and egotism of the P. of the P. Folly to imagine that such a measure could in any way bind hereafter the Prince of the Asturias, should he be inclined to pluck this fat bird; and of vanity, to obtain an additional Grandeeship merely because others who have several are addressed as *double* Grandees in memorials: egotism, at this crisis when fresh taxes and scarcity already oppress every class to get favors merely to enrich himself. His policy is unaccountable. In his conduct towards the P. of the A., instead of conciliating or even demonstrating the usual tokens of respect due to his rank, he offends, and has insulted him by slights. The consequence has been what might have been foreseen, that he has made him an implacable enemy, who will not delay showing his resentment by overturning this formidable rival—formidable only as far as he has usurped the place in the King's affections and the public eye which ought to have been filled by the other; because nothing can be farther from probability than what has been circulated in foreign countries of his ambition and enterprising schemes of aggrandizement. The only ambition he has is to amass immense wealth, and the high situations he has enjoyed have only been estimable in as far as they gratified that passion. Habitual and constitutional indolence impede the execution of any great enterprise flatterers may have suggested or he listened to in a dozing reverie. Not only he is without a party or an adherent, but he has no friend upon whom he can rely.

13th.—In consequence of the intense heat at the play on the 12th, I suffered dreadfully from a violent *migraine*, which made me so ill that I could scarcely hold up my head. Got up to dinner, at which assisted Balbi, Caraffa, San Pedro, Lambert, B. Frere. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past five the lustre oscillated violently; we suspected it was

occasioned by a shock of an earthquake, and in consequence examined the lustres in the other rooms. They were all equally agitated, and continued in that state for a minute and half. San Pedro and Charles were both frightened, and to the same degree. I was much too ill to go to Mde. Etty's.

14th.—Having nursed myself, I was enabled to dine with Miners, the Dutch Minister; party consisted of Bourkes, Mouravieff, Lambert, Acosta, Le Voff, Rist. Dinner very splendid: a mixture of French refinement and Dutch solidity; everything well served and appointed. Company in high spirits. In many parts of the town the shocks of the earthquake were felt with sufficient smartness to create great alarm. The inhabitants of the houses in the Plaza Mayor ran out into the streets, fearing the fragility of their old tenements. Part of the church of San Tomaso fell. The barracks of the *gardes-du-corps* had some tiles shaken off. In short it was universally felt more or less. General Gravina said it was felt a quarter of an hour sooner at Aranjuez. The Prince of the Asturias was considerably alarmed. From the direction in which it came, it is conjectured that it must come from Valencia or Murcia. It has furnished a topic of conversation. Not that in point of small talk any is wanting, as the projects of gaiety upon the *tapis* afford abundance of matter for conversation. Went in the evening to Mde. Bourke's.

Tuesday, 24th.—San Pedro dined. Evening pleasant at home. The earthquake did mischief at Granada; opened the great arch of the cathedral several inches, and threw down houses. Severe also at Malaga and Carthagena. Motril, in the kingdom of Granada, has been overturned and several streets entirely swallowed up.

Wednesday, 25th.—The Nuncio obtained permission for us to see the Palace of Medinaceli; accordingly we



went, and found him<sup>1</sup> and the Dss. of M. C. sitting waiting our arrival in the armory. She, her son, and daughter-in-law accompanied us everywhere with the utmost civility and attention—to the offices, kitchens, infirmary, school for servants' children belonging to the family, archives, secretaries' offices, stables for horses, ditto for mules, vaulted passages of communication from difft. parts of the house, others underground to get out to the Prado, *dépot* for *garde meuble*. Sumptuous apartments above. The mansion is immense; it covers several acres of ground, stands in three parishes, and communicates by covered galleries with three churches. 3000 persons lodge under the roof. They alone preserve the custom of pages, *los caballeros*, dressed in yellow with black stockings. Many have the crosses of military orders, and are promoted to high posts in difft. professions. They are very devout.

*Saturday*.—Me. Montijo, Lambert, Falck, Quintana dined. Letters from Nelson saying that he believes the French fleet has slipped out of Toulon, 10 sail of line and 4 frigates. A messenger immediately dispatched to Coruña to apprise Sir E. Pellew's squadron; because should they make a junction with the ships in Ferrol, the combined forces would be too strong for him.<sup>2</sup>

On Monday, the 6th, Ld. Hd. met with a deplorable accident in riding in the Prado. At the very moment Frere was extolling the excellence of his horse, the animal fell, and in the struggle of getting up, broke Ld. Hd.'s arm; the fracture is in the forearm, of the two

<sup>1</sup> D. Luis María Fernandez de Córdova, XIII Duque de Medinaceli (1749-1806) married, in 1764, Da. Joaquina María de Benavides, afterwards Duquesa de Santisteban del Puerto, in her own right.

<sup>2</sup> This was only one of the periodical scares which the French admiral in Toulon was giving Nelson throughout 1803 and 1804. His ships were continually coming out of harbour to give the sailors practice, but he never dared face the British fleet, which was ever on the alert.

bones. At first he fainted frequently, but after the setting he declared the pain was not nearly as great as that of a gouty twitch. He continued totally free from fever. Our excellent friend Lambert has been of the utmost use and comfort by never quitting the bedside whilst he thought his services were useful in the least degree. His calmness and address were far more useful than the skill of the surgeon. He dines here every day. On the Saturday following the accident Ld. Hd. dined at table. His spirits have throughout been good, except within these 4 days, when the pain in his fingers and hand made him fear an attack of gout. Every eve. we have a numerous *tertulia* of Spaniards and foreigners. D. of Infantado very kind and attentive, also P. E. Salm. Dine frequently with Le Chevalier de Toledo; his brother also.

21st March.—It would be lost time to attempt either to bring up my journal, or wait until I was in a humour to make a correct *résumé* of the events of the period which I have allowed to go by unnoticed. The King of England's death was currently reported; in addition to his mental derangement it appears that he has been afflicted with an acute disorder. As late as the 25th of Feb. no communication was made to Parlt. about his health. Willis and his son were sent for, but refused attending unless ordered to do so by the Privy Council; Addington refused to allow Willis to be called in, having given his word to the King that he never should be attended by Willis whilst he was Minister. Dr. Symonds<sup>1</sup> from St. Luke's was called in. Prince had been in danger from an inflammation on his lungs in consequence of dining three successive days with the D. of Norfolk.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Foart Simmons, M.D. (1750-1813).

Moreau arrested,<sup>1</sup> accused of being in a conspiracy to assassinate Bonaparte and, in conjunction with Pichegru, to restore the Bourbons,—an accusation at first universally discredited, but the arrest of Pichegru, and subsequently that of Georges and many Royalists in the Vendée, add credit but too strongly to the story. With great concern I read among the list of those already seized the names of Armand and Jules Polignac, and with some regret that of the Marquis de Rivière. The latter had long forfeited my esteem from the strong suspicion entertained of his having meddled in the affair of the 3rd Nivose.<sup>2</sup> Assassination without the extenuation of personal animosity or prompt revenge is so foul and mean, that it is not to be defended upon any score.

31st March, 1804.—By a messenger, who arrived from Paris yesterday, and brought with him the *Moniteur* of the 23rd March, it appears that the Duc d'Enghien has been arrested, tried, and condemned to death! The trial was conducted by a military commission named by General Murat (the brother-in-law of Bonaparte and the military Governor of Paris).<sup>3</sup> The trials of Moreau,

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that General Moreau was not in reality a participant in the schemes of Pichegru (whose treachery in 1797 he had denounced) and Georges Cadoudal, though it is equally certain that he was perfectly willing to assist any plot detrimental to Napoleon's interests. The latter, who looked on him as a dangerous rival, was enabled to cause his downfall, on the grounds of Royalism and attempted assassination, at a moment when it would have been difficult to assail his popularity with the army. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but was allowed to leave the country and go to the United States.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt to assassinate Napoleon on his way to the Opera on December 24, 1800. See *Journal*, vol. ii. 127, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Murat always denied that he was responsible for the appointment of the eight officers who sat in judgment on the Duc d'Enghien: in fact he always maintained that he did all in his power to save him. Certainly Murat was a most humane man, and never signed a death warrant during the seven years he was reigning in Naples.

The Duke had no connection whatever with Georges' plot. He was at Ettenheim; in Baden territory, in pursuit of a love affair. It is probable

Pichegru, and the others have not yet come on. It is hard that such a calamity should have befallen this young Prince, as he is high-spirited, gallant, and full of estimable qualities, all calculated to advance the cause he served by the admiration and respect they excited. Throughout the struggle the Condé branch of Bourbon House have been the only one which endured the hardships of the war, exposing themselves indiscriminately with the commonest soldier to all the dangers and inconveniences of a severe campaign. Hitherto the conspiracy appeared made up of such incongruous personages that the object of it was not clearly understood, but the presence of this ill-fated young man, accompanied by the staunch adherents of the C. d'Artois, puts it beyond a doubt that the restoration of the House of Bourbon was the purpose to be effected.

This discovery, however, throws no light upon Moreau's conduct, whose alliance with Pichegru in a Royalist plot must remain a mystery, when it is recollected that Moreau himself denounced his friend Pichegru for holding a traitorous correspondence with the Princes. 24 of the chief men at the bar have offered their services to plead his cause; he has accepted 2, but means to plead for himself. They tell a story of his coachman, that may be true. On the road from Grosbois to Paris, he was met by Gen. Moncey<sup>1</sup> and a detachment of *gendarmes*. The General, on stopping the carriage, lamented the service he was employed upon, and apprised Moreau that his orders were to conduct him to the Abbaye, upon which Moreau, with the utmost composure,

that Napoleon was spurred on to action by the belief that Dumouriez was also there. It was however a case of mistaken identity; the ex-general was far away at the time.

<sup>1</sup> Moncey, Duc de Conegliano, was appointed Inspector-General of *Gendarmerie* by Napoleon in 1801.

halloed to his coachman to drive to *l'Abbaye*. The coachman jumped down, and asked Moreau if he meant really to go to the Abbaye ; upon being assured that such were his orders, the man replied, ' *Te mènera qui voudra, ça ne sera pas moi toujours,*' and a dragoon was obliged to take the reins and drive. His wife and mother-in-law were in the greatest consternation when the carriage arrived empty, altho' they had endured with tranquillity the seizure of his papers, &c. The mode of trial is to be changed : the military are to be admitted, but in either case Bonaparte may be satisfied that the sentences will be such as he will approve, so low and abject is the French character become. The adulatory addresses congratulating him upon his escape from the machinations of *Georges Roi et Georges brigand* are truly disgusting, and show a depravity that one can hardly suppose an enlightened nation capable of.

Gravina is appointed Ambassador from this Court to Paris. There are various opinions on this nomination ; some think that the P. and Queen dislike that so honest a person should be about the King, and also that he may be a support to the Princess of the Asturias in the *mauvaise chicane* that they intend to excite against her.

Advices from England by the regular Lisbon post as late as the 7th March. Domestic news not good. Lady Ossory, after a lingering illness, in which she suffered cruel pain, died in Feb. Lord Lansdown had a severe paralytic stroke, which has left his understanding clear, and his voice is recovered from the shock. The Prince of Wales has given a place in the Duchy of Cornwall to Sheridan ; shortly after the appointment, Warwick Lake produced a signed promise from the Prince, in which the place was given to General Lake.<sup>1</sup> H.R.H. means

<sup>1</sup> General Gerard Lake, created Baron Lake in 1804 for his distinguished services in India. At the time of his death in 1808, he was



to get off by annulling the transaction on the score of its illegality. King better. Appearance of a coalition between Fox and Ld. Grenville. Ld. Camelford killed in a duel in H. House grounds.

*6th April, Friday.*—On Monday we dined with Mde. de l'Infantado. Made some visits in early part of evening. On Tuesday at one o'clock, set off to the Escorial, arrived at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 8. Mr. Miners, the Dutch Minister, lent us his house, which, as I took the children, was more agreeable than going to an inn. Our party consisted of ourselves, Lambert and B. Frere, and P. Emanuel de Salm. Having provided ourselves with a letter from the Secretary of State to enable us to see the Royal apartments, and another which was a Bull to enable me to enter the *clausura*,<sup>1</sup> we set off on Wednesday morning. Having seen the church and mausoleum in the summer, the novelty of the first impression was lessened, tho' surprise can scarcely be diminished when one beholds such a stupendous, heavy monument of gloomy superstition. The library is very spacious and well proportioned; the ceiling is painted by Luca Giordano.<sup>2</sup> There are four full length portraits of the Austrian Kings, from Charles V inclusive to Philip IV; the latter is ascribed to *Velasquez*, but is out of all drawing, especially in the right leg. The librarian, who was remarkably obliging, showed us some manuscripts;<sup>3</sup> one upon hunting, which had belonged to the Count of Foix, beautifully illuminated, done in the 13th century; the

a member of the Council of the Duchy of Cornwall. Warwick Lake was his youngest son. This appointment of Receiver was worth about £1000 per annum. Sheridan surrendered the emoluments until after General Lake's death.

<sup>1</sup> Cloister.

<sup>2</sup> This ceiling is by Tibaldi; but there is one in an anteroom near at hand which is by Luca Giordano.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph removed the books and manuscripts, and though Ferdinand VII sent them back, 10,000 were missing.

*Revelation* and *Apocrypha*; an *Alcoran* in Arabic. On quitting the library, on my expressing a wish to see a cell, the librarian offered to show us his; after traversing extensive and numerous cloisters, we reached his very cheerful habitation. From thence we went to the Prior's apartment, which is spacious and was formerly occupied by Don Gabriel, who died in it. In the choir saw the two monks who were praying for the soul of Philip II. From the moment of his death to the present one, two friars have incessantly been interceding for his spiritual welfare; they are relieved every 6 or 8 hours.

*Friday.*—The unfortunate D. d'Enghien appears to have been murdered most unjustifiably: seized on neutral territory (in the Electorate of Baden), conveyed under a strong escort to the castle of Vincennes, where he arrived at 8 o'clock in the eve.; dragged out of his bed at 12 to appear before the military judges, and shot in the *fosse* of the castle by torch light at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past two o'clock. He refused to allow his eyes to be covered, adding that he did not fear meeting death, and himself gave the word of command! Thus, at the age of 32, expired this gallant young man.

— In the Retiro I went to see the bronze statue of Charles V crushing heresy; it is very good, but rather small.

*Monday.*—In the morning early went to the bull feast; to see the humours of it completely, instead of going as usual in a box, I went to the *gradas*. The bulls were furious: one alone killed 6 horses and threw the *picadores* down in the most dangerous manner. The rapture of the spectators is a thing quite incredible; whenever the bull foils the *picador* whom they dislike, they applaud him. Once they were so incensed at an awkward thrust of the lance, which made them infer a want of courage in the *caballero*, that several cried out that they hoped they should see him killed.

*Tuesday, 10th April.*—P. Emanuel de Salm, Mde. de Montijo, her daughter Mde. de Lazan, Falck, Lambert, Gravina. Extremely pleasant, and delightful coze upon interesting subjects.

*Friday, 13th.*—Went with Madame d'Osuna to her country house, called the Alameda ;<sup>1</sup> she conveyed us in an immense carriage, made to hold 12 persons. The party consisted of herself, Mde. de Peñafiel, Perico, P. Emanuel, M., Mde. de la Peña, Olméda, an officer, and Manuelita. The distance from Madrid is about a league and a quarter on the road to Alcalá de Henares. It is a creation of her own, as she found 24 years ago the same sterility and nakedness which characterizes the environs of Madrid ; it is now cheerful and woody. The garden is rather crowded with a profusion of diff. ornaments, some in the German sentimental taste, others in a tawdry, citizenlike style. *La Casa della vieja (sic)* is very pretty. The mansion is excellent and well fitted up. We had an agreeable day, altho' the weather was as unfavorable as rain and hail could render it. Returned by torch light at 9.

*14th.*—Left Madrid late in the day, and reached Aranjuez at night. Our house is excellent ; it belongs to the Marqués of Santiago, and costs us 15,000 reals for the *jornada* ; it is the dearest, tho' not the best house in the *sitio*.

*16th.*—Set off to Madrid. On the evening of the morning in which I went to the bull feast, a *picador* was killed : he was removed senseless from the Plaza, and languished a few hours. Ximenes, the *matador*, was, in the same *corrida*, cruelly wounded and gored by the bull, and if he recovers, which is doubtful, he will not be capable of following his noble calling in life.

<sup>1</sup> Bought by Don Gustavo Bauer, the banker, a few years ago.

About 10 days ago, there appeared in the *Moniteur*, under the date of Madrid, the substance of a conversation supposed to have taken place between Mr. Frere and the P. of the Peace, in which Frere is represented as justifying assassination, from the necessity of it in the deplorable state into which England is now thrown. The Prince is made to use very grand language, deprecating such doctrines, and prophecying that their effects generally recoil upon those who act upon them. A note of observation is added by the editor, that at the moment such opinions were promulgated in favor of the Bourbons one of their house had perished by the sword of justice (the only public notification of the murder of the D. d'Enghien).

Many days previous to the publication of this paragraph or rather its arrival here, the P. of the P. had told the French Ambassador and others that it was inconceivable the interest which the English Minister manifested about Georges and others of the conspirators. Frere sent a note to the P., testifying his surprise at the publication and requiring a contradiction of it, that he might be acquitted to the public and to his own Court. The Prince sent a shuffling answer, advising F. to treat the whole with contempt, a line of conduct he had always found the most successful whenever he himself had been abused. In the meantime, the Prince of the P. affected towards the French Legation great satisfaction that publicity had been given to his sentiments, and corroborated by the strongest assertions the veracity of the statement. Frere, not satisfied with the note of reply, passed another, in which he categorically demanded a satisfactory answer. No sooner was this dispatched, than he grew frightened at the peremptory tone he had used, and consulted with Mouravieff, who offered to see the P. and mediate before a final answer should come.

Consequently he came here and had an audience. He was coldly received; the P. said he should give no further answer, that the Spanish Govern. was tired of the uncertain state of affairs with England, and had 60 thousand troops ready to add to the French expedition. However he added he was going to Madrid and would consider more upon the subject.

Serra is suspected to be a contriver of this plot to bring on the war; he is dissatisfied with his position here, which is a sort of exile in consequence of his having quarrelled with Bonaparte, who made use of his influence to overturn the Govern. of Genoa, and having obtained all he wanted has thrown him aside, but fears his return to Genoa and dreads his plotting at Paris. Hence Serra seeing the French Govern. so permanently established, calculates that it is more advantageous to make his peace with B. than gratify his spleen by trusting to the posthumous fame of his Memoirs, in which probably the truth alone, independent of the ingenuity with which he would state it, would make his case *versus* the First Consul strong. *En attendant*, if by showing an extravagant portion of zeal, he can captivate the First Consul, govern Spain underhand without the odium of bullying, and injure England by making the war turn upon an odious point, he will be a useful ally to the Diplomatic squad, and obtain some higher post at Paris or elsewhere than he can expect without a change of sentiments. It is notorious that for three months he has had a daily conference with the P. of the P., who at first abused him without reserve, but has since ended by enduring and liking him. His court has been so assiduous, that it was even conjectured that he aspired to some official employment in the Spanish Govern.

There is no doubt that the important part of the conversation is a fabrication; altho' Frere admits that



the topic was discussed, that he expressed himself warmly as to the legitimacy of assassination on the part of every Frenchman towards Bonaparte, adding that, were he an emigrant, he should not feel more scruples in placing a dagger into B.'s heart than he did in sticking a knife into a leg of mutton. But he protests against having uttered a word in behalf of the interference of other Governrs. in a scheme of murder. It was highly imprudent to enter into a speculative disquisition upon a subject in which our country is supposed to be so disgracefully involved, and one in which he has been publicly accused himself in the *Moniteurs* about the period of the 3rd Nivose.

These ensuing three or four days are highly interesting and important, as in the course of them the question of peace or war must be decided.<sup>1</sup> Some think the latter inevitable and far beyond all conciliation or even concession, as the P. cannot fulfil his treaty of furnishing the stipulated sums to the French, and to avoid showing to the country the dissipation of those monies he will not venture to raise more, but had rather sacrifice the neutrality and become an active ally of France than run the *risque* of offending them.

Baby fell ill, his disorder being imputed to the close heat of Aranjuez: we borrowed Mr. Hunter's house at Madrid, and he, accompanied by Mr. Allen, set off on the 3rd of June. We followed on the 4th; came in the German waggon with B. Frere. The night fresh and pleasant; arrived in five hours. The state of child's

<sup>1</sup> Between Spain and England. The Spanish subsidies to France, though manifestly for a purpose antagonistic to the interests of England, were at first tacitly left unnoticed by the British Government as being levied under compulsion. However, the large increase of these, and the assistance given to French ships in Spanish ports, became the subject of representations early in 1804 from Frere to the Spanish Government, who were clearly given to understand that a continuation of such practices might be treated as a *casus belli*.

health so precarious that it was deemed dangerous and impossible to undertake the journey to the coast, consequently we sought a house for a few weeks ; fortunately in consequence of the expulsion of so many persons from Madrid, we found it less difficult than usual. By Mde. Montijo's interference we obtained the house of the Marqués de Aguilar, a spacious and airy house, situated in the Plazuela de Santa Barbara, *en frente de la iglesia*. It was the Hotel of the Imperial Ambassadors for 50 years, and in the garden many Protestants are buried. We took possession of the house on the 10th June.

17th June, Sunday.—Mr. Angiboult and Mr. Willing to dinner. The former mentioned that a *cedula*<sup>1</sup> had lately been issued ordering all the cotton machines in Spanish America to be burned or destroyed ; also prohibiting all persons to come to Spain from her colonies—without a permission from the Court of Madrid. Great improvements lately made in the china manufactory at the Buen Retiro by the use of a magnesian earth containing a mixture of the carbonate of magnesia. Spanish Govt. loses considerably by its cloth manufactory at Guadalaxara. Confirms the common remark that the number of directors and inspectors with large salaries who are placed over the Rl. manufactory are more than sufft. to absorb all the profits of the manufactory, tho' supported by every sort of monopoly and exclusive privilege, both in the purchase of the raw material and sale of the manufactured produce. Royal fabrics are often established in order to create a place for some creature or dependent of the Minister, and a decayed member of the *consejo* is not unfrequently recompensed for bad services by the place of Inspector of some manufacture of the very name or existence of which he was ignorant till he received his patent.

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum.

19th, Tuesday.—Serra, Falck, Miners, and Alava to dinner. Alava<sup>1</sup> was at the Philippine Isles with his uncle, who was formerly Governor there, and returned by the way of Mexico. He is a very handsome man, and was, previous to the Royal journey to Barcelona, very well with the Queen; but is at present among the *desterrados*,<sup>2</sup> and is about to quit Madrid, they say, because the Pss. of A. solicited the place of *camarista*<sup>3</sup> for his sister, on which the Q. sent for him and reproached him for using any other interest for the advancement of his family than hers. He pleaded ignorance of the suit in favour of his sister, but did not succeed in allaying the anger of his former friend, as it was notified to him shortly after to go to his department at Cadiz; he has solicited in vain for a remission of his sentence.

21st June, Madrid, 1804.—Went to the Alameda and dined with the Dss. of Osuna, present M. and Mde. Peña, Don Diego—librarian, Olméda, and the *habitués* of the house. Duchess gave a very entertaining, and to all appearance a fair account, as it was not favorable to herself, of the affair of Peñafiel and his brother which made so much noise last winter.<sup>4</sup> He was put under arrest by his father as colonel, for some slight military omission, but in reality for contriving a clandestine amour (if not marriage) between his brother and Madlle. Deroutier, contrary to the promise he had made to his *padres*, and beating the servant who was employed to watch them. She strongly reprobates, as do all the Spaniards, anything

<sup>1</sup> D. Miguel Ricardo de Alava (1771–1843). He was first a sailor, but was transferred to the army. He was one of those who signed the Constitution for Joseph and accompanied him to Madrid. He did not, however, support the French for long, and became intermediary between Wellington and Cuesta in the Talavera campaign, and brigadier to the former in 1811. He was put in prison for a short time by Ferdinand on his return to Spain. Later in life he was Ambassador in London, and also in Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Outcast.

<sup>3</sup> Maid of honour.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 120.

like an Italian faction springing up at Court. The present Q. has never taken any favorites but Spaniards. Said of her that she is without a love of glory, ambition, or national dignity, and has never seen anything in Spain but as the means of purchasing her pleasures. I remember Calonne used to say something to the same purpose more grossly expressed. Her harsh treatment of the young Court, and the resentment of the Pss., much talked of. *Casa Nápoles* suspected of betraying the Pss. to the Q., and to have been severely reproached by the Q. of Naples for the shabbiness of their conduct. Alameda very pretty, fitted up with great elegance by the Dss., but *created* at an immense expense. Gardens contrived for coolness, innumerable grottoes, temples, *chaumières*, hermitages, excavations, canal, ports, pleasure boats, islands, mounts, &c., &c. Dss. very agreeable; great natural talents, wit, eloquence, and vivacity.

Found Frere as soon as we returned. Serra to supper. He gave us a very entertaining account of Moreau's progress in life from being an *avocat* at Rennes to his late trial. He and Beurnonville fell into discredit with the Republicans because they refused to circulate among their troops the Fructidorian addresses of the Italian army. Had not the chief command from that time, till he was raised to it by the troops, after the misconduct of Scherer. His magnanimous conduct towards Joubert before the battle of Novi,<sup>1</sup> when the other generals were remonstrating against Joubert's determination to descend into the plain and fight the enemy. Joubert in return offered to give up to Moreau the command of the army, which the other had the prudence to refuse. Battle of Novi fought to fulfil a foolish, boasting promise made to the 500. Joubert killed in ye beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> In 1799.

engagement by his own troops. The quarrel between Moreau and Macdonald arose from the latter claiming an independent command after his celebrated retreat from Naples, and from his rashness and obstinacy in descending into the plain of the Po and attacking there the Allies. Moreau again behaved in an exemplary manner, when he found that he could not divert Macdonald from his project, by giving him all ye support in his power : but the diff. between these two genls. has never been made up, and this is the reason of the coolness between Moreau and Beurnonville. Serra disbelieves the story of offers having been made to Moreau before the 18th Brumaire, because the Republicans never had confidence in him after the affair of Fructidor. Bonaparte and Moreau saw each other for the first time at the grand dinner given a few days before the explosion of St. Cloud, when this revolution was determined upon in the private cabal of gen. officers. Siéyès read to them his plan of a new Constitution, which was to be proclaimed as soon as the Councils were dissolved, and Bonaparte started no sort of objection to it. This meeting was held at the Bois de Boulogne, and a second took place the night before the explosion. When Siéyès was asked for his Constitution but he had left it at Paris from fear that he might be seized with it upon him, he answered that he would send for it to-morrow, to which one of the generals (Beurnonville says, himself) answered, 'Ma foi, si vous ne l'avez pas ici aujourd'hui, il n'en sera pas question demain' ! Accordingly, Bonaparte, having got quit of the old Govt. without having proclaimed a new Constitution, was in no hurry abt. producing it, and afterwards brought forward one that had very little resemblance with that agreed upon originally with Siéyès. The estate of Crosne, which Siéyès accepted from Bonaparte, has completely ruined him with the country.



Serra considers the military genius of Moreau as greatly inferior to that of Bonaparte: mentioned his loitering before Ulm as one of the proofs of it. Moreau is considered as the best *tacticien*; Masséna as the first *praticien* with little science; but Bonaparte has greater resources in his own genius, in which he appears always confident. One great merit of Moreau is his calmness and self-possession in dangerous situations. Moreau became a *frondeur* soon after the termination of the Continental war, and has since blamed almost every act of Govt., even the Peace of Amiens, 'tho,' adds Serra, 'the best that France ever made.' Bonaparte was at first very anxious to be reconciled to him again, and declared if M. would make the first step, he would make all the rest.

22nd.—Mouravieff and Caillet<sup>1</sup> to dinner. The former is about to present to this Court a note on the death of the D. of Enghien. The latter, who is a French emigrant in ye service of Portugal, has lately been banished from Lisbon on the requisition of Lannes. When some one wondered the other day why Serrurier had been made a *maréchal de l'Empire*, Caillet answered, 'Probablement on a fait Serrurier maréchal pour ferrer l'âne.'

24th.—D. of Infantado, Don Manuel Toledo, Don Pedro Giron. The latter is a sprightly, clever lad; second son of Mde. d'Osuna. The rumours of the King's illness and bad state of health, the uncommon number of troops brought into Madrid (not less than 14,000), daily slights put on the P. and Pss. of Asturias, excite suspicions of some designs being in agitation. The little Pss. is fearful of being with child. In the meantime there is a general outcry against the Italians, perhaps raised and encouraged by the Q. and her favourite.

27th.—Mme. de Montijo, with her youngest son, who is a fine young man, absent from the military school

<sup>1</sup> Lady Holland elsewhere spells the name Cailhé.

at Segovia, and seems full of ardor in his profession, M. Lugo, M. Vargas, Bauza.<sup>1</sup> Vargas<sup>2</sup> is an officer of Marine, who is out of favor at Court on acct. of the freedom of his opinions. He is a member of the Academy of History, and is employed in writing a history of the Castilian Marine: by birth an *Andaluz* and a friend of Jovellanos. Good-humoured man with a natural flow of spirits, some wit, and turn for sarcasm. Lugo bestowed great praise on Roda,<sup>3</sup> to whom he ascribes most of the good done in the beginning of Ch. III's time. Roda was a Jansenist, and had a great share in the expulsion of the Jesuits.

30th June.—Much talk on the slights lately shown to the young Court. Troops ordered away when the Royal family arrived from Aranjuez before he had passed by; double sentinels placed at the door of his and ye Pss.'s apartments. Yet the hatred against the Italians continues so great as to prevent resentment being shown. Mde. Branciforte,<sup>4</sup> sister to the P. of ye Peace, is no friend to her brother. Urquijo<sup>5</sup> was her lover, and she frequently urged him, when her brother was out of favor, to banish him from Court: but from excess of confidence in ye stability of Court favor and

<sup>1</sup> Felipe Bauza, Spanish geographer, and head of the Institute at Madrid. He died in 1833.

<sup>2</sup> José de Vargas y Ponce (1760–1821) poet and author. He saw service while in the Marines. Rewarded by the Spanish Academy for his *Elegio de Alfonso el Sabio*; member of all the literary societies, and compiler of a history of the Spanish navy.

<sup>3</sup> D. Manuel de Roda was Minister of Justice under Charles III.

<sup>4</sup> Da. Antonia de Godoy married D. Miguel de la Grúa y Talamanca, Marqués de Branciforte, at one time Viceroy of Mexico.

<sup>5</sup> Don Mariano Luis Urquijo (1768–1817), who succeeded Saavedra as Foreign Minister in 1798. He became later Chief Minister, but his reforms offended the retrograde party, who compassed his downfall in 1800. Godoy returned, and Urquijo was thrown into prison where he remained two years. He was recalled to power in 1807 by Ferdinand, but sided with Joseph when he had given up all hope of his country regaining her liberty.

some remains of gratitude to the P. of ye P., he not only declined complying with the request, but in the winter of 1800 had the imprudence to allow her brother to come to Aranjuez and have free access to the Q., at a time when he himself had a quarrel with the Papal Court on the subject of a memorial which he had presented agt. the *Dateria*.<sup>1</sup> The P. of ye P. contrived to reinstate himself in ye Q.'s good graces, and, by her assistance and that of Cardinal Capponi, inspired the King with such distrust of Urquijo's projects that he gave an order for that Minister's exile to Pamplona before he had the smallest suspicion of the danger that threatened him. Branciforte accused of tyranny and peculation in Mexico. Gravina has no connection with any Italian party, and is the only Italian beloved by the Spaniards.

*July 1st.*—Ld. Strangford,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Robarts, and Freres to dinner. Robarts is nephew to Tierney, and has been 2 years in Spain, living chiefly at Segovia ; seems to be connected with the wool trade.

*4th.*—To dinner ye Duke of Infantado, Don M. Toledo, Don Pedro Giron, Don Antonio Capmany, Don Felipe Bauza. Capmany argues stoutly that education in Spain has not suffered by the suppression of the Jesuits. The epoch of the fall of taste and literature in Spain is coeval with the rise of the influence of the Jesuits ; their reign for a century and half is marked in Spain by profound ignorance and gross prejudice, or by frivolous and unsubstantial pursuits. The revival of literature and the study of the severer sciences are subsequent to their

<sup>1</sup> Urquijo, himself a Jansenist, urged Charles IV, on the death of Pius VI in 1799, to 'liberate his Bishops from the oppressive guardianship of the Roman Curia and his people from several heavy contributions to the See of St. Peter.' (Neilsen's *History of the Papacy*.)

<sup>2</sup> Percy Clinton Sydney, sixth Baron Strangford (1780-1855); appointed Secretary of Legation at Lisbon in 1802, and Minister Plenipotentiary four years later.

suppression. The Court of Naples has consented to re-admit the Jesuits, provided the Court of Spain agrees to admit them into Spain, and an application has been made to the S. Govt. by ye Ambassador here to know what its intentions are, and to urge its compliance with the wishes of the head of the church.<sup>1</sup>

9th.—Falck, Freres, Ld. Strangford. Spanish Govt. refused to ratify treaty with the United States about the cession of Louisiana.<sup>2</sup> Pinkney has ordered his two black servants to announce thro' the town in all *botillerias* that he is to go home, and advertise his wine for sale. Moreau is arrived at Barcelona on his way to the U. States.

11th.—Dined at Freres. Present, the *Casa de Alemania*, Mouravieff, St. Simon, M. de Rouffignac, an old Frenchman who leaves upon his cards, 'Le premier gentilhomme et chrétien du Limousin,' but compelled to fly his country many years ago for having killed his colonel in a duel.

15th.—Capmany, Quintana, and Falck to dinner. Capmany despairs of Spain ever regaining her consequence or even independence, and, like the other Spaniards, looks forward to her absorption in the Gt. Empire. It was the policy of Aranda during his last Administration<sup>3</sup> to maintain peace with France, and to place the army and navy in the most respectable state in order to make the neutrality of his country respected by the belligerent powers. He had also proposed to take

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits had been abolished in 1773 by the Bull of Clement XIV. They were restored in 1804 in Naples, but not in Spain until the return of Ferdinand VII in 1814. The Society was then reinstated, and by a further edict of the following year all their rights and property, of which they had been deprived in 1767, were handed back.

<sup>2</sup> Louisiana was handed over to France by Spain in 1800. Napoleon had now arranged to sell it to the United States, for fear it should fall into the hands of the English.

<sup>3</sup> In 1792.

advantage of the troubles in France and discontents of the Lyonese, in order to attract into Spain all the silk manufacturers of Lyons with their machinery and workmen. Vargas told us he was himself the agent employed in the negociation, in which he had made considerable progress when Aranda was disgraced and the policy of the Court totally changed. Most of the effects of the late Dss. of Alba were seized by the Q., P., and even King, on the day after her death, engaging to pay for them the price at which they should be valued.<sup>1</sup> One of her estates, bought by ye P. of the Peace, taken possession of, but not paid for on acct. of the law-suits about her will; sold to the K. afterwards, and the purchase money received, without having to this day satisfied the original proprietors.

18th.—Pinkney to dinner. In appearance, manner, and style of conversation very Yankee, but evidently skilful in making a bargain. Talks of the dispute between Spain and U. States as he would of a difference between two of his neighbours. Talks with contempt of Spain, and reports conversations with Cevallos that must have been very galling. Told us that he had charged 16 dollars for stationery in his accts. of extraordinary expenditure, whereupon, tho' the acct. was passed and paid, he received a private letter from Madison<sup>2</sup> cautioning him agt. making such charges in future. Maxim of Jefferson that no citizen of the U. States ought to remain longer than 4 years in Europe.

19th.—Bourke, Rist, Mouravieff to dinner. Several vessels with silver on board arrived from America, said

<sup>1</sup> Among other effects of the Duchess of Alba at the time of her death which passed into the hands of the Prince of the Peace, was the Rokeby 'Venus,' by *Velasquez*, now in our National Gallery:

<sup>2</sup> Appointed Secretary of State in the United States in 1801 under Jefferson, whom he succeeded as President in 1809.



to amount to 4 millions of *pesos*, and 9 millions expected still. Reports of discontents at Paris. Bonaparte's sisters hissed at theatre; called 'Princesses du Sang,' allusion to the murder of Enghien. Brunet, the actor, at Montausier imprisoned for a joke. When asked by his master if he has 'remisé'd the coach,' replies, 'Non, l'impériale est trop élevée; il faut l'abattre.' Beurnonville gone to Barèges.

25<sup>th</sup>.—To dinner Conde Fernan Nuñez,<sup>1</sup> his brother del Rios, Marqués Peñafiel, Perico Giron, Marqués de Santa Cruz, B. Frere. Much conversation about ye etiquette and ceremonial of the Sp. Court. King and Q., and even the little *Infantes*, served with drink by the gentlemen-in-waiting on their knees. Old custom retained of tasting what the King is to drink and eat. When the cup is carried through the apartments or corridors of the palace, every one by whom it passes must take off his hat. At the Escorial once lately an obstinate fellow refused, upon which the bearer of the cup threw it down, with the exclamation of 'Copa profanada'; the man was imprisoned for the insult. Duty of the gentlemen-in-waiting excessively hard. There are 12, Fernan Nuñez and brother are of the number. Scratch King's back at night when he is in bed. Gives water, &c., *par extraordinaire*, but not since English improvements have been introduced. *Sumiller de cuerpo*<sup>2</sup> (Marqués de Ariza) puts on K.'s shirt. Forms observed when K. is sick, even continued after his death. 'No quiere comer el Rey?'<sup>3</sup> till he is interred, when the *Sumiller* breaks his wand or staff of office, and exclaims with surprise, 'Esta muerto el Rey?' F. Nuñez, son of the Ambassador

<sup>1</sup> D. Carlos José Gutierrez de los Rios, VI Conde de Fernan-Nuñez, eldest of five brothers. He married Da. María de la Esclavitud, V Marquesa de Castel-Moncayo.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> 'Does not the King wish to eat?'

in France. His wife is a very foolish little woman, so great a *sotte* that he thought it would not be worth any person's while to make love to her, but unluckily he overheard persons in the Prado who did not know him talking of her *amour* with Toledo as an established old affair. This made him observe, and the fruits of his vigilance was an abrupt discovery of the truth in consequence of returning home unexpectedly.

Remonstrances humbly made in a Memorial from Badajoz, imploring his Majesty not to pass the winter in that city, unless every article of subsistence, both for the attendants of the Court and mules be brought into the province. Crops in Estremadura so bad.

26th.—Dined at the Dss. of Infantado's, her *fête*, Ste. Anne. Present her sons and 2 granddaughters; M. Santiago, Peñafiel, Creagh (whom we knew at Valencia), and Abbé Melon. The Duke is at present engaged in a lawsuit with the Crown for his *señorial* rights in ye kingdom of Valencia, worth to him about £8000 pr. ann. These rights are derived from a grant of D. Jaime el Conquistador to one of the nobles who assisted him in the conquest of that kingdom. They passed by sale into the possession of the D. of I.'s ancestors, were repeatedly confirmed by the Kings of Aragon, and more recently by Felipe III after the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, on condition that the *Señor* should find settlers for the waste lands left by that measure. This was complied with, and the family have enjoyed this possession ever since, undisturbed by the Crown, till Soler<sup>1</sup> raised this process on the pretext that by the Constitution of Aragon

<sup>1</sup> D. Miguel Cayetano Soler (1746–1809). For some years Intendant of Majorca, he succeeded Saavedra as Minister of Finance in 1798. He was able to introduce reforms, both salutary and useful to the finances of the country, during his term of office, notwithstanding the difficulties of his position. He resigned the post in 1808.

the original grant was illegal, and that the conditions in the Act of *Poblacion*<sup>1</sup> in Felipe III's charter were not fulfilled by the family of Infantado. The cause is to be decided on the 28th. Abbé Melon is the author of an agricultural work which has reputation ; it is a periodical journal. Abbé has been in England. Went *après dîner* to Mde. Castelflorido, or as she is always called, Mde. d'Aranda, the widow of the Minister. She is devout and sickly ; she has a very mild and innocent look !!

Since French subsidy Marine more than usually neglected, instances of officers dying from poverty, and others compelled to menial services to obtain subsistence. The expenses of the Court are in the meantime going on without abatement : lately the K. granted to the P. of the P. 5000 dollars a week for repairing and enlarging his palace in Madrid, to be continued till the whole is finished. The works proceed of course very slowly. The K.'s journey, even to the *sitios*, is regularly preceded by an embargo on mules, and the same method is taken to procure mules whenever they are wanted for any other purpose, and the hire instead of being regulated by the current price is fixed by a *tasa*.<sup>2</sup> A similar *tasa* is fixed on houses, either at Madrid or the *sitios*, and it is sufficient that a house is empty to force the proprietor to let it to the person who gets an order for that purpose from the Govt.

27th.—To dinner Andreoli, Balbi, M. Raghet. Andreoli disclosed some of his diplomatic rogueries that might vie with many of Scapin's *fourberies* : charges to his Court and the Hanseatic towns for journies to the *sitios* that never took place, for gala suits never made, for illuminations where there was not a candle burned. General belief that the Spanish Govt. have sent instruc-

Population.

<sup>2</sup> Rate.

tions to *Casa Irujo* (their Minister in the U. States) to yield all demanded by them rather than go to war. Frere recalled, and Bartholomew named *chargé d'affaires*.

28th.—Urrutia, now dead, who commanded the Spanish army with reputation after the death of the Conde de Union,<sup>1</sup> had under him 2 general officers of considerable talents, both versed in the *génie*, and rivals, O'Farril and Morla.<sup>2</sup> O'F. has the advantage of undaunted courage, and is thought by some the best officer in the Spanish service. He is supposed by those discontented with the present Govt. to be friendly to their views. His wife has hurt him by her indiscretion and violent speeches in favor of Jacobinism (his house and society is mentioned by Azara in his famous letter to the P. of the P. in 1800). He is out of favor at present, and employed at Berlin. Morla, his rival, has ye confidence of the P. of the P. Morla's courage has been questioned. The Q. dislikes him, and prevented his filling a high office which his patron had destined for him. He is in Andalusia. Solano, good officer.<sup>3</sup> Pardo (brother-in-law of Galvez) is good. Mazarredo<sup>4</sup> is the best of the Spanish admirals; inferior officers very good seamen.

D. of Infantado lost this day his suit. The cause was tried by the *Tribunal de Hacienda*, where old Godoy

<sup>1</sup> In the Catalonian campaign against France in 1793-1794.

<sup>2</sup> Don Gonzalo O'Farril (1754-1831), Spanish general, who served with distinction in the army until appointed Ambassador at Berlin in 1798. He sided with Joseph after the abdication at Bayonne, and at Ferdinand's restoration was condemned to death in his absence as a traitor to his country. He spent the remainder of his life in France.

<sup>3</sup> Solano (1768-1808), Captain-General of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz. He was murdered by the populace of that town in 1808 for his supposed sympathy with the French.

<sup>4</sup> Don José María Mazarredo (1744-1812), who saw much service in the Spanish navy and was Ambassador in Paris for a short time in 1804. He became Minister of Marine under Joseph in 1808, and retained the post until his death.

presides. This is supposed to be the commencement of a series of lawsuits by which the Minister Soler boasts that he will add 5 millions to the revenues of the Crown. At this moment, when under pretence of the restrictions imposed on the Crown by the ancient constitution of Aragon the D. of I. has been stripped of a property held for more than 5 centuries by his family, has the King, in direct violation of an express article in that very Constitution, made over to the P. of the P. the Albufera of Valencia<sup>1</sup>—a possession, by the bye, taken from another family upon the ground that it could not be held by a subject. The stratagems which the P. of the P. puts in practice in order to prevent these examples from being at some future period turned agst. his own acquisitions, are equally shallow and ridiculous. At one time the King charges his heirs as they revere his memory not to recall his donations to this favorite: at other times he purchases Royal domains or exchanges them with estates of his own, as if he could have the means to purchase a single estate, or even loaf, without pillaging the royal Treasury.

29th.—To dinner Serra, Sapia, Quintana, Perico Giron, and Falck. The expense of a day's shooting to the K. is said to be 75,000 piasters. A *cortège* of 6000 persons conveyed and fed at the expense of the Govt. to Barcelona. When the Court was at Barcelona 25 judges were at once removed from the tribunals at Madrid *con honores y sueldos*,<sup>2</sup> on pretence of age, sickness, &c., and their places filled up by other persons. Many of them were young men under 40 yrs. of age and in perfect health, nor is it supposed that a single one was

<sup>1</sup> The lagoon and domain was valued in 1813 at £300,000. It was granted by Napoleon to Suchet in reward for his capture of Valencia, and the title of Duke of Albufera was at the same time given to him.

<sup>2</sup> With honours and stipends.



induced either from age or infirmity to retire from office ; and in a fortnight they were banished from Madrid on pretence of want of houses, and sent to Malaga, Aragon, &c. It is said that before the decision of the D. of Infantado's process, old Godoy and Soler did not scruple to threaten the judges of the *Hacienda* if they permitted themselves to be swayed agst. the K., reminding them of this expulsion. The judges gave their opinions and vote in secret, no one at least being present except the *Fiscal* or K.'s advocate. D. of Infantado came in the eve., evidently more hurt at the manner of the pleadings agt. him than at the loss of property. In the memorial of his adversary he is held out as the oppressor of the people by holding unlawful rights over them.

1st August, Madrid, 1804.—To dinner D. of Infantado, Toledo, Bauza, Abbé Melon, Falck. The former intends appealing agt. the decision of his lawsuit. Abbé Melon prefers agriculture as a national object to manufactures. Peter the Cruel and Ximenes are his Spanish heroes. Of the late Ministers he seems to have conceived a good opinion of Saavedra's talents. To Jovellanos he objects that he was a man of haughty manners, obstinate and *muy aristocratico*. Urquijo was *loco*,<sup>1</sup> but well with the Queen. Soler, when Intendant at Iviza established there a manufactory of muslins, and sent to Court some English muslins, which he represented as made in his own manufactory. This imposture succeeded, and gained him the character of an attentive, active man, and was the foundation of his present fortune.

11th.—Ld. Hd. very ill for some hours from nausea. Serra and Sapia to dinner. Former highly good-humoured and amusing ; told many stories. Pinkney is detained, not only because he cannot find a purchaser for his

<sup>1</sup> Mad.

wine, but also by a suit which his tailor has instituted agt. him in a court of law. Pinkney admits the legality of the debt, but refers the tailor to Soler, saying, 'The King of Spain owes the U. States a considerable sum of money. I do the business of my Govt. here; it is therefore but fair Soler, as the K.'s cashier, should pay this bill, and I will account with Madison when I get across the Atlantic.' Infantado, with his usual friendliness, came again and spent eve. Numbers of other persons also. Moreau has arrived at Cadiz with his wife; she is to lie-in, and they proceed immediately afterwards to America. Solano, the Captain-General, served as a volunteer under Moreau in the famous campaign of '96, thus upon the score of fellow soldiers he will meet with a cordial reception; altho' it is reported that the Court have enjoined that he should confine himself to distant civilities.

12th.—In the morning went to the Royal Library, collected by Felipe V. One of the librarians, M. Conde,<sup>1</sup> who is an oriental linguist and has the charge of the manuscripts, very civilly arranged my admittance, it not being the custom to admit ladies, and without his intervention and the day being a festival I could not have seen it at all. We saw some MSS., valuable both from their antiquity and rich illumination. Missals, Dante, Petrarch, and the first books of Genesis ornamented in the 12th century. A prose translation into Spanish of ye *Æneid* by Don Enrique de Villena. A sort of cabalistical work containing receipts to make the philosopher's stone; the characters are quite unintelligible.

<sup>1</sup> José Antonio Conde (1765-1820), the author of various works on Spain. He was librarian to the Minister of the Interior, and afterwards at the Escorial under Joseph, but was exiled at the restoration of Ferdinand VII.

*Tuesday, 14th.*—Freres only. Ld. Hd. better. English letters to the 26th July. Ld. G. Leveson<sup>1</sup> appointed to the Embassy of Petersburg; he takes with him, tho' in no official capacity, Wm. Howard and Willy Ponsonby. The report of Count Panin's<sup>2</sup> recall, combined with Leveson's nomination, gives colour to the rumours of a Northern confederacy forming against France. Leveson knew Panin intimately when he went to carry the compliment of congratulation to the present King of Prussia in 1798-9 on his accession to the throne.

The day Serra dined here, after dinner he came with me into Ld. Hd.'s bedchamber; we sat round his bed, and he told many curious facts and entertaining anecdotes. The old story of Frere's correspondence and dispute has been revived, in consequence of some garbled copies of the letters being inserted in the French papers. This subject led to a discussion upon the business. He argued that Frere would not have taken it up had he not had officious advisers; that being surrounded by persons of immoral and suspicious character, it was not fair to assert that the Prince had betrayed the conversation, Frere himself being incautious, and disposed to talk openly at table before his servants and dependants, each of whom were likely to betray him to the F. Ambassador. That it was not the intention of the Prince to make the correspondence public, but how was that to be avoided, when copies were distributed among ye subordinate diplomatic agents, Andreolis and Ardelbergs? Upon asking whom the persons were who were accused of this immorality, Mouravieff and Bourke were named.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, created first Earl Granville in 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Count Nikita Petrovitch Panin, Ambassador at The Hague and Berlin under Catherine II. Later Foreign Minister under Paul I and for a few months under Alexander. He took no further part in political life and died in 1837.

Romana glanced at as being a meddler and reporter from the Prince of the P.'s house to Frere's. The discussion was given with a degree of warmth and precision that was surprising, and it was apparent that he spoke quite the opinion and language of the P. of the P.

What was my astonishment on the following post day to read an article extracted from the *Moniteur*, under the date of Madrid, containing the whole substance of the above, and the *immoral* persons rather more strongly marked than in the correspondence. This coincidence puts it beyond doubt that either he furnished the article himself, or that the P. communicated it to him. What his motives are is difficult to ascertain, but his present great object is to ingratiate himself with the leading men here. Frere acknowledged to me that the P. of the P. did in the course of last winter caution him against intimacy or connection with M., but B. could give offence only from his *rouge et noir*. Mouravieff was active in compelling the State of Hamburg, where he was Minister, to surrender Napper Tandy at our request. Frere ascribes to policy this measure of involving M. and B., as it is probable their Courts may instruct them to sound how far this Court will join this supposed Confederacy which is to take place in the North, and that to procure a delay in replying to this demand he will pretext a personal difference with the Ministers, require others to be appointed—all of which will gain time: a maxim being still in force in Spain, that he who gains that, gains all. Frere hurt at his recall; compares Engd. in consequence of this humiliation to the insolence of the P. of the P., to Prussia in her servility to Bonaparte. Resolved not to accept another Mission, after having been sacrificed here by the person who brought him forward in politics, and who ought to uphold him.

*Saturday, 18th.*—Freres. Mouravieff, D. Infantado,

eve. Walked in Retiro with Quintana. Delightful eve., and he very agreeable. Moratin<sup>1</sup> is at present the best and most distinguished poet and man-of-letters in Spain; he is powerfully protected by the P. of the P., who has provided amply for his fortunes, a debt which the poet repays in excellent but adulatory verses. His father was also a man of wit; he belonged to the household of the late Queen, but finding his literary occupations were rewarded with more praise than profit, he resolved that his son should have some more substantial enjoyment. Accordingly he bound him apprentice to a silversmith, but Moratin's natural disposition and taste got the better of his mechanical employment, and unknown to his father, he became a candidate for an Academy prize, which he obtained. The subject of the poem was the Conquest of Granada by the Catholic Kings. The reputation he acquired gratified his father's vanity, who no longer insisted upon his drudging on in the trade he had chosen for him. Cabarrus, pleased with his talents, made him his secretary, and took him into France. On the death of Carlos III, they returned to Madrid; shortly after, the P. of the P. gave him a travelling pension to enable him to see the theatres of other countries. He lived sometimes at Paris, and became acquainted with Goldoni, who inspired him with admiration for Italian literature. He remained at Paris till the massacres of the 2d Sept. frightened him away. He went to England, where having no letters of recommendation, he passed his time so little to his satisfaction, that he quitted the country abruptly and in disgust, from whence he

<sup>1</sup> Leandro Fernandez de Moratin (1760-1828), the author of many plays and poems. He was first a protégé of Florida Blanca, and after his downfall obtained the favour of Godoy. He sided with the French in 1808, and went into exile on Ferdinand's return, refusing the pardon which was offered to him. His father was Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin (1737-1780), also a poet and writer of some celebrity.



went to Italy. His patron, in benefices and pensions, has procured him an income of 5000 piasters annually, which makes him among the poets a magnate, a potentate.

↘ *Tuesday*.—Freres only. The Infante Don Luis,<sup>1</sup> brother of Carlos III, had frequently asked permission of the King to allow him to marry, but had always been refused. At length he sent for the Royal confessor, and enjoined him to tell the King that as he had denied him leave to marry, his conscience would be chargeable with any offences he might commit, having by that denial rendered himself responsible for all his crimes. This being reported to the King alarmed him excessively, and the next day he sent for his brother and gave him the names of 3 ladies, adding that he might choose out of that number a wife, but that he would not permit any other choice, either among the daughters of Sovereigns or Grandees. Don Luis complied: as soon as the marriage ceremony was performed, the King to a degree banished him to the *sitios*, from whence he withdrew and resided at Larena (*sic*), near Talavera, like a simple individual, without guards or Court etiquette or any of the appendages of Royalty. But what was whimsical<sup>v</sup> was his appearance at Court on the days of *besamanos*. At about 2 leagues from wherever the King held his Court, a Royal carriage with *gardes-du-corps* waited to receive Don Luis, who arrived in a simple *coche de colleras*.<sup>2</sup> He also found *valets-de-chambre* and magnificent suits, who equipped him as the occasion required. In the Circle, the King received and spoke to him as if they were on the best and most familiar terms. The Court over, Don Luis was galloped off, stripped of his finery, and, like Cinderella, returned to his obscurity. The lady was of the family of Stuart, she lives at Saragossa; her name

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Coach drawn by mules.

is Doña Maria Teresa de Vallabriga y Drummond. The Cardinal of Bourbon Archp. of Toledo,<sup>1</sup> the Princess of the Peace, and an unmarried daughter, are the issue of this marriage. Don Luis was a man of talents and taste for the sciences and arts; there once was a project for sending him to America as Viceroy, which would have been synonymous to the making him an independent sovereign.

Altho' Carlos III had fewer bad qualities than most kings, he yet equalled any in unfeelingness; there are stories without end of his hardness of heart and indifference when his relations and those to whom he was apparently attached died or met with any calamity. He also never forgot nor overlooked what he deemed a fault. It is a fact well known, that one day, having seen an officer, when the heat was intense, carry a parasol, a *quitasol*, he observed it at the moment. For upwards of 30 years, when the names of officers upon the list for promotion were presented to him, he scratched out that of this poor man, adding he carried a *quitasol*. (*Duke of Infantado's stories.*)

*Wednesday, 22nd.*—Dined at Mouravieff's; Freres and ourselves only. Went to the Cruz; play represented was *Por la puente Juana*, by Lope de Vega. The last supper with poor Frere. He sets off solitarily and out of spirits to Coruña; his feelings are a mixture of indignation at the recall, and humiliation to be sacrificed to one whom he despises.

*Madrid, 25th August, 1804.*—About a fortnight ago the peasants in a district near Bilbao assembled tumultuously,

<sup>1</sup> Infante D. Luis María de Borbon (1777-1823), Archbishop of Toledo. He acted as President of the Regency of Cadiz during Ferdinand's captivity, and died in 1823. His youngest sister married the Duque de San Fernando.

The maiden name of his mother is given in the *Blazon de España* as Vallabriga y Rosas.

went to the *señoría* (or house where the magistrates meet), and demanded the decree which had been passed for enrolling men to serve between the ages of 15 and 50. When they obtained it, they read it aloud, and, to show their contempt for it, tore the paper trampling it with their feet. They seized the *corregidor*, and compelled him to give up to them 200 muskets which had been deposited since the French war in the *señoría*. They insisted upon the decree being annulled, which could not be done, but the *corregidor* promised that a general meeting should be convened to take it into consideration. By the last accounts, it appears that the decree has been rescinded, and the *corregidor*, who is a *Gallego* and abhorred by the Biscayans, nearly murdered. They deposited him in the custody of Urquijo, making *him* responsible at his peril for the person of the *corregidor*; <sup>1</sup> and they have obtained that the new port lately called in honor of the P. of the P. the 'Puerto de la Paz,' should retain its former name: this will greatly mortify that *grand personage*. The mob made Urquijo and Mazarredo take an ostensible part, which their enemies have misconstrued and converted into a mischievous desire on their parts to excite hatred agst. P. and discontent towards the Government.

On August 29th the Hollands set out from Madrid on an expedition to visit Burgos, Valladolid, &c.

4th September, Lerma.—We are lodged in the Duke of Infantado's magnificent palace.<sup>2</sup> We were received

<sup>1</sup> Urquijo had lived in retirement in Bilbao since his release from prison at Pampeluna in 1802. Mazarredo had also retired there, after dismissal from office in consequence of his opposition to Napoleon's wishes regarding the Spanish fleet. To them the speedy termination of the revolt was due, but the Government in Madrid did not take this view. Urquijo was again imprisoned for a short time and Mazarredo was ordered to leave the province.

<sup>2</sup> It was destroyed by the French.

by the *alcalde mayor*, and the *mayordomo mayor* with great civility. As we were expected, the carpets and curtains were put into the rooms that are perceived to be inhabited. We walked over the palace before dinner. The rooms are well proportioned, and the *sala de los embaxadores* very fine. There are galleries of communication to three churches. When the *Duque Cardenal* founded them, he received the permission of having tribunes even in the *clausura*. In the gallery which forms one side of the *plaza*, bull feasts used to be exhibited, especially when Felipe III honored the Duke of Lerma with his presence and that of his Court. Here were the two balconies, one to the Plaza, the other opposite; the one to the park was called the *despenedor*, where a most barbarous sport was shown. Underneath the balconies, just opposite to the folding-doors thro' which the bull was admitted into the arena, was another opening to the park, from whence boards were projected beyond the precipice (the ground is a rapid descent to the rivulet). The animal, terrified by the shouting and noise which immediately took place on his entrance, endeavoured to escape to the country which he sees opposite to him, when the planks sank under him and he was precipitated to the bottom of the valley, where he was dispatched by the dexterity of the King and courtiers shooting bows and arrows and throwing lances. The view into the park is beautiful; it is well wooded, and watered by the Arlanza; there are seven hermitages, uninhabited at present. After dinner the Abbot, in his full array, made us a visit offering his services, telling us he was so ordered to do by his patron. He accompanied us to the Collegiate church, a handsome building in which there is a fine monument erected by the D. of Lerma to his uncle, Sandoval, A. of Seville, who died at Valladolid on his road to visit his nephew and assist at

the consecration of the church. The figure is kneeling, and made of bronze, well executed. The sacristy contains three portraits of the D. of Lerma; the first a gallant knight and courtier, the second in his Cardinal's hat and robes, the third a corpse! The *canonigo* who made the following communications about Lerma, told an anecdote that appears too dramatic to be true. He had secretly obtained from Rome the Hat, in order to secure himself from the consequences that might ensue after Felipe III's death: his suspicions were verified, as an officer of Justice entered his house at Valladolid with a Royal order to seize his person. The D. assembled the clergy, and seated himself in his sacerdotal habit, at the top of the room, placing the Papal Bull on a table before him. The messenger upon entering was asked by the Cardinal, 'Qué quieres?' Confounded at the sight of so much clerical splendour, he hesitated, and then replied, 'Nada que para servir á vuestra Eminencia.'<sup>1</sup> Upon which the C. replied, 'Vaya vd. con dios,'<sup>2</sup> and there ended the arrest. He was, however, compelled to refund much of his wealth, and D. Rodrigo Calderon, Marqués de Siete-Iglesias, his secretary and favorite, was the victim upon whom the new Governmt. wreaked their vengeance.

5th September, Lerma.—The *canonigo* who brought me the *noticias*<sup>3</sup> concerning Lerma went with us to the Collegiate church. He insisted upon our smelling the bone of Santa Rosa de Lima; the fragrance he ascribed to a miracle, and observed that it was certain, because this relic was kept by '*curas y no por frailes, y ellos usan siempre engaños.*'<sup>4</sup> True it was that the bone had a strong odour, but to sceptical noses the musk was offensive. The architecture of the court is in a simple, chaste style,

<sup>1</sup> Only to serve your Excellency.

<sup>2</sup> Farewell.

<sup>3</sup> Information.

<sup>4</sup> Priests and not by monks, and they always used deceptions.



either by Herrera or a disciple: the other part of the edifice, though not faulty, is not in the same excellent taste. There is not scarcely a room, however small, that has not a chimney, a proof of the rigor of the climate; already the change is so considerable that we are not sorry to put on additional raiment.

Just at setting off I was unwell with a sort of faintness. The road is very indifferent, but is undergoing a thorough reparation, and will, when finished, be as fine as any in Spain or Europe. View of Burgos at the distance of about a league. Castle on an eminence; Cathedral and town considerably beneath it. Large and extensive forests. Lodged at the *posada* in the suburb. Received letters from Madrid. Don Gonsalvo del Rio, to whom we were recommended, came, very civil. No news. Affairs in Biscay unsettled still. Eight regiments ordered to march agst. them, but at present they are remaining here under the command of the Col. San Juan, confidential person sent by the P. of the P. to observe the real state of affairs; but until further orders they will not march.

*Burgos, 6th September, 1804.*—A message from D. Antonio Valdes<sup>1</sup> to welcome us and offer his services. He was Minister of Marine, but in 1795 dismissed and glad to retire in security here, where he has resided these 4 years. Ld. Hd. knew him in his first visit to Spain, and has always been remembered with kindness by the whole family. The banker, Valdes, &c., offered their civilities. After dinner went to the Cathedral, a magnificent pile, more remarkable from the exquisite workmanship of the sculptured ornaments than from its vastness. The cupola, dome, or tower fell in in 1520,

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio Valdes (1744–1816), Minister of Marine under Charles III. He took no active part in politics after 1795 until appointed president of the Juntas of Galicia, Leon, and the Asturias in 1808, and soon after member of the Central Junta. He was Bailiff of the Knights of Malta.

and was very successfully repaired during the reign of Charles V. The façades are richly ornamented. The principal entrance has been shamefully disfigured by the ignorance and bad taste of the late Canon, who superintended the reparations of the church. The portal required some repairs, and glad of an opportunity of showing his skill, he put in the place of a Gothic pointed arch a Grecian doorway with a broken pediment and Corinthian frieze! The chapel called *del Condestable* is very spacious and magnificent. The choir is in the same corrupt taste as that in which the Canon repaired the gateway.

After seeing the Cathedral, Don Antonio Valdes sent us his carriage and 6 fine mules, with his *mayordomo* to accompany us, making excuses that his own health prevented him from attending me. We went to the famous Monasterio de las Huelgas, about a mile from the city on the road to Valladolid. It is a foundation of Alonso VIII after his victory over the Moors in las Navas de Tolosa; he also founded a hospital for the reception and accommodation of pilgrims going to Santiago de Compostella. The jurisdiction and power of the Abbess is very singular in Spain, as it is almost episcopal. Her court takes cognisance of offences committed within the precincts of the convent; benefices, curacies, and many valuable donations are in her gift. Great estates are attached to the convent and their revenues are very considerable. The sacristan was out, which deprived us of seeing the church; we went, however, to the *reja*<sup>1</sup> where we conversed with two nuns, one sprightly and well looking, the other had just vacated the dignity of Abbess, a new one having been nominated within these two days.

*September 7th, Burgos.*—Dined with Don Antonio Valdes. His family is composed of two female cousins

<sup>1</sup> Grille.

and the son of one. The party was composed, besides, of the Marqués de Manca, and a widow Galvés. The M. de Manca has lived here eight years; ye fifteen months previous were passed in exile. He was well known as the adversary of Florida Blanca, agst. whom he wrote many satirical squibs. He and Salucci were persecuted and imprisoned by order of F. Blanca.<sup>1</sup>

*Saturday, 8th September.*—Went first to the Huelgas, where found a service performing in the church in honor of the Nativity of the Virgin. Evening, went to the convent of San Pedro de Cardeña. The order is Benedictine, and the endowments are so scanty, that it is the poorest in Spain of that order. The Cid and Doña Ximena are buried here, and subsequent to the period of their death a chapel has been dedicated to them, and their figures, rudely sculptured, are lying upon a monument with an inscription denoting that they are interred beneath these representations of them. The *Padre Abad* who accompanied us had the appearance of being a sensible man, a tinge of melancholy upon his countenance rendered him interesting; one could fancy he was disgusted with the solitude and *charlatanerie* of his profession.

On our return home, the Marqués de Manca passed two hours with us; he was very entertaining, told us stories of the rise and fall of Ministers, his own share in the disgrace of Florida Blanca, &c. When French troops were here they behaved orderly and gave no offence; they were lodged in the barracks. But the officers being

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland states in his *Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 70, that this incident was one of the causes of the dismissal of Florida Blanca from office. The Minister was proceeding against Manca, formerly Spanish envoy to Denmark, Don Vicente Salucci, and others, for libel, and in his eagerness to win his case tried to influence the President of the court. The letter miscarried, and reached the King, who was greatly annoyed at Florida Blanca's conduct. The case was reopened after his fall.

quartered among the principal inhabitants were excessively insolent and offensive; they were dissatisfied with everything allotted for them. Among the common soldiers, the only object which excited their curiosity was, 'Le tombeau de Chimène'; not one failed of going to visit her monument, and declaim a tirade from Corneille. Orders were given for a solemn function in the Cathedral to-morrow, in which the Almighty is to be implored to grant health to the King, and success to his arms agst. the Biscayans. The commotions in Biscay are very trivial, but the P. of the P. is supposed to exaggerate, that he may have the honor of quelling them and receive from the deputies of Biscay a good round sum to prevent the soldiery from committing excesses.

*September 11th, Palencia.*—Hitherto very little use has been made of the canal<sup>1</sup> for irrigation, tho' the Govern. has offered the water gratis to the farmers. There is a plan of bringing Valencians here and giving them lands from Govt. to introduce the practice of irrigation among the natives. Angiboult is on terms with Govern. to purchase the unfinished paper mill at Palencia together with a large tract of excellent land lying between the canal and the Carrion. There is one objection of which they make light, viz. the land belongs to the Archbishop; but the good of an individual, they say, must yield to the genl. good. The money Angiboult offers them would enable the canal to go on with activity. At present 200,000 reals a month is the whole sum allowed for carrying it on.

The soil is naturally excellent, but the cultivation is careless and slovenly. The peasant merely scratches

<sup>1</sup> The Canal de Castilla was first commenced in 1550, but the serious work was undertaken in 1752 by Ensenada. After the interruption caused by the wars it was finished by private enterprise in 1832.

the ground with his plough, throws in the seed, and trusts to chance for his crop, as he never troubles himself about his farm till the corn is ripe, when he cuts it down, separates the grain with his *trillo*,<sup>1</sup> winnows, and carries it to market. When the crop has been abundant they are ruined by the low price of corn, and when it fails they are half-starved and many perish for hunger. The farmers are commonly tenants who pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the produce to the propr. in the best lands, exclusive of tithes. No large property cultivated by the owner. The senorial rights are merely nominal in this country: mills and ovens, indeed, are included in them, but this is easily commuted. The Royal *tercias*<sup>2</sup> and *alcabalas*<sup>3</sup> are in some villages alienated, and in others belong to the Crown. A great obstacle to the improvement of agriculture is the residence of the farmers and labourers in villages: not uncommon for a peasant to go 2 or 3 leagues to plough his farm and return in the evening.

The persons to whose attentions and civilities we were much indebted were Don Mozo Mozo, *Intendente* of the canal, D. — Omar, son of the Director, and Don Marian Augustin, one of the canons, a well-informed and enlightened man. The Director's son sent and showed us all the plans of the canal, which are very distinct, and give a perfect idea of the undertaking so far as it is completed. The most difficult and expensive part of the work that remains to be executed is to convey it past Dueñas, on acct. of the deep, rocky steeps that almost overhang the Carrion and Pisuerga at that place. It was originally proposed to have carried the canal

<sup>1</sup> Harrow for thrashing.

<sup>2</sup> Two-ninths of the ecclesiastical tithes, which were deducted for the King.

<sup>3</sup> Excise duties.



twice across the river, but they have now determined to carry it down on the same side the whole way.

*Valladolid.*—I have a very indistinct recollection of what occurred during my long illness. I had a severe and dangerous miscarriage, which confined me to my bed until the day before I set off to Madrid, which was on ye 6th of November. I made occasional efforts to see churches, &c., which always produced a relapse. After our arrival on ye 14th of September, Bartholomew, who had threatenings of fever, thought himself obliged to return to Madrid, and, after staying only a few days, set off. He could only reach Olmedo, the distance of 4 leagues, and fever and decided ague came on. The most painful moment of my life occurred a few days after; his malady increased, and at length he sent to beg Mr. Allen would go over and succour him. At the moment this request arrived, every alarming symptom had manifested itself, and having nearly expired the year before on a similar occasion, Mr. A. was averse to quitting me, and with shame I acknowledge my own fears were such that I was unwilling to be left for 48 hours. Ld. Holland, however, offered to go to him and carry Mr. A.'s instructions and do all in his power, reluctant as he felt at leaving me in such a moment. He returned with an alarming account, which determined me to encounter any evil in preference to adding to my stock of remorse at having detained Mr. A., who accordingly set off and found him in a desperate state; even when he quitted him he was still in danger. We had regular bulletins, and frequent intercourse. After near a month's confinement he made shift to go, altho' the ague returned every 3rd day. Whilst I was confined, Mr. Gordon the Principal of the Scotch College, Mr. Cameron the Sub-director, Galvés, and a few others, dined oftentimes with Ld. Hd., and

when I could bear the exertion of seeing company used to sit an hour or less by my bedside.

(*Most of the following particulars were collected in conversation, many from Principal Gordon and Mr. Cameron.*)

The Scotch College was endowed by Col. Semple, who had been page to Queen Mary ;<sup>1</sup> he afterwards made a fortune in Spain, where he died in the reign of Philip IV. The income of the college is chiefly from houses in Madrid ; they have also about £300 a yr. in *juros*,<sup>2</sup> which the Crown has suffered to be 3 years in arrears. They maintain 13 or 14 boys, and educate and clothe them gratis. After a certain number of years, the boys must either submit to the tonsure or leave the college. They are selected and sent here by the Scotch Bishops. There is also an English College in this city, endowed by Philip II, richer than the S. College. Cardinal Ximenes introduced the practice of registering baptisms and burials, and they have ever since been kept with the greatest exactness. They are under the superintendence of the Bishops.

The peasantry have before the late years of scarcity lived in a very plentiful manner. Their diet consisted of *sopa*<sup>3</sup> in the morning, made of bread, oil, garlic, salt, and water. Bread, onions, and wine in the middle of the day ; and their *olla* at night, in which entered pork, beef, and mutton, according to the season of the year, *garbanzos*,<sup>4</sup> *calabazas*,<sup>5</sup> and cabbage. Their bread is made of excellent flour, tho' heavy and compact. Their wine is strong and wholesome. Every family makes cloth for its own consumption, and so invariable are the fashions and yet so great the variety in these

<sup>1</sup> It was moved to Valladolid from Madrid when the Jesuits were expelled.

<sup>2</sup> Annuities.

<sup>3</sup> Soup.

<sup>4</sup> Pulse.

<sup>5</sup> Pumpkins.

homely manufactures, that the inhabitants of one village are readily distinguished from those of another by the stuff with which they are clothed. Mills and ovens are included among senorial rights here, as in other places, but by not being complained of, are not grievances.

Convents in Valladolid derive their chief income from tithes, tho' they have also houses, and some of them have lands; and their lands are always cultivated on their own acct., and in general much better cultivated than any other lands. The convents of nuns, tho' many of them richly endowed at their origin or foundation, are at present poor, because their funds have been embezzled and mismanaged by administrators. Nunneries are for their temporal concerns either under the Bishop, who allows them to name their own *administrator*, or they are subject to a convent of friars of their own order. They prefer the former Govern't.

Several abuses and a violent spirit of party had crept into the *Colegios Mayores* before they were reformed by Roda and Florida Blanca; but they rapidly declined from that moment, and in 1798 that of Valladolid was finally suppressed, and its revenues applied to the new military school at Badajoz. The high offices in the church and law have not been so well filled since the fall of these institutions. The fall of the Jesuits was a great blow to the progress of education in Spain, which these fathers were beginning to improve after the model of other countries when the order was suppressed. Their temporalities, which their frugality had made go so far that their riches had been supposed much greater than the truth, have been so ill administered, that the pensions of the surviving Jesuits have been paid for some yrs. back out of the Treasury.

An attempt during the present reign to reform the discipline and plan of education at Salamanca: present

Bishop friendly to it : frustrated by the imprudence of some of the leading reformers, who betrayed an attachment to revolutionary principles that alarmed the moderate and strengthened the party inimical to innovation. Salvo, professor of law and a leading reformer, was shut up for some time and afterwards banished. There appear to have been many in the N. of Spain friendly to revolutionary principles, and they are at present the bitterest enemies of France.

Previous to the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Scotch College was under the direction of that Society, who latterly tried to keep the administn. in Spain, and remit the rents to Douay. On the suppression of the Society, the Irish *Colegio* at Alcala represented to the Governnt. that there were no Catholics in Scotland, and on this false pretence got possession of the College and the funds, which were with great difficulty recovered by the Scotch Bishops, and then chiefly by the assistance of Campomanes. Bishop Geddes<sup>1</sup> was the first Rector chosen from among the secular clergy, and owing to his negligence about £1000 in money and many valuable books and effects were not recovered from the Irish. It is said that there is much less disposition than formerly in Spain for the clerical profession, fewer novices apply to the convents, so that the *regulari* are fast decreasing.

The first impression one receives of Valladolid is extremely unfavorable to its *police*, on account of the disgusting filthiness of its streets and the badness of its pavement. Many of its buildings have the appearance of ancient magnificence, but with very few exceptions they are neglected, slovenly, and dirty in the *patio*, and appear worse from the fine pillars and arches, &c., so unsuitable to their present condition and inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> John Geddes (1735-1799), appointed Bishop of Morocco in 1780.

Most of the old Grandees have palaces at Valladolid. The D. of Infantado has two: the Duquesa de Osuna lately sold the Benevente palace to the Govt. for an *hospicio*. The house where Philip II was born is still shown. The palace of the Duke of Lerma was occupied by Felipe III, and is now inhabited by ye *Intendente*. Valladolid covers a considerable portion of ground, but though it is certainly much less populous than it was once, much of the space within the gates seems never to have been inhabited. Many of the convents are large, and the greater part of them were built in the 16th and 17th centuries by the most celebrated architects, and adorned by the best sculptors and carvers which Spain at that time produced. Few of the altars are in marble; the greater part are in wood, so that it is a better study for carving than sculpture. There are no pictures of any reputation. It is a fanciful theory amongst some of the Spaniards that the genius for painting has been confined to the south of the Guadarrama, while the architects and sculptors were natives of the country to the north of that chain of mountains. The Cathedral is a grand work, hardly one half of it is finished, and the cloisters not even begun. Bourgoing<sup>1</sup> criticizes fairly enough the ugliness of the screen. From what is executed of the building, the grandeur and simplicity which it would possess if finished makes one regret that the artist and the façade were carried off together to the Escorial.<sup>2</sup> The façade is disfigured by some preposterous additions to what Herrera had done.

Took rather a distant airing one day that I felt more curious than prudent to Fuensaldaña, to see in a convent

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Spain*.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Herrera succeeded his master; Toledo, on his death in 1567, as architect of the Escorial, and was obliged to leave unfinished the Cathedral at Valladolid upon which he was engaged at the time.



belonging to some nuns three celebrated paintings by *Rubens*, the coloring of which is very fine, and many of the figures good. The principal picture is the 'Assumption of the Virgin.'<sup>1</sup> Ye great fault in all the best altars in Valladolid is the extravagant profusion of gilding and a crowded number of figures in the ornaments, which are fantastic and sometimes frightful. Several public libraries, which are opened every day, and librarians attend to get the books required by those who go to read or consult books. Mr. Allen was extremely well satisfied with the attention and civility he met with from all those who were appointed to attend and furnish books to strangers. At the library in the College of Santa Cruz, three librarians attend four hours every day, fast-days excepted.

9th Nov., *Venta de San Rafael*.—Found letters from B. Frere informing us that in consequence of the misunderstanding between the Courts, he had applied for his passport, and would probably be out of Madrid before our arrival.<sup>2</sup>

11th Nov.—Entered Madrid for ye 5th time. We found Bartholomew, and lodged in his house at the Santa Barbara; I was excessively weak and ill, but by a great exertion went to see Mde. de Infantado. We staid ye 12th and 13th. All my friends came to see me, and on ye 14th, Bartholomew accompanying us, we all set off for Portugal.

14th Nov. 1804.—Left Madrid on our way to Lisbon. Went out by the Puerta de San Vicente, passed the bridge of Segovia, and as we ascended the rising ground beyond it, took our farewell view of Madrid, which

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Museum at Valladolid.

<sup>2</sup> The actual cause of hostilities was the capture of Spanish treasure ships early in October by the British fleet under Sir Graham Moore. War was declared on Dec. 12.

appears to advantage, altho' there are more advantageous points of view from whence it may be seen. Saw at a distance the illuminations at the Escorial in honor of the two joyful events, the birth of a Pss. of Naples and the announced pregnancy of the Pss. of Asturias.

*Talavera de la Reina, 18th Nov.*—Streets narrow, but not so crooked as in most old towns, tolerably paved, and for a town in *Castile*, not *over* dirty. The bad *police* in the Castilian towns with reference to cleanliness is curious; I never beheld anything to compare with their filthiness, especially as almost in every other province the towns are remarkable for their neatness and cleanliness. The houses, and even some of the public edifices, are built of brick, which gives them a very paltry appearance: some of the principal churches are, however, of stone. The Cathedral is too low in the roof, which diminishes its size. In a small chapel dedicated to St. Francis, there is a marble statue represented in the attitude of praying, admirably executed; it represents a dignitary of the church in the holy vestments, so well draped that they are rather an ornament than incumbrance. The parish churches have nothing remarkable; at the door of that of Santiago, there was a sale of game, poultry, loaves, crockery, hardware, trinkets, and images of saints, the profits of which were destined 'para sacar animas.' Two priests presided. The river is very wide, but flat sandbanks make it very ugly.

*30th.*—Crossed the Guadiana and entered upon a *dehesa*<sup>1</sup> which lasted until we arrived at the frontier. Crossed the river Cayo, which is here the limit between Spain and Portugal. A cordon of Portuguese soldiers along the frontier on account of the epidemic. We passed without interruption, having passports from Lisbon to that effect. Great improvements on the P.

<sup>1</sup> Pasture ground.

territory in the neatness of their cultivation. Ye vines supported by poles, a refinement in cultivation which I had not observed since we left Xeres.

*2nd Dec., Estremoz.*—Very much struck, since we entered Portugal, by the excessive dissimilitude between the Spaniards and Portuguese. The latter are universally clumsy in their persons, and coarse, not to say downright ugly, in their features. Instead of the stately reserve of the Spaniard and sometimes repulsive coldness, whose curiosity is never impertinent nor his civility tinged with meanness, we were frequently incommoded with the forward curiosity of the populace, who were as intrusive as the French, without however possessing a particle of their gaiety or good-humour. Oftentimes disgusted with the number and servility of their salutations, which were rendered not to us but to our equipage.

*7th, Aldea Gallega.*—Mr. Chamberlain came over from Lisbon, and wished us to return with him ; this I declined, as the boats were not large. He returned the next evening with proper conveyances, and we all set off with the evening tide ; reached Lisbon within three hours. Took possession that night of our house at St. Isabel, close to the church.

Having been so dreadfully ill, I had no courage to keep notes of anything that occurred. As soon as I could bear the exertion of moving, we made an excursion to As Caldas, Alcobaça, Marinha Grande, and Batalha.

*24th Feb. 1805, Alcobaça.*—The convent is large, and remarkably clean ; the apartments of the monks, who are Bernardines, are commodious : the garden and *cenador* <sup>1</sup> very prettily situated. The library is considerable, contains many gifts from travellers, and several from the inhabitants of the British Islands. Their revenue is very

<sup>1</sup> Summer-house.

great. The present Abbot is general of the order in Portugal, but he is not a *mitred* Abbot. We had a splendid dinner in the Sala de los Reyes, at which he presided with several others of the fraternity and did the honors very much in the style of a high-bred, polished man of the world. A very large part of the convent is set aside for strangers, and a suite of spacious rooms appropriated solely for the use of the Royal family. We lodged in a house belonging to the convent, kept for the purpose of receiving women, they not being allowed to enter the convent. However I was permitted to visit every part of the convent without difficulty, the Abbot telling me no doors were closed and I had but to walk straight on ; he kept out of the way whilst I walked over the interior, that he might not appear to sanction an irregular proceeding. The refectory is large and cool ; the magazines well provided with provisions of every sort, and upon the whole, it is by far the best and least disgusting convent I ever saw. The reports of the luxuries of monks being excessively exaggerated, poverty and filth are in general all one finds and often very scanty fare.

25th.—Batalha is a more recent foundation than Alcobaca, and much poorer. In some of the chapels behind the high altar are the monuments of several of the kings of Portugal, and of some private individuals, one belonging to the family of the Duke de la Foens, also the coffin of John II, and his body still entire. This was opened to us while the monks sang a requiem. Mr. Allen examined the body very accurately ; he described the skin of the hands, feet, and breast as dry and shrivelled, the skin of the face not preserved, nor the teeth, but their sockets are entire. From the momentary glimpse I bestowed upon the disgusting object, he appears to have been under the common

size ; there is a small gold crown on his head, and he is dressed in royal robes.<sup>1</sup>

28th.—Marinha Grande, where we have been most hospitably entertained for these last three days, is a modern village built within the last 40 years by Mr. Stephens, an Englishman, who established a glass manufactory here under the protection of the P. Governt., with great advantage to Portugal, as well as to his own private fortune. He enjoys the privilege of taking for the use of the manufacture decayed pine trees from the adjacent forest, but Villaverde, the present Minister of State, threatens to deprive him of this privilege, in which case the manufacture must decline, and will probably soon go to ruin. There are, at present, 24 workmen employed in the glass house ; the sand principally used is brought from ye Isle of Wight, and the barilla from Alicant, and the potash from Russia or North America ; so that, except the pines and salt of tartar from Oporto, none of the rude materials are the produce of Portugal. Crystal glass is the only sort made here, and in such quantity as to supply the whole demand of Portugal and the chief demand of the *Brésils*. The house is commodious : the present proprietor is brother of the founder of the establishment, who died about 2 years ago. He had an Opera house fitted up here, in which Portuguese and Italian operas were represented once a month. The actors were chiefly the young people employed about the works, whom he had instructed in music and dancing for this purpose. These representations have ceased since his death, but every night a tolerable concert was given by the person who resides in the house, and superintends the work.

4th March.—Returned to Lisbon. Found children well.

<sup>1</sup> Dom John's body was exhumed and cut to pieces by the French, and the tomb destroyed.



Progress of spring very striking. Weather excessively hot, quite oppressive. Having resolved upon trying the effects of the baths of As Caldas upon baby's leg and Ld. Hd.'s fingers, we sent over to secure a house, which being done, we set off on March 13th.

*March 14th.*—Reached As Caldas very late at night. Found very excellent and convenient accommodation; we had the whole inn to ourselves, and by dint of green baize, a few additional tables, and a sofa we contrived to feel as comfortable as if we had been magnificently lodged.

News arrived that the French fleet had escaped from Brest, and it was necessary to send the information to England. Accordingly Ld. Robt.<sup>1</sup> was obliged to hasten the sailing of the packet, and as Ld. Hd. wished to get home in time to attend the debate upon the Catholic Question, which was fixed for the 9th of May, we resolved to go, and in 13 hours were ready to sail! A wonderful exertion. We embarked in the *Walsingham*, Capt. Roberts, at 12 o'clock at night. We engaged the whole packet, and took B. Frere with us. The weather was tolerably fine till towards midday; our passage across the bar was rough and dangerous; a frigate followed us, but lost her bowsprit and was compelled to return. The winds were contrary the first seven days. We were pursued by a large ship, which from its *black studding-sails* was supposed to be an enemy. The *equipage* were alarmed, and the captain put out great oars in order to paddle away, but the darkness of the night was a better assistant. A few days after we were in a heavy gale, in the midst of which an enemy's schooner bore down

<sup>1</sup> Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald (1765-1833), sixth son of James, first Duke of Leinster. He was Minister at Lisbon at this time, having succeeded Mr. Hookham Frere. He married, in 1792, Sophia Charlotte, daughter of Captain Fielding, R.N.

upon us ; the terror was universal. The heavy sea on which we were heaved exposed our hulk to their guns, but she never approached near enough to hurt us, and the storm drove her away from us. Thus after a boisterous and anxious voyage of 14 days, we landed safely in Falmouth Harbour. The newspapers we received by the boats which came out to us, brought the intelligence of the vote in the H. of Commons against Ld. Melville.

*Holland House.*—We stopped at Mr. Marsh's at Winter-slow a couple of nights, and on May 6th arrived within these venerable walls. My mother, Mr. Fox, Ly. Bessborough, and Gen. Fitzpatrick, and various others, came to greet our return. I liked to see them mightily, but a *return* to this country always damps my spirits.

The first two months was a *tourbillon*, and I could very little methodize my thoughts. Poor Ld. Lansdown died ; he had eagerly wished to see Ld. Hd., but that very desire agitated and even hastened his end.<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew Frere was sent, in July, Secretary of Legation under Mr. Jackson at Berlin. Mouravieff came to England, and passed upwards of a month, indeed all the time he remained in England, here. Lds. Lorn and Minto staid nearly the whole month of August and part of September, off and on. Knight's book a very general topic ; liked by Mr. Fox, roughly handled by General Fitzpatrick.<sup>2</sup> He differs with Knight on most of his opinions, and admires the sublime and beautiful. The title of the book is erroneous, pretending to be an analytical enquiry, whereas it contains nothing but desultory remarks upon literary subjects. The character of Achilles, he allows, is well drawn, but that is a theft from Beattie's *Essays*.

<sup>1</sup> He died on May 7.

<sup>2</sup> *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, by Richard Payne Knight, the connoisseur and collector of coins.

Ld. Webb Seymour, the Duke of Somerset's brother, dined here. He is sedately handsome, very dark, and resembling the two brothers Wycombe and Petty. When he speaks, his countenance brightens, and denotes more *indulgence* than his cast of features at first indicates. He is more sensible than his brother, clear and distinct in delivering his ideas, and tho' absorbed in *les hautes sciences* is yet tolerant to the pursuits of others. He resides chiefly in Scotland. It is a singular taste to prolong the toils of a University education; he has extended his to seven years. Professor Playfair is his magnet.

DESCRIPTIONS AND SAYINGS OF PEOPLE  
IN SOCIETY IN SPAIN, 1804

*Alava* had been an *aide-de-camp* of Gravina's; he is nephew to the Grand Inquisitor, a young naval officer, and a remarkably handsome man. He was formerly a favorite with the Q., and some enemies of the Prince of ye Peace invited him to throw himself again in her way to revive her former inclination. This project did not succeed, so he is included in the *desterrados* at dinner at my house. Serra, who is himself in an honorable but marked exile, asked him (in consequence of being aware of the failure of his project) when he should return to Madrid. Was answered by Alava, 'About the time you set off to Paris.'<sup>1</sup> He was at the Philippine Isles with his uncle, who was formerly Governor there, and returned by the way of Mexico. Abuses Branciforte (brother-in-law of the P. of the P.) who was Viceroy of Mexico during his stay in that country. Laments the want of a good harbour on ye north coast of New Spain: Vera Cruz is a very bad one. Many excellent harbours on ye South Sea, Acapulco, &c. Some miners from Germany were sent lately to Mexico in order to improve the methods of working the mines, but after several trials, they confessed that the methods used in the country were better than their own. Simpler and better contrived machinery has been lately introduced into the mines, so as to diminish greatly the consumption of the mules. No

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 104.

mines wrought on acct. of Crown. Several of the proprietors of mines immensely rich.

— *Capmany*. Estates of Medinaceli are by far ye greatest in Spain, include 11 cities and 800 *pueblos*,<sup>1</sup> of which 300 are in Cataluña; produce at present £130,000 a yr., but under proper management they would produce more than double that sum. Govern't. is at a vast expense in promoting ye arts and sciences and literature, but without effect in consequence of various causes. A man is sent abroad at ye public expense to study science or literature or acquire some useful art. He returns, finds no means of prosecuting ye art which he has acquired with so much pains, is employed to teach a parcel of boys who have no use for it, and is prohibited from publishing, or after being permitted to publish is sent into banishment for having expressed himself with too much freedom. A few such examples, and they are too many, destroy all ye efforts of ye Govern't. to improve and enlighten ye country.

— The expenses of the Court are going on without any abatement. The carriers and muleteers forced into the Royal service in the last journey to Badajoz are not yet paid for their labor and loss of mules: and ye miserable peasants were robbed of their poultry, corn, fodder, &c., and forced to quit their harvest work to mend ye roads. *Olive* trees, it is positively asserted, were cut down in some places for fuel, because no other wood could be obtained. All the abuses of former purveyance for the *señor* subsist at this day. Houses, castles, and provisions are liable to be seized for the use of the Court and the most petty officer belonging to it, at the price which they choose to fix; and this price not paid till the miserable creditor has lost double in hanging about the Court to solicit pay-

<sup>1</sup> Villages.



ment. The King's journeys, even to the *sitios*, is regularly preceded by an embargo upon mules, and the same method is taken to procure mules whenever they are wanted for any other purpose; and ye hire, instead of being regulated by the current price, is fixed by a *tasa*. A similar tax is fixed on houses at ye *sitios* and Madrid or wherever ye King moves with his Court, and it is sufft. that a house is empty, to force the proprietor to let it to the person who gets an order to that purpose from ye Governt.

*Soler*, the Minister of Finance, retains his place because he has no scruples how he obtains money for the Royal coffers. About a year since, the parish of St. Martin applied to Governt. for permission to repair and decorate their parish church. They were asked how they expected to provide funds for so expensive a work as they proposed to undertake; they incautiously answered that besides expecting aid from the charity of the pious, they had provided a sum of 500,000 reals to begin with. *Soler* praised their foresight, and that very evening sent an order for the money, saying that his Majesty had resolved to take the repairs of their church into his own hands.

*Pellicer* is a supple and servile adherent of the great, be they what or whom they may. He is at present librarian to the P. of ye Peace. He owes his fortune to a lucky marriage with the rich widow of a mule harness-maker, and the stall is still kept by him in ye Plaza Mayor. He is held in great contempt by his brother authors for his meanness and sordidness of character and ye laborious trifling of his pursuits. Capmany says of him, that he collects of past ages all those anecdotes, and those only, which no person would care to know of the present.

Great indifference amongst the tradesmen as to

obtaining and finishing work. No inducement, however urgent, will engage them to work on a day they have been used to devote to pleasure. No work on *dias de fiesta*, *media-fiesta*, or on Mondays. One of the principal joiners in Madrid finds it more economical to indent tradesmen in Germany for 4 years, bring them and return them at his own expense, than to employ Spaniards. *M. Bourke* said this.

Mallo<sup>1</sup> is a native of Caraccas; he was a *garde-du-corps*, in very indigent circumstances, and reduced to very low company when ye Q. took a fancy to him. So much so, that *Sapia* had made one of his countrymen break off his acquaintance with Mallo, as a person whom it was not creditable to be seen with. He is a man of no sort of talents, *héro de boudoir*. *Saavedra* encouraged the connection, and wished to use Mallo as a prop. Indeed many agree that *Saavedra* was more occupied during his Administration with intrigues to maintain himself in place than with doing service to his country.

Duke of *Infantado*, about 35 yrs. old, slender, light figure, with a stronger northern tint in his complexion than Spanish hue. Fond of mechanics, chemistry, and agriculture. Has attempted the introduction of manufactories on his estates, and is at present occupied with improving them by planting, inclosing, &c. Very high independent spirit, and of course ill seen, from that circumstance, at Court. Very agreeable conversation, and the manners of a man of the world. He was educated at Paris, and his preceptor was *Cavanilles*. He served in the war against France, and distinguished himself. He resides chiefly at Madrid, but frequently visits his estates. He is one of the greatest proprietors of the *mesta*. The family name of *Infantado* is *Mendoza*, but

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 87.

the present family are the male descendants of the great D. of Alba.

*Don Manuel de Toledo.* His brother, a very handsome, graceful, young man ; perfectly Spanish in his complexion and features, and an admirable specimen of the national character. Very much addicted to the same pursuits with his brother, of whom he is extremely fond. They are both attached to their mother, who is the *Dsse. Dow. Infantado, née Psse. de Salm*, and sister of P. Emanuel and Mde. de Stahremberg, &c. She has built a most delicious residence for herself at the extremity of the city looking down upon the Rio, extensive gardens, magnificent terrace, and a tennis court. The house is upon a Paris model, and is quite perfect. She lived at Paris, and built the Hotel formerly called by her name on the Place de Louis XV, and now occupied by Lucchesini, &c. Her jointure is about £10,000 pr. ann.

*P. Emanuel de Salm.* Her brother, who in consequence of his marriage had come into Spain in ye beginning of the reign of Charles III, served some time in S. army, and had a *Commanderie* of Montesa bestowed upon him. He has not been in Spain these thirty years till last winter.

*Madame de Montijo.* Widow about 50 ; head of the family of Portocarrero. Has an uncommon share of wit and talent and a satirical bent, which she is apt to indulge at the expense of the Court, for which she has a most undisguised contempt and dislike. Suspected of being inclined towards Jansenism, and is at the head of many charitable institutions. Was much connected with and is still extremely attached to Jovellanos, whose cause she has maintained with great ardor and firmness during his cruel persecution. She has great quickness and powers of reply ; her eagerness oftentimes blinds her better judgment, and disposes her to be credulous with

regard to stories of the Court ; and her resentment for the unjust persecution of so many of her friends renders her severe and rash in her conclusions upon the proceedings of the Court. The society at Madrid appears from her, as well as every other account, to have been much better in the time of Charles III than it is at present ; much greater liberty of conversation and freedom of intercourse. The circumstances and jealousy of the Q., political and amorous, are the chief causes of this change, as those who offend her are exiled, and those who escape are glad to obtain security by their silence and discretion. Mde. de Montijo is herself a Grandee, and her husband only a cadet of the House of Híjar. When Ld. Auckland<sup>1</sup> was Ambassador, she rather liked Ly. Auckland, but when she visited her she made a condition that *Milor* should not be troubled, he being too moral and hypercritical in his aphorisms for her. She is supposed to be privately married to M. Lugo.

*Madame de Lazan*, her daughter, lively and clever.

*Madame de Villafranca*,<sup>2</sup> another daughter, very like her mother in figure and person. Extremely clever, but not quite so cheerful. Her husband is the brother of the late D. of Alba, head of the House of Guzman, and inheritor and representative of the estates and family of Medina Sidonia. Their house is the most magnificent in Madrid, and adorned with fine pictures and portraits of the Guzman family. Their archives contain many curious papers relating to the Spanish history in the time of the Austrian dynasty : vast number of clerks always at work there, as indeed in all the great houses. All their papers were accessible

<sup>1</sup> William, first Lord Auckland (1744-1814), was Ambassador in Madrid 1788-1789. His wife was sister to Sir Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto.

<sup>2</sup> Da. María Tomasa Palafox y Portocarrero married D. Francisco de Borja Alvarez de Toledo, XII Marqués de Villafranca (1763-1821).

to Ld. Hd., who had applied to examine if there should be any that could be of service to his uncle in his *History*.

*El Marqués de Villafranca* passes his time chiefly at Court, as he is *Mayordomo Mayor* to the Princess. He is very much attached to his wife and children, and she has not yet taken a decided *cortejo*.

*Mde. de Villamonte*,<sup>1</sup> another daughter, handsome, but less so than her sister *Me. de la Condamina*, whom we knew at Valencia.

*Monsieur Lugo*, a man of letters, and a Jansenist. As he is very intimately connected with *Me. de Montijo* we must give him credit for some capacity and sense, but none can be detected from his conversation. His brother is married to a very pretty French woman. He is Spanish Consul at Lisbon.

*Dsa. de Osuna*,<sup>2</sup> heiress in her own right of the House of (Pimentel), Benavente, Quiñones, &c., &c., to the number of four or five *sombreros* alias *grandesses*, is the most distinguished woman in Madrid from her talents, worth, and taste. She has acquired a relish for French luxuries, without diminishing her national magnificence and hospitality. She is very lively, and her natural wit covers her total want of refinement and acquirement. Her figure is very light and airy. She was formerly the great rival of the celebrated Dss. of Alba in profligacy and profusion. Her *cortejo*, Peña, has been attached for many years, and is now the only one established. She is rather imperious in her family. Her revenues are greater even than the D. of Osuna's, who is a very tolerably sensible man and of considerable knowledge. He had great projects of ambition, and acquired at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> The youngest daughter, Da. María Benita de los Dolores, married D. Antonio Ciriaco María Belvis de Moncada, Conde de Villamonte (afterwards Marqués de Bélgida). The eldest, Da. Ramona, married D. José de la Cerda, Conde de la Condamina.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 49.



of the French Revolution the surname of being another Orléans. He obtained permission during his favor at Court to import from foreign countrys what books he chose for his own library, notwithstanding they were prohibited by the Inquisition, and he took advantage of this to collect a very good and extensive library, chiefly of classics, history, voyages, and books of science, which he intended for the use of the public; but this intention he was not permitted by the Govern. to carry into effect. He has, after the Medinaceli, the greatest estate, but the Infantado is the most unincumbered at present.

*Marqués de Peñafiel* his eldest son. A young man of 18, married to a granddaughter of the Dss. of Infantado's. He is, like his brother Grandees, of diminutive stature; his manner is good, owing to great pains having been bestowed upon his education and his excursion to Paris.

*Don Pedro Giron*. 'Perico' commonly called by his intimates. Sprightly, fond of dancing, and rather clever.

*Madame Camarasa*, eldest daughter.

*Mde. Santa Cruz*, 2nd daughter. She is very beautiful; a most engaging, captivating smile when she speaks. I have a portrait of her in the Spanish costume, full length in miniature; she sat for it 32 times! Slow as this may appear, the artist was a Frenchman with whom I had a difference about the price, he having charged exorbitantly. As it was, I paid four times its value for the picture, £120.

*El Conde de Haro*,<sup>1</sup> of the House of Velasco, eldest son of the D. de Frias, an empty, chattering coxcomb.

*Duke of Medinaceli*, a bigot; blind, and nearly

<sup>1</sup> D. Bernardino Fernandez de Velasco, who succeeded his father in 1811 as XIV Duque de Frias. Born in 1783. He was appointed Ambassador in London 1820, in Paris 1834, and held several offices of state.

imbecile. It happened whilst we were at Madrid that several religious processions were suppressed by the order of the Govt. (as from time to time they are doing), and among the rest, one which belonged to the D. in consequence of having witnessed the miraculous power of the image. Whereupon he requested the Queen, in a very humble petition, to interfere to preserve the procession, and enumerated the miracles the Saint had worked, one of which was performed in his presence, namely that of arresting the progress of a conflagration in the town. He is *Alguacil Mayor* of the Inquisition, and ought to have assisted at an *auto-da-fe* which happened during our stay, but in consequence of some slight he received from the Holy Office, he neither assisted in person, nor allowed his son to officiate for him. The Duchess is the heiress of the House of Santistevan : a clumsy, vulgar woman. The palace is immense ; 500 servants with their wives and children are lodged within it. There are tailors and shoemakers and many other mechanics living in the house, and employed only for the family. Every article of furniture almost is furnished from the estates of the family, and worked by his people ; the marble from his quarries, the wood from his forests, the silk hangings from his estates and looms, the cloth and linen from his wool and flax. The mirrors only are from the Royal manufacture of San Ildefonso. They alone keep up a sort of sovereign state, formerly more common among the Grandees than at present. The D. and Dss. are served at table by *gentlemen* on their bended knees. They are both narrow-minded and illiterate, and associate with none of their equals, being constantly surrounded by monks and priests. The Medinaceli estates are the greatest in Spain. Among many great Houses sunk in Medinaceli, is Cardona, in Cataluña. As Cerdas they claim to be the rightful heirs of Castile, and

on the day when the King is proclaimed the old custom is still retained of erecting a gallows opposite to the Medinaceli palace, and in taking the oath of fealty they present a protest against this act being construed into a renunciation of their claims. They have the armoury, in which there is a curious collection of ancient armour, and some good bas-reliefs.

*Marqués de Cogolludo*,<sup>1</sup> their son and only child, preferred a religious wife to a pretty one ; he was engaged to marry Mde. de Santa Cruz.

*Duque de Híjar*.<sup>2</sup> The first of the old Grandees who condescended to *tutoyer* the P. of the Peace, and that immediately after the banishment of his son-in-law, the Conde de Aranda.

His son, the *D. of Aliaga*, a heavy, clumsy figure. Two years ago he acted *Cupid* in one of his own plays. The Dss., his wife, is daughter of the House of Berwick, the brutally treated favorite of Don Diego Godoy, brother to the P. of the Peace.

*Mde. Fontanar*. Handsome figure, mistress to Ld. Bute, and expected to be married to him. Very dissipated, dances and dresses in perfection.

*Mde. Santiago*. Very profligate and loose in her manners and conversation, and scarcely admitted into female society. As the late Dss. of Alba and the Dow. Marquesa de Santa Cruz, however they may have indulged themselves, never wantonly violated decency in their

<sup>1</sup> D. Luis Joaquin, Duque de Cogolludo (1780-1840), who succeeded his father in 1806 as XIV Duque de Medinaceli. He married, in 1802, Da. María de la Concepcion Ponce de León y Carvajal, daughter of the Duque de Montemar.

<sup>2</sup> D. Augustin Pedro Alcántara Fadrique Fernandez de Híjar Abarca de Bolea, X Duque de Híjar, who married Da. Rafaela de Palafox, daughter of VI Marqués de Ariza. His eldest son D. Augustin Pedro Fernandez de Híjar, Duque de Aliaga, and later XI Duque de Híjar, married, in 1790, Da. María Fernanda Stuart, daughter of IV Duque de Liria. He died in 1817.

conversation or deportment, but the Santiago is said to boast of her nocturnal revels. She is immensely rich. Her husband is a well-bred man, a Navarrese.

*Mde. de Xaruja.* Very beautiful, but too large. Extremely voluptuous, and entirely devoted to the passion of love. She was in England some years ago. Her husband is at Vera Cruz. Her eldest daughter is the most magnificent glowing beauty I ever beheld; the offspring of the Sun.

*Mlle. Bouligny,* daughter of a Grecian lady, uncommonly modest and pretty. Mlle. Nevanes and various other pretty young women danced and appeared at the balls. The other handsome women were Mesdames de Aguilar, Villa-Vicenza (*sic*), Zayas, Fernan-Nuñez, &c., &c.

*M. de Fernan-Nuñez,* son of the Ambassador at Paris. Gentlemanlike person, countenance that denotes more sense than he possesses.

*Acosta,* settled at Valladolid *bien malgré lui*; married a *camarista* in the expectation of a good post, in which he has been disappointed.

*Don Alfonso Pignatelli,*<sup>1</sup> brother to Mora; very great reputation for successful amours, not very respectable character.

*Count Fuentes y Mora.* Came to England to marry Miss Beckford; checked by her refusal. Handsome and noble in his manners. Very rich, powerful, and of consequence.

*Don Antonio Capmany,* the historian of Barcelona, a Catalan, about 60 years of age. A man of extraordinary wit and vivacity, and of uncommon order of mind.

<sup>1</sup> D. Alfonso Pignatelli de Egmont y Moncayo succeeded his brother D. Armando as XIX Conde de Fuentes and Marqués de Coscojuela y Mora. See *ante*, p. 6.

# LADY HOLLAND'S JOURNAL

1808-1809

DURING the three years which had passed since the Hollands left Spain in 1805, many events of importance had taken place in that country and in Portugal. War had broken out between England and Spain early in 1805, but Napoleon's hopes of a naval supremacy had been dashed to the ground by the defeat of the joint fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar. Godoy himself, though nominally in alliance with France, was casting about for means of escape from the thralldom of the Emperor ; while Ferdinand the heir-apparent was openly desirous of peace, and looked to an alliance with England as the only means of saving his country. For Napoleon's plans for bringing the whole of the Peninsula under his sway had gradually been maturing. Portugal had been occupied by Junot in 1807 with a large force of French troops, and the Royal family had been forced to take refuge across the seas in far distant Brazil. Nominally for that purpose troops had been massed in Spain, but it ere long became plain to all observers that the yoke of France was soon to be extended over her so-called ally. Events played into the Emperor's hands, and dissensions between Charles IV and Ferdinand made it easy for him to entice them both across the frontier to Bayonne, there to submit to whatever terms he chose to dictate.

The folly and instability of the rulers of Spain was easily overcome, but not so the people themselves. The rising



in Madrid of the 'Dos de Mayo' was but a signal for similar riots and insurrections in every part of the country. Emissaries were sent early in May (1808) from the Northern provinces to England to ask for aid. The Government was sufficiently impressed by their patriotic spirit and earnestness of purpose to decide upon affording immediate assistance. Money and arms in large quantities were sent out; while agents, both military and civil, were dispatched to the various provinces to confer with the Spanish leaders. At the same time a force collected for other employment was diverted to Portugal. They were landed in July, and under Wellesley defeated Junot at Vimiero. The Convention of Cintra followed, and secured the evacuation of Portugal by the French.

After the abdication of the Spanish Bourbons Napoleon had given the crown to his brother Joseph, whose entry into his capital in July took place at an inauspicious moment. Throughout the summer the Spanish armies had more than held their own: but within ten days of his arrival came the news of Dupont's capitulation at Baylen, and the new king was forced again to retire behind the Ebro.

It was at this period that the Hollands embarked on their second visit to the Peninsula. Their decision to undertake the journey was probably made some months previously, and it is likely that Lord John Russell was induced to join their party when the Hollands were staying at Woburn in July. He accompanied them throughout the expedition, and also kept a journal of their movements, which is quoted by Sir Spencer Walpole in his *Life*. Lord Holland was in close touch with the Spanish emissaries during their stay in England. The glowing accounts of the enthusiasm and successes of their compatriots would have eradicated any fears which might have arisen, regarding the advisability of attempting the journey at such a time and the probable difficulties of travel. It was not then known that Napoleon was straining every nerve to revenge the recent checks sustained by his arms in the Peninsula, and many months had elapsed before the real numbers of the French troops in Spain were even suspected in England.

The Hollands left London for Falmouth on Oct. 9, but it was not until the first days of November that they landed

at Coruña. The complexion of affairs in Spain had assumed a more serious aspect during those weeks of waiting, owing to the increased activity of the French. Sir John Moore had taken over, early in October, the command in Portugal of the British troops destined for an advance to Madrid and the Ebro. The intelligence as to the best routes for his troops to follow was lamentably scarce, and neither the Spanish nor Portuguese authorities seemed able to give him any information as to the state of the roads. What little knowledge Moore could obtain was faulty, and he was thereby induced to send his cavalry and artillery under Hope by the circuitous route of Elvas and Escorial to join at Salamanca the rest of his force, which was moving by the direct routes to that city. Of necessity a long delay occurred in this way, which completely altered the character of the campaign. To co-operate in the North with Moore and effect a junction with him as soon as practicable, a force of over 12,000 troops under Sir David Baird were shipped from England to Coruña. The first transports arrived there on Oct. 13, but owing to the action of the Spanish authorities, no troops were landed until Oct. 26. The disembarkation of the infantry was only concluded on Nov. 4, the date upon which Lady Holland again takes up her pen.

On Sunday, 9th October, we set off to Falmouth in hopes of being able to get there in time to embark with the expedition to Spain. Our party consisted of ourselves Mr. Allen, Chester, and Ld. John Russell (who overtook us near Andover), 2 maids, and five men; two carriages only, being resolved to take as few persons and incumbrances as possible. On the road near Bridport, we heard of the departure of the expedition, but nevertheless continued hastening on to Falmouth in hopes some lagging transports might remain for a convoy. Reached Falmouth early on Thursday; pleasantly lodged in a house at the skirts of the town. We had obtained Ld. Mulgrave's<sup>1</sup> permission to go in any King's ship, so

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mulgrave was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1807 till 1810.

our only difficulty was to get an accommodating captain. Fortunately Edward Young received Admiralty orders to send round from Plymouth the *Amazon* to convoy four transports which had arrived, like ourselves, too late. The commander, Capt. Parker,<sup>1</sup> offered us a passage. At length after waiting upwards of a fortnight, on Sunday, the 30th, we embarked on board the *Amazon*.

After a delightful passage of five days, we reached Coruña. I never thought it could have been possible to have felt regret at leaving a ship, but Capt. Parker's was so pleasant that longer stay *even* on board would not have been irksome. He is a nephew of Ld. St. Vincent's, and he has the reputation of being worthy of his relationship. To those who only know the interior of a man-of-war from *Roderick Random* the difference between the reality and the description is striking. The order, civility, discipline, and cleanliness is astonishing. We admired Capt. Parker's manner on deck; without losing his dignity towards his officers and men, they approach him with respect and friendship, not terror. Mr. Tennant,<sup>2</sup> a Staffordshire gentleman, a friend and countryman of Capt. P. was on board; he is married to a daughter of Ld. Yarborough's. We were delayed by the convoy, otherwise we should have made our passage in less than 50 hours. Once or twice I was alarmed by the report of *strange* sails and the bustle in consequence of pursuing

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Parker (1781-1866), Admiral of the Fleet, who was in command of the *Amazon* for eleven years. He was created a Baronet in 1844 for his services in the Chinese War.

Mr. Ward in a letter to Mrs. Stewart (*Letters to Ivy*), dated Falmouth, Oct. 21, says, 'Lady H. has resolved to force herself on board it (the *Amazon*), in spite of the evident reluctance of poor Captain Parker, who has some friends of his own going with him.' Ward was, however, no friend of Lady Holland's, from expressions of his own in the same letter and a tirade against her badness of heart. His feelings were evidently fully reciprocated.

<sup>2</sup> William Tennant, Esq., of Aston Hall.

them, but they were only our own cruisers. The French are sending out corvettes to the Islands, and now and then they hazard a pair of frigates. By daybreak we lay before Coruña, and entered the harbour early. Appearance of the town, castle, and fortifications very pleasing. The shores are rocky and barren, and the waves of the Bay of Biscay strike against them with great fury, and produce very constantly a good deal of surf. A high building, called the Tower of Hercules, is the lighthouse. The Galicians complain of their poverty, and make that an excuse for not lighting it.

Admiral de Courcy came on board to make a visit to Ld. Hd. He seems to be a very excellent, good-hearted man: he is the commander on this station. He confirmed the stories we had heard of the unwillingness of the Spaniards to receive our troops. It appears that the expedition arrived without having obtained permission from the Central Junta (at Madrid) to disembark;<sup>1</sup> at length when leave was procured the Quartermasters, Commissioners, &c., &c., had been so negligent or ignorant, that the troops were many of them 36 hours without food. Great difficulties also arose from want of money. Several Spaniards came out to offer us their services in their own names and those of the ladies. We dined on board, and in the evening landed and found, to my very great dismay, two coaches full of ladies who had been waiting near two hours to receive me on my

<sup>1</sup> Lady Holland mentions later in these pages that Saavedra told Lord Holland that Santander was actually decided upon as the landing place for Baird's troops, and attributed the subsequent disasters in the Asturias to this change of plan. No allusion to such an arrangement is made by Arteche or Toreno. The British government considered that ports like Gijon and Santander were too small for the disembarkation of so large a force, and that Galicia would be best able to victual the army. Napier states that the Galician Junta tried to drive them to another port in order to save themselves trouble. No answer was received from the Central Junta for thirteen days.

landing and to conduct me to my house. One was the wife of Sangro, the Galician deputy,<sup>1</sup> the others, Madame Mosquera, Marquesa de Vianze (*sic*), &c. The house which they had procured for us was thoroughly in the Spanish fashion, spacious, but *totally* void of furniture. Afterwards we went to a *tertulia* at Mde. Mosquera's. The Duque de Veragua, a Grandee and descendant of Columbus, told us he had received accounts from Astorga informing him that Romana,<sup>2</sup> who had set off *en posta* from hence to Madrid, had there received orders to proceed directly to the army, without going to the Central Junta for instructions. They describe the reception given to Romana by the people as being touching; they drew the carriage, an honor never bestowed upon any person in Spain before, dragged him along the principal streets, and were only interrupted by acclamations of 'Viva, Viva!' He was quite overcome, and sobbed aloud; as soon as he could speak he addressed them and said these testimonies of their attachment were gratifying, but they were not due to him, that the praise belonged to the army, for he only felt in common with them, and shared an impulse which their own generous character had excited.

The Freres<sup>3</sup> proceeded straight to Madrid. On Friday we dined at Mde. Sangro's; Capt. Parker and Mr. Tennant were there, and the rest of the party was composed of Spaniards. An offensive old debauchée, who

<sup>1</sup> Sangro was one of the five Spanish deputies sent over to England during the summer of 1808 to implore aid against the French.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the first risings in Spain La Romana was in command of a Spanish force in French service stationed in Denmark. These troops he contrived to embark in transports lent him by the English, and landed them at Santander on Oct. 11. He himself visited England on his way, and arrived at Coruña on Oct. 20, by the same ship which brought Frere. He went at once to Madrid, but was sent after the battle of Zornosa to supersede Blake.

<sup>3</sup> John Hookham Frere had again been appointed Minister to Spain, and arrived at Coruña, accompanied by his brother, on Oct. 20.



is the Governor of Coruña, prevented me from deriving any pleasure whatever from the society; he is the author of a maritime dictionary, his name is Alcedo;<sup>1</sup> he becomes nearly frantic after drinking punch, and descants on topics that are rarely discussed before women. Went in the evening to the theatre; very tolerable exhibition, in the midst of which, unfortunately, I was seized with a sudden illness, and fell down in a fainting fit which lasted me some time, the consequence probably, of the sea voyage, where those who are not sick on board suffer afterwards for that exemption.

*Saturday.*—Capt. Parker, Mr. Tennant, and Ward<sup>2</sup> dined with us; we could not boast of our comforts yet. Went to the play, and with great regret took leave of our shipmates. The *Amazon* was ordered off Ushant.

*10th November, Coruña.*—Walked with Mr. Allen to the lighthouse about a mile and three-quarters from the town. The view of the town and harbour, now filled with shipping, is very magnificent. We saw some Spanish recruits exercising; they were healthy, well-looking young men, clothed rudely, but did not appear the less military. It is a glorious sight to behold the population of a country turning out with zeal in a fresh cause and against such an enemy. The English cavalry were landing in small detachments from the transports; tho' not very well conducted for want of proper preparations to facilitate their disembarking, few horses perished. Met many acquaintances in the streets; Frederick

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio de Alcedo, a Spanish American, and author of a dictionary of America and the West Indies, published 1786-1789.

<sup>2</sup> Hon: John William Ward (1781-1833), first Earl of Dudley, eldest son of William, third Viscount Dudley. He had left Falmouth on Oct. 22 in a packet bound for Coruña, but was back in the former port on the 25th, owing to adverse winds and bad weather. He appears, from a subsequent letter from Captain Parker to Lord Holland, to have returned to England about Dec. 1.

Howard,<sup>1</sup> Clifford, Baron Robeck,<sup>2</sup> &c. Mr. Lemon on his way to Cadiz; a Capt. Gordon, recommended by Sydney Smith; Ld. Paget,<sup>3</sup> uncommonly obliging and pleasing. The Spaniards very much struck with his beauty; they call him an 'arrogante mozo y muy bizarro.'<sup>4</sup> The dress of the officers excites more wonder than admiration; they observe that it is not warm for winter, nor cool for summer, and utterly inconvenient in a campaign. The height and size of the Englishmen surprises them; the physical difference is very apparent. The ladies praise the complexion, blue eyes, and height of the men, but complain of want of expression in their countenances, and delicacy in the shape of the limbs, especially about the knees; they add that they are in general 'muy frios!'<sup>5</sup> Freire,<sup>6</sup> Admiral de Courcy, and Fred. Howard dined with us. In the evening the ball, which had properly been put off on acct. of the bad news from Blake's army,<sup>7</sup> was, with more civility to me than

<sup>1</sup> Major the Hon. Frederick Howard, third son of Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, an officer in the 10th Hussars. Born in 1785: killed at Waterloo.

<sup>2</sup> John Michael Henry Fock, Baron de Robeck (1790-1856), a cornet in the 7th Hussars. His mother was a niece of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory.

<sup>3</sup> Henry William, Lord Paget (1768-1854), afterwards Earl of Uxbridge and Marquess of Anglesey. He reached the rank of lieutenant-general in April 1808, and was given command of Sir David Baird's cavalry division.

<sup>4</sup> A haughty young man and very gallant.

<sup>5</sup> Very cold.

<sup>6</sup> Manoel Freire (1765-1834), Spanish general, who served with distinction throughout the war.

<sup>7</sup> The battle of Zornosa on Oct. 31, in which Blake made but a feeble resistance, but was able to draw off his forces without serious loss. Joachim Blake (1759-1827) was member of an Irish family settled in Spain. He was colonel of a Spanish regiment when appointed Captain-General of Galicia at the commencement of the war, and had no experience whatever of handling troops. He was superseded by the Junta after the battle of Zornosa, and the command given to La Romana. The intelligence, however, never reached him till after his second defeat at Espinosa. La Romana joined him at Renedo on

discretion with respect to the public feeling, fixed for this evening at Mosquera's. I called for Ld. Paget, and took him and F. Howard. The ladies were sitting, according to the Spanish custom, all round the room on chairs close to the wall. I had to run the gauntlet along a whole range of them, till La Mosquera seated me on the couch. The middle of the room was occupied entirely by men, chiefly English officers. The dancing was bad, and the women, out of their own costume of the *basquiña* and *mantilla*, awkward and ill-dressed. A gavotte was danced by Mde. Sangro, and a few national dances at my request. A Spanish general arrived from Oporto during the ball. The absence of the young men who are at the army, and the decorous behaviour of their wives, mistresses, &c., who abstained from appearing in public under these circumstances, deprived the ball of much gaiety ; however, it went off very tolerably well.

The reports of Blake's death at Zornosa are so various and contradictory, that one hardly knows how much to give credit to. The only information which is avowed is contained in his letter to the Central Junta, which was published here, and a letter to his wife, whom he of course encourages by giving hopes of future success. Some persons are dissatisfied that he should be superseded in the command by Romana. Blake is the idol of this province, and was lately chosen their Capt.-General, a preference which is supposed to have contributed greatly towards increasing the animosity already subsisting between him and Cuesta.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 15, but did not actually take over the management of the scattered remnants of the army until they had reached the neighbourhood of Leon. Blake obtained further employment in Catalonia and Valencia. He was taken prisoner in 1812, and sent to France.

<sup>1</sup> Don Gregorio Garcia de la Cuesta (1740-1812), Capt.-General of Old Castile, commander of the Spanish armies in the Talavera campaign: He resigned his command in 1809, and retired to Majorca, where he died.

11th Nov.—Mde. Sangro accompanied me to return some of the innumerable visits which the ladies had quite overcome me with. We found several at home. We had to dinner Col. Kennedy,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ward, Mr. Bruce, and Baron Robeck. In the evening to the theatre, where there were rumours founded upon obscure letters from Madrid of Castaños<sup>2</sup> having met with a check, of the French crossing the Ebro at Logroño, of their being masters of Burgos, and other stories equally unpleasant. Ld. Paget thought it not impossible that the French might make a push to prevent the junction of our armies, i.e. that of Sir John Moore's from Salamanca with Sir David Baird's from Astorga. He apprehends much for the cavalry, their want of forage, &c. Upon the whole all he says appears to proceed from good sense and observation.

The packet from Falmouth arrived ; all well at home. No public event of any importance, except a declaration made at Erfurt by Napoleon that he intends taking the command of his armies in order to place the crown of Spain on the head of his brother, Don Josef (*sic*) Napoleon, and to plant his eagles on the towers of Lisbon.

The jokes against Mr. Ward for his want of nerves, proved by his desire of returning instantly to England, have reached his ears, and to show his courage he is

<sup>1</sup> Captain Kennedy, a British military agent stationed at Coruña by Colonel Doyle, who obtained for him in Madrid the local rank of lieutenant-colonel.

<sup>2</sup> Don Francisco Xavier de Castaños, Duque de Baylen (1756-1852), commander of the Spanish troops in Andalusia, and leader of the Spaniards at Baylen (July 1808). He sustained a severe reverse on the Tudela late in November, and was only employed by the Junta in subordinate positions during the remainder of the war.

There was foundation for both these rumours. Pignatelli, who was removed from his command, was forced by Ney to abandon the bridge at Logroño, without even firing a mine in it, and retired on Castaños' force near Tudela. Napoleon himself routed Belvedere at Gamonal on the 10th, and entered Burgos.

resolved to wait a little time longer at Coruña. His courage is like Falstaff's, who thought discretion the best part of valor! His fickleness and selfish caprice is astonishing; he is a living proof of the misfortune of being an only child and heir to immense wealth. He is whimsical and discontented.

12th Nov. 1808.—Upon hearing that a letter had arrived from Mr. Stuart<sup>1</sup> to D. Baird, Adl. de Courcy was good enough to go and make enquiries. He read the letter dated 3rd, from Aranjuez. It mentions the passage of 13,000 or 17,000 men through Madrid to Burgos; his silence about the army of Castaños is a sort of negative proof that the story circulated here is unfounded, as any disaster which might have taken place at Logroño on the 28th Oct. must have been known by the 3rd.

Set out for Santiago at 2. In consequence of the doubtful state of the news resolved to return by Coruña for one night, in order to ascertain the truth, and, if very bad, shape our future plans accordingly. The English cavalry barracks just out of the gates made a very cheerful object, the country *très riant*; villages and scattered houses all along the sides of the hills, apparently very populous. The road greatly animated; carts drawn by oxen, full of commodities for the market now so abundantly supplied, in consequence of the great demand.

Arrived at Santiago at about 5 o'clock. Much diverted by meeting on the road two pieces of English artillery *surmounted* by two fat Franciscan friars, sitting astride the cannon; a strong proof of the close alliance between the nations. Entered one of the city gates; narrow streets, well paved, houses built upon arcades within which people walk, and the shops display their

<sup>1</sup> Charles Stuart (1779-1845), afterwards created Lord Stuart de Rothesay. He was *chargé d'affaires* in Madrid until Frere's arrival.



contents. Greeted and molested by a concourse of persons crying out 'Viva, Viva,' in honor of the Alliance. The front of the Cathedral is richly but heavily ornamented. We were shown the *relicario*, and went to the treasure ; at the latter we were joined by ye Archbishop<sup>1</sup> and his attendants. He is a stout, hearty man, nearly sixty years of age. In showing the treasure we were told that Godoy (for now he is never called by any other name) had plundered them upon the pretext of the exigencies of the State. The Archbishop made us walk with him in a sort of procession. He was preceded by a priest carrying the crozier ; he took us to a nunnery, which being under his jurisdiction he had the power of granting us permission to visit throughout. The nuns are of the order of St. Francis de Sales ; they receive pensioners to educate, and also girls from the town who come during the day. They were delighted at seeing us, chattered away briskly. The Archbishop seemed to like patting his young flock under the chin, and giving them little caresses. After seeing everything in *detail*, and the cells of the nuns which are very spacious and airy, we sat in the *salon de recreacion*, where some of the pensioners danced to the thrumming of an old nun upon an instrument between a spinet and virginal ; one danced a hornpipe. The good sisters gave me a heap of little articles of their own workmanship, and would have given all their worldly goods. One nun is a hearty, cheerful woman, a sister of Mosquera's. We returned home to a very early dinner, in order to get out in the *tarde*<sup>2</sup> to see with the Archbishop other churches, &c. At three he sent us a present of sweet things, and we went to meet him at San Martin's Convent. He

<sup>1</sup> D. Rafael de Muzquiz y Aldimate. He was Bishop of Avila until 1801, when he came to Santiago. He died in 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Evening.

flattered himself that his applying to the Superior would enable me to enter the cloisters, but he met with a positive refusal. It was evident that the man's vanity was gratified in having an opportunity of denying the Archbishop's request. San Martin is a rich Benedictine convent, and they told me the monks were better informed than in the other communities. After a very fatiguing day, not the less so from the oppressive importunity of the Archbishop, who wanted us to stay another day in order to dine with him, we finally took leave of him at our *posada* door at 6 o'clock.

The Archbishop's name is Muzquiz. He was formerly Bishop of Avila, and three years Confessor to the Queen. Supposed to have been devoted to Godoy whilst he was powerful. He was the person who instituted that famous suit against the Cuestas, two canons of Valencia, who subscribed to the tenets of a Pastoral letter written by the B. of Palencia, which was supposed to contain some Jansenist doctrines. They were imprisoned and persecuted for several years; one contrived to make his escape into France, the other was in the prisons of the Inquisition whilst we were at Valladolid in 1804.

In the evening we were serenaded by a concert sent from the public authorities—the musicians of the Cathedral. During the intervals between the music, fireworks were displayed, accompanied by acclamations of 'Viva,' of 'Inglaterra,' 'Jorge III y Fernando VII.' At every shout we went out upon the balcony to answer their *Viva*, by *Vivas*, for 'España,' and 'Fernando.' The musicians proposed coming upstairs, and they sang some good Italian music. A civil *canonigo*, and Sr. Don Josef Juan Caamaño, now Conde de Maceda <sup>1</sup> in right of his

<sup>1</sup> D. Juan José Caamaño y Pardo, Señor de Romelle, married Da. Ramona Escolástica Pardo de Figuera, VIII Condesa de Maceda, who died in 1838. Her cousin from whom she succeeded to the titles was killed at the battle of Rioscco in 1808.

wife, and a member of the Junta, came up with them ; they were very civil, obliging persons.

Returned to Coruña, 16th. Pizuela received letters from Valladolid of the date of the 10th. Burgos had been alarmed by the sight of some French troops, several leagues off, but they withdrew, and on the 7th and 8th 13,000 troops belonging to the Army of Estremadura had reached Burgos.<sup>1</sup> This intelligence seems so well authenticated, that we feel the utmost confidence of getting securely on our journey. Letters came from Sir J. Moore from Ciudad Rodrigo of the date of the 12th. He was advancing then without his army ; that unfortunately was considerably in the rear.<sup>2</sup> A letter from Sr. Robt. Wilson mentions great sickness in that army, even specifying that it was to the amount of 2000 men. They were proceeding without sufficient camp equipage to protect them from the rigor of the season, or rather the severe rains.

Five hundred of the volunteers of Cadiz belonging to the army of Castaños were surrounded at Lerin and made prisoners. Castaños preferred losing them by not attempting a rescue, which might have brought on a general action ; in the course of a day 220 made their escape and returned to him.

General Pignatelli, the uncle of Ct. Fuentes, has been suspected of a treasonable correspondence with the French ; a spy was posted at his quarters, and his orders were so contradictory and his conduct so suspicious that he is removed.

<sup>1</sup> These were Galluzzo's three divisions, now under the command of the Conde de Belvedere, which were defeated by Napoleon at Gamonal on the 10th. Galluzzo had been superseded on Nov. 2, and recalled to answer certain charges brought against him by the Central Junta.

<sup>2</sup> The first British troops reached Salamanca on Nov. 13, and the whole of Moore's 15,000 infantry were assembled there by the 23rd.

17th Nov.—Admiral de Courcy again and again repeated his kind and friendly offers of the *Tonnant* being at our service in case we should be compelled to make our *retreat* through Coruña.

18th.—Left Betanzos at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 10. At about a league before Guitiriz we met a Scotch officer riding past, whom we stopped to ask news. He belonged to Gen. Mackenzie's, and brought a disagreeable report of Blake having been again defeated,<sup>1</sup> and of the French advancing to prevent the junction of the two English armies; of Burgos being in the possession of the French. The *venta* at Guitiriz large, and for Ld. Paget and his staff; he had secured us the best part. He and his brother, Major Paget, and Baron Tripp<sup>2</sup> dined with us. Ld. P. thinks ill of the business.

19th.—We did not set off until Ld. Paget had mustered his men: they rode off with regularity, preceded by the band playing. We met a Spanish gentleman riding past, and stopped him to enquire the news. He confirmed the report of Blake's second defeat. At Lugo it seems Sr. D. Baird received a messenger from his own commissary at Leon, containing the acct. of the defeat of Blake on the 10th, but the gentleman added that from Sr. David's pronunciation of the proper names in Spanish, he could not understand where the action happened. Also that he received news from his advanced guard at Astorga and a messenger from Salamanca. The result was his taking the resolution of setting off in haste with

<sup>1</sup> At Espinosa, where he was defeated by Victor on the 10th and 11th. His troops made a creditable show, but suffered severe losses, including San Roman, second-in-command of the troops who had just returned from the Baltic. Blake reached Reinosa on the 12th, where he collected about 12,000 men, about half his original force. He was not allowed a moment, however, as Soult was close at hand. Striking into the mountains with about 7000 troops he evaded his pursuers, and reached Leon on the 16th.

<sup>2</sup> Or Fripp.

his staff to Astorga. His conduct is surprising. He has not communicated a syllable to Ld. Paget, a general officer commanding the cavalry, and I believe 3rd in command of the whole army. One should think in such a moment as this is likely to become, that it would be advisable to have as many opinions in council; not only for the good of the cause, but for his own character, either to have the sanction or escape the censure of Ld. P. Ld. P. and his men remained at Baimonde. Great losses amongst the cavalry. The horses, after 7 weeks confinement on a ship and then plunged into the sea to be swum on shore in a state of fever, have of course suffered severely, especially in their feet; besides the change of food from oats and hay to chopped straw and maize has affected their health. Seventeen were left at Betanzos. Three young men died, and on the road we saw several horses lying dead, and others who had fallen but could not rise. Soon after our arrival at Lugo, the two cousins, *las primas*<sup>1</sup> *de la Sangro*, came to visit and offer their services, Da. Maria de Prado. They invited us to dinner on the following day, and sent us presents of live turkeys and hares.

20th.—At breakfast we received a visit from the Prior of the place, a friend of Quintana's, D. Manuel Fernandez Vanela, a very sensible, clever, well-informed man. The Bishop soon after came; an Asturian, very ignorant and *grossier*, quite the manners of a *fraille*. He owed his elevation to the favor of Campomanes in his quality of countryman. The ladies came in a carriage to fetch me to go into the town to see the Cathedral, &c.

Ld. Paget arrived from Baimonde at about 2. He argues well from Baird's silence, for if the news were true to the extent reported, he thinks it would have

<sup>1</sup> Cousins,



been impossible that he should not have received a messenger.

We dined at the house of Prado, all the five *primas* of Mde. Sangro, her stepmother, and various other persons ; fortunately for me, our sensible acquaintance the Prior in the evening. Followed a dreadfully formal *tertulia*. Among the guests we had an *oidor*<sup>1</sup> of Valladolid and his family. He fled from thence on the arrival of the French, and he again fled from the persecution of Cuesta, who threatened to arrest him for having gone to Lugo as a deputy from Villafranca del Vierzo.<sup>2</sup> We had a boisterous canon, a native of Africa, who to show his zeal and adoption of English customs, drank bumpers of wine and roared out toasts—the usual ones of *Ferdinando* and *Jorge*, the union of the two countries, and compts. to Ld. Hd. He owed his place to the favor of Mallo, the Queen's lover, who was banished to Astorga. The Bishop had invited me to a *refresco*, but on discovering that I was likely to be ye only woman, when ye time came to go I declined the visit. Ld. Hd. went with Ld. Paget.

Just afterwards, Monroe, the messenger bringing dispatches from Aranjuez, brought letters from Baird to Ld. P. The 1st, dated ye 18th Nov., desires him to halt his cavalry at Lugo in consequence of the disastrous news from Blake's army, and the State of Burgos being in possession of the enemy. Ye 2nd, 19th, bids him cancel all the orders about halting the cavalry, because, from a letter of Sir John Moore's, he finds the French have never been in any great force at Valladolid. In this letter he omits one very important point, which is from whence Moore writes, and it is only by hearsay that it is supposed his army had reached Salamanca. He urges Ld. P. to take the post and join him,

<sup>1</sup> Auditor.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Mr. Charles Vaughan in Appendix F.

as he wants his advice in the very critical position of affairs.

Blake appears to have been, after more fighting and great exertions on his part, completely beaten, and driven with the fragment of his army into Santander. Romana is there going to take the command of the scattered troops. Blake was attempting to join Baird at Leon, but a body of French intercepted him, and it is said that at Sahagun he lost his whole park of artillery. This news upset the whole *tertulia*. I went to Ld. P., and wrote by the messenger whom he stopped to take his letters.

21st Nov., Lugo.—Early this morning Ld. Paget and his two aide-de-camps set off *en posta* for Astorga. B. Frere writes from Aranjuez, 15th: advises us not to advance until something decisive is seen from the armies; complains of the insalubrity of Aranjuez at this season. They live in our old house belonging to the Marquis de Santiago. We have resolved upon returning for *the present* to Coruña, but shall spend the day here in order to write letters, &c., &c. This is Ld. Hd.'s birthday, on which he completes his 35 years.

Drove in the Bishop's carriage, with four mules and two postilions in cocked hats, round the city walls. *El Prior*, Don Manuel Fernandez Vanela, dined with us and passed the evening. He told us a great many interesting anecdotes regarding the affair of the Escorial, the *motin*<sup>1</sup> at Aranjuez, and the disturbance at Madrid of the 2nd May, etc.; P. of P., on sounding some of the military whom he had raised to high stations, on being refused complained that he had the misfortune to make ungrateful followers not friends. The Prior is full of humour and wit; told us several stories admirably. One of the Irish colonel whom he

<sup>1</sup> Mutiny.

had clothed when wet, fed, and lodged, who just before he set off fell upon his knees and, meaning to ask his benediction, in bad Latin, said, 'Redde beneficium tuum': for that, 'No,' said the Prior. His benefice is worth about 1000 pr. ann. He has lived a great deal at Madrid and has a quick conception of ridicule; he made apologies for the provincial and boisterous behaviour of the gentlemen *Gallegos* at dinner yesterday.

22nd Nov.—This day as foggy and damp as that of yesterday. We left Lugo late, 11 o'clock. The English troops concerned at our leaving them; they were told we were only making an excursion for a few days, and should rejoin them on the road. Met Gen. Slade<sup>1</sup> and young FitzClarence.<sup>2</sup> He said the ammunition and artillery were behind, complained of the want of assistance from the Juntas who had not furnished them with cattle or guides. 36 waggons containing artillery left on the road for want of means to come on. The road very fine, but the country a moor and swamp bounded by distant mts. The 15th regt. Dragoons passed us; they appear to be in much better condition than either the 7th or 10th.<sup>3</sup> They were on board ship only eleven days; the first was on board upwards of seven weeks. It is very vexatious to feel it indispensable to retrograde; it really is an act of self-denial not to proceed. I am persuaded one's courage rises in proportion as one approaches the scene of danger, and at Astorga I should have felt less terror than I did in apprehension at Hd. House.

<sup>1</sup> General Sir John Slade (1762-1859), commanding the Hussar brigade.

<sup>2</sup> Eldest son of William IV and Mrs. Jordan, created Earl of Munster in 1830. He was a cornet in the 10th Hussars, and was only fifteen at that time.

<sup>3</sup> These regiments later were termed Hussars. They still, however, appeared in the army list of 1809, and for some years after, as Light Dragoons.

Reached Guitiriz at 6 in evening. In Galicia one may always find milk, eggs, and potatoes; the first is supplied abundantly from numerous herds of goats, whose white coating mingles well in the distant views with the black, shaggy flocks of sheep. The eggs they owe to their poultry, of which there is a vast quantity, especially about Lugo; the capons are very fat. Their method of fattening them is by giving a walnut with the shell every day, increasing the number to forty, at which time they are reckoned to be in a state of perfection, and are then killed. The culture of potatoes has been introduced from England; they are much used. On the roadside the countrywomen bring them ready boiled to sell to the troops as they pass. The mutton is nauseous, beef excellent; pork in every shape famous all over Europe. Fish very good; the eels and trout of the Miño are reckoned exquisite. Fruits, from the specimen which was given of them when prepared, delicious. Bread, except at Santiago, quite execrable. At Coruña and all the way to Lugo it is gritty from a mixture of sand and filth, heavy and brown. The common wine very palatable, light, and wholesome. The salt brown and foul; the Spaniards scarcely eat any. They consider it as very pernicious, altho' they eat great quantities of salted meat, ham, pork, sausages, pigs' faces, feet, lard, &c. Water excellent, it is generally brought along open aqueducts, both at Coruña, Lugo, and, I believe, at Santiago. Candles are in common use, not lamps as in the other parts of Spain. The floors are of wood; not brick or stone pavements like those I have seen in Spain. The houses are not large, nor are they built round a court or *patio*. The *ventas* or *posadas*, tho' far from being good, yet furnish more articles than many do in the south of Spain, such as chairs, sheets, mattresses, and plates.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Awoke in the night by a strong smell of fire, and found the room full of smoke. There not being a chimney in the house but that of the kitchen, which I knew had been long extinguished, and knowing that in and about the house there were 36 waggons laden with ammunition, I thought it might be advisable to make some enquiry. It was 3 o'clock. Upon examination it appeared that in the stable under the room in which I slept, the muleteers had wanted a light, so not having anything conveniently at hand they made *straw* torches. The only *outlet* to the smoke was through the crevices of my floor.

On the road we passed several divisions of the 15th in excellent condition. The last of the cavalry leave Coruña *to-day*. They march in 9 divisions, and the first ought by this time to be at Nogales, but if the French are assembling at Benavente, the cavalry can be of little use, as perhaps all the English army have to look to is to defend themselves and protect the frontier of Galicia, and on those heights cavalry are of no service whatever. Sr. D. Baird has about 10,000 infantry 'forward,' but whether that means at Astorga, or on their way hither, I know not.

A large train of artillery is waiting here (Betanzos) for the want of horses to convey it on forward; a commissary has been employed above a month to procure the means. From all I can observe, the service would be greatly benefited by the dismissal of the whole *commissariat*; the artillery lags behind, and the men are distressed frequently for want of provisions. No army can less endure privation from food and no one is more liable to it than the English, entirely from the ignorance and unskilful management of the commissaries. Between Coruña and Lugo a number of men were 36 hours totally unprovided with food, and for two days another division



had not received their ratio of wine. Nothing could be more true than a brother or relation of Ld. Rosslyn's saying, when being appointed commissary to an army, that he was going out to cheat the King and starve the troops.

Two companies of ye 60th composed of foreigners ; it is well managed keeping them here upon duty of guarding artillery, &c., as they would find some difficulty in deserting, if they should become so inclined.

*24th Nov., Coruña.*—Arrived at 2 o'clock. We have taken up our residence in a small house occupied formerly by Sr. David Baird ; it was the only one to be procured. Received English letters and papers to the 8th Nov. Dined at Mr. Barrie's, the merchant's. Met Mr. Stuart, the aide-de-camp of Gen. Mackenzie, the same person who gave us the bad news on the road to Guitiriz. An army of reserve is forming at Pontevedra ; Mosquera is gone thither to take command of his regt. A person has been sent to the Supreme Junta to complain of the proceedings of the one here, and to recommend that a military officer of distinction should be sent here with full powers to supersede the Junta and take measures necessary for the defence of the Kingdom, for which purpose they have shown themselves totally incapable and unfit.

*25th.*—Adl. de Courcy came early. Under the strictest seal of secrecy he revealed some very unpleasant circumstances to us. He received orders from Sr. D. Baird directing him to choose a safe and proper place from whence troops might embark with safety, and the vessels remain at anchorage out of reach of batteries. This order was so precise that he leaves it to be acted upon without any further reference to himself. Accordingly as the Bay of Coruña is commanded by forts, the fire of which would if in the enemy's possession render the embarkation unsafe, de Courcy has fixed upon Vigo, and

has already taken measures accordingly. Under the pretext of sending to England the empty transports, he has ordered the *Endymion* to convey them to Vigo. As he knew we were to return here he very kindly gave orders to the *Champion* to be ready, and kept her 24 hours longer on our acct., to send her home to demand of the Admiralty ships of the line and frigates to protect the transports in case there should be a necessity of their returning with the army. He intends to follow shortly with the *Tonnant*. As we were resolved upon attempting the road into Portugal, we have declined his offer of the *Champion*, and he has accordingly dispatched a small sloop instead, as he will require all his force.

Sr. D. Baird seems to have been alarmed almost unjustifiably, tho' the junction of the two armies is still a very doubtful point, and all that is known for certain of Sr. John Moore is that on ye 24th Nov. (yesterday) he could not have with him at Salamanca more than 16,000 men, but without artillery or cavalry. Baird is at Astorga with about 10,000, *quite* without cavalry, little artillery, and less ammunition. The first division of the 7th Light Dragoons will not be able to join him till ye 26th, and the rear of the cavalry will not get up before ye 2nd December. To-night Lt. Laroche, an officer of the 15th, brought on a dispatch from Lugo, forwarded from Astorga, containing merely a repetition of those orders to the Admiral. He brought a verbal report that the 15th have been ordered to halt and fall back upon Baimonde. Notwithstanding these symptoms of a speedy retreat, no bad news seems to have arrived. The Madrid post arrived at the regular time, a proof that the French did not, or could not intercept them at Benavente on ye 22nd.

Letters from Gijon of the 19th are free from alarm as to the approach of the French, but in a letter from

Sr. D. Baird to Ld. Hd., it appears that they made an attack upon San Vicente de la Barquera, a place situated about 3 leagues on this side of Santander. Romana, who is at Santander, is said to be greatly cast down by these disasters; the guns of the batteries that command the harbour have been spiked by his orders on ye 12th, and many thrown over into the sea, and casks of stores and ammunition.<sup>1</sup>

26th.—Adl. de Courcy brought and introduced to us a cousin, Capt. Digby, of the *Cossack*. He arrived yesterday from Santander; he left Romana there on ye 13th, who was just setting off *en posta* with his aide-de-camps and 5 hundred 1000 duros to find Blake, who was supposed to be at Reinosa. Romana had 5000 of his dismounted cavalry, who were armed with new English muskets supplied from the *Cossack*. The fugitives from Blake's army were numerous; they represented their sufferings as having been great. Capt. Birch, who was wounded in one of the engagements, admitted that the army had been reduced to the greatest straits. For 5 days they had no supplies, and their food was just such as they could find—wild goats and animals they could catch in the mountains; many perished from hunger and fatigue, and the want of provisions contributed as much as the superior force of the enemy to disband and disperse the army. Romana's famous Catalan regt. were in an advanced post; on the 31st they were surprised by daybreak by the French, who opened three fires upon them in the most furious manner. They refused to surrender, and were to a man destroyed.<sup>2</sup> At Bilbao

<sup>1</sup> Soult entered Santander on Nov. 16, and captured a quantity of heavy stores. He again dispersed the remains of Blake's Asturian division at San Vicente; but advanced no farther, and struck southwards to Saldaña, where he regained touch with Lefebvre.

<sup>2</sup> This was at Durango on Oct. 31, one of the actions which preceded Blake's defeat at Espinosa.

2 Spanish soldiers were left sick in the hospital, and when the French arrived were given up as prisoners. Merlin, a genl. of division, ordered them to be carried to the *plaza* and shot as rebels.<sup>1</sup> It is reported that he has been since mortally wounded in some of those battles with Blake.

Captain Digby, who has been all the summer and autumn stationed off the coast, says that the French did not receive reinforcements to the number of 5000 men from ye beginning of July to the end of Sept., but it is said that lately 60,000 have passed Bayonne. Joseph went to Madrid escorted by not more than 2500 men, but by sending forward parties of Dragoons to order rations for 5 times the number of men they have, they spread an alarm in the villages through which they pass of the vastness of their numbers. Capt. Birch, of the artillery, is come in the *Cossack* wounded; he was with Blake in three actions. He blames the plan of campaign of the Spanish generals. It was planned by Castaños and Palafox, a confidential officer of Blake's assisting in order to carry back to Blake their determination. Blake was much agst. the plan of his advancing into Biscay, but the Supreme Junta compelled him; they were dissatisfied at him for delay. The soldiers behaved with great courage and firmness in these actions, but some of the officers conducted themselves infamously. Romana ordered that all the officers who should be found without a passport should be put under arrest. Fortunately 3 victuallers put into Santander and fed the *starving* army.

Two Spanish frigates came in at the same time with the

<sup>1</sup> The sack of Bilbao by General Merlin took place at a much earlier date (September) than the period with which Lady Holland is now concerned. It was the result of a premature rising which was easily kept in check by Marshal Bessières' 2nd Corps. Christophe Antoine, Comte Merlin (1771-1839) received the rank of general in 1805.

*Cossack* from Santander. The Conde de San Roman, 2nd-in-command in Blake's army, died of his wounds on board; they threw his body over board. He was an excellent officer and much esteemed by the army. All seem to agree that cavalry ought to have been sent to Galicia in July; if even the present forces had reached Spain 3 months ago the face of Spain would have been very diff't. Junot's army was by its position *hors de combat*. Capt. Digby dined with us.

The *Minerva* and two brigs are come in from Gijon; the former brings accts. of the French having entered Santander on ye 15th. They saw the Dragoons riding down into the town. The town was nearly deserted by its inhabitants. The Bishop came in the *Minerva* and was landed at Luarca. The Spaniards fled shamefully from San Vincente de Barquera from 1800 French. In one of the brigs are Mr. and Mrs. Hunter<sup>1</sup> and daughter; they left Gijon on ye 24th. Late at night, Mills, an English messenger from Madrid, brought letters from Astorga, one from Ld. P. to Ld. Hd.<sup>2</sup> Worse accounts than ever from the army urges us without loss of time to quit Spain. Romana is at Leon without troops; the French are running over Asturias, and their cavalry scouring over Castile. They have concentrated a force of 14,000 men at Rioseco, but none have advanced as yet to Benavente. On the 21st *probably* Sr. J. Moore would fall back upon Ciudad Rodrigo, and he has ordered D. Baird to look to the supply of his troops and re-embark as speedily as he can. The cavalry are to go on to cover the retreat of the infantry. The *Cossack* is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hunter was the British agent at Gijon.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A, Nov. 24. Napoleon had no idea of the close proximity of the British, and halted at Aranda de Duero from Nov. 23 to 28, with his mind fixed on the capture of Madrid. Hence the French advance from Valladolid towards Salamanca, which Moore expected, never took place.



to sail to-morrow, *nominally* for Lisbon, but in fact for Vigo with transports.

27th Nov., *Coruña*.—Dispatches from Sr. David Baird from Astorga. In consequence of Sr. John Moore's orders that he would do well to consult the safety of the forces under his command and look to speedy embarkation, he has reiterated his demands for transports. It appears that Romana transmitted the acct. of Blake's army being cut up, that the French were in possession of San Vicente de la Barquera and of Colombres, and that the Asturias could not be defended. Sr. D.'s dispatch to Ld. Castlereagh states that by a dispatch from Moore, dated 21st, Salamanca, that general apprised him that as soon as he should hear that the French *had left* Valladolid, he should fall back upon Ciudad Rodrigo, and that, in that case, Baird ought to retreat with a view to embark at Vigo, and if possible transport his cavalry to Portugal over the Miño; this however he left to the judgment of Baird.

Reports that Blake has saved his artillery, and that it is at Leon. The battering train of artillery which Blake took from Ferrol (perhaps to bombard Pampeluna) is returned in the Spanish frigates which arrived yesterday.

In a confidential letter from Ld. P. to Ld. Hd.,<sup>1</sup> among other things, it seems apprehensions are entertained that the French may penetrate into Galicia by the way of Orense, so as to harass the English on their retreat to Vigo.

A report that General Vives, after a severe engagement with the French in Cataluña, had approached close under Barcelona.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hunter and Sr. Thomas Dyer<sup>3</sup> describe

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Nov. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Vives was besieging Duhesme in Barcelona.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Dyer, who succeeded his father as seventh Baronet in 1801. He became lieut.-general, and died in 1838. He was one of the military agents in the Asturias.

the public feeling in Oviedo as being much more enthusiastic than it is amongst the *Gallegos*. All these alarms have induced us to renounce our journey to Vigo by land; we were upon the point of setting off, the mules were actually tinkling their bells at the door. The worthy Admiral assures us of a retreat in the *Tonnant*, and an earlier one in the *Champion*, but the orders are so urgent for the detention of every vessel, that none can now be sent out either to Vigo or to England.

28th.—Gen. Broderick<sup>1</sup> has received a letter from Col. Bathurst, the quarter master at Astorga, containing more favorable accounts. Blake has brought part of his army to Leon, and many of the fugitives are collecting together, which will form in the course of 8 or 10 days a force of 20,000.<sup>2</sup> His artillery are arrived, and a junction of his army with Sr. D. Baird is supposed to be practicable and likely to be effected. Broderick's expression is that, '*Safety and honor go together.*'

Broderick thinks the junction between Blake and Baird as good as done, whatever orders to fall back may have been given previously. Capt. Crauford of *Champion*, has lately been at Cadiz. Dupont<sup>3</sup> was very turbulent and troublesome. Morla confined him and his staff in lighthouse. In his baggage was found an immense quantity of plate from churches, and spoons, forks, and even buckles beat down into a mass. His mistress stole at Cordova cambric to make herself three hundred

<sup>1</sup> Hon. John Brodrick (1765-1842). sixth son of George, third Viscount Midleton; military agent in Galicia. (*Napier*, Bk. III. ch. i.)

<sup>2</sup> La Romana had nearly 16,000 men near Leon on Dec. 4, but they were badly equipped and short of clothing; and 23,000 were collected there ten days later (*Oman*). He did not actually move from there till much later, but wrote to Moore on Nov. 30, saying that he hoped soon to be able to do so.

<sup>3</sup> General Dupont, the commander of the French army which capitulated to Castaños at Baylen. He and his staff were sent back to France soon after this.

shifts. Reports of disturbances against the English at Oporto. Sr. Robt. Wilson is there raising a legion of 5000 men.

29th.—Blake's army at Leon is said to be 18,000 strong. It begins to transpire here among the merchants that preparations are making to embark at Vigo.

30th.—Bissett, a King's messenger, arrived in the eve., with dispatches from Sr. J. Moore; private letter from Ld. P. to Ld. Hd.<sup>1</sup> Moore was at Salamanca on the 28th with 18,000 men, no sickness prevailed in his army. Infantry of Baird had fallen back. By the letters from Astorga the opinion entertained there is that the French have no infantry or very few, and that their whole force consists in cavalry; they are supposed to be pushing their force towards Navarre in order to demolish Castaños and Palafox. Ld. P. writes in the highest spirits, it having been decided upon that the junction of the armies is to be attempted; the cavalry will begin the operations on the 3rd, the infantry will follow on the 4th or 5th. Romana, who is at Leon with his army, is disposed to join the English armies, but Ld. P. rather wishes him to retrograde on Asturias to intercept the retreat of the French who are advancing to Oviedo; this last fact however, does not appear to be quite certain. Ld. P. says the Marquis might make a *joli coup*. The people here discredit the report of the French having as yet got into the Asturias, and that at headquarters they have been deceived. A French corps pushing through the Asturias might easily surprise Ferrol, which is entirely stripped of troops. At Ferrol there are 7 ships of the line, three of which are 100 guns. General Müller, a naval architect and engineer, came over yesterday from Ferrol, and he considers it as impracticable for the French to pass through the Asturias.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

The Hunters dined here, and gave the following acct. from Mr. Hay,<sup>1</sup> an aide-de-camp, of Genl. Leith's report. He was sent by Frere with dispatches from Madrid to Santander, but was compelled by the progress of the French armies to go to Gijon. 'Nov. 10th, French attacked the 1st division of Estremadura army at Burgos, defeated and took from it 10 or 12 pieces of cannon. Entered Burgos in the evening.'

*Dec. 1st.*—All hope has vanished, and orders are given for retreating: orders dated, 29th, at night, from Sr. D. Baird to repeat the necessity of the transports and all being '*ready to sail at a start (?)*.' He has received positive orders from Sir J. Moore to begin his march towards the shipping without delay. Sr. J. Moore is determined to fall back upon Ciudad Rodrigo. The cause of this sudden determination on the part of Moore he rests upon the defeat of Castaños.<sup>2</sup> Neither the date, nor place where this disaster happened are known, but the circumstances are said to be similar to those of Blake. Ld. Paget went to Leon and saw Romana; he does not think much of the *quartier-général*. In the dispatch to Ld. Castlereagh, Baird encloses Ld. P.'s report of the conversation he had with Romana on the 26th. Romana complains that he has been deceived and not communicated with by his

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Leith Hay (1785-1862), aide-de-camp to his uncle General Sir James Leith. He wrote *A Narrative of the Peninsular War*, and other works.

<sup>2</sup> Castaños and Palafox met the French under Marshal Lannes at Tudela on Nov. 23, and were utterly routed. Castaños' own troops retreated on Madrid, while the remainder found their way to Zaragoza. The news of this disaster reached Sir John Moore on the 28th, being brought him by Vaughan, Charles Stuart's secretary, who was actually present at the battle. The dismal tidings were sufficient to cause him to decide on retreat, and orders to that effect were dispatched forthwith to Baird and Hope. Moore himself remained, however, where he was, on the chance of picking up the latter's force; and these few days put a new complexion on the face of affairs which enabled him to pursue a very different line of action.

Govt.; that he was appointed to the command of an army which does not exist. As to spies, he can get no information, altho' he has great reason to believe the French are well supplied with information about all that is doing in his army. His men are half-naked, and starving, and unless equipped they cannot be kept together. He was confident of having in 8 days 20,000 men collected; he has only 12 pieces of cannon. Nothing but the most *precise* and peremptory orders can justify Moore in acting as he is going to do. It is too mortifying.

*Dec. 2nd.*—Baird hears from Moore that the Supreme Junta are going to move to Toledo, in consequence of the news of Castaños's defeat. At Vigo there are 140 transports under convoy of *Endymion*, *Cossack*, *Minerva*; here about 32 under the *Tonnant* and *Champion*. Upon the whole we think it safest to hasten to Vigo and there embark, for if the French should pursue hotly and seize the batteries, it may be a very serious state of commotion here.

At eleven at night, to our great surprise, our old friend Mr. Vaughan<sup>1</sup> arrived *en posta* from Madrid, having carried dispatches from thence to Moore at Salamanca, and so on through Astorga, where he saw Baird. He brings the acct. of the defeat of Castaños, with whom, I regret to find, there was a large body of Palafox's army. Castaños escaped with 3000 men to Calatayud. On the arrival of the intelligence, Mr. Stuart dispatched Vaughan with it to Lord Castlereagh in a dispatch from Col. Doyle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1849), the well-known traveller and diplomatist, for many years Minister to the United States (1825-1835). He accompanied Charles Stuart to Spain in 1808, though in no official capacity, and was present at the first siege of Zaragoza with Col. Doyle. He was again in Spain 1810-1816 as Secretary of Legation and *chargé d'affaires*. See Appendix F, for his letters previous to this date.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Charles William Doyle (1770-1842), employed in military and political duties in Galicia and later in Catalonia. He was at this time assisting in the direction of affairs at headquarters.



At Villacastin Vaughan met with Gen. Hope's division, 21 leagues from Salamanca, 7000, chiefly of cavalry, and a large train of heavy artillery, which was on its march to join Moore. At Salamanca he found Moore very much out of humour, abusing the poor Spaniards, and dissatisfied with the service on which he was employed. Moore told him that if the junction had been formed he would then 'throw himself into Spain,' but as Baird could not advance before the 4th, he should not attempt it. At Benavente he found some English dragoons, and was told that French patrols had been at the bridge the night before. At Astorga he found Sr. Dd. Baird more out of humour with the Spaniards even than Moore, saying they had no enthusiasm, no order, and wanting nothing but our money, &c. 7th Dragoons at Astorga; 10th at Cacabelos, and some of the 15th at Villafranca. Artillery returning to Betanzos. People of the country ignorant of this *glorious* retreat; they suppose the English are falling back in order to oppose the French who are marching through the Asturias. A French aide-de-camp was stabbed by his guide whilst passing a ford, and the letters of which he was the bearer betrayed a scheme being in contemplation of getting along the coast through the Asturias. Ld. Paget believes they have actually 12,000 men in that principality;<sup>1</sup> confidentially mentions that our going to Lisbon will not secure us quiet, as Moore has applied for transports to the Tagus, apprehending that Portugal is not to be defended, and that whoever is the master of Spain must be also of Portugal.

At Madrid they are preparing for a similar resistance to

<sup>1</sup> This was quite incorrect. Soult having forced the remnants of Blake's force over the mountains to Leon, never went farther west than Columbus, but turned south through the mountains to Saldaña and Carrion.

that made by the inhabitants of Saragossa agst. the French. Morla and Castelar<sup>1</sup> are at the head of the military force. From intercepted letters it appears that the French intend to enter that city and wreak a dreadful vengeance. Vaughan describes great enthusiasm to prevail in Aragon, Catalonia, and New Castile; in Old Castile and Leon the affair of Cuesta has done harm.<sup>2</sup> A considerable Spanish force on the Somosierra; 20,000 Spanish soldiers excellent, officers indiff't., ignorant, and great want of military knowledge in the generals. Palafox<sup>3</sup> is indefatigable, but without any knowledge of the military art, or indeed of any kind. Montijo he rates low. Romana was appointed to the command of Castaños's army just before the battle of Tudela.

When Palafox declared war against France he had only 250 regular troops in Aragon, and 2000 reals in the public treasure. Palafox is the author of the proclama-

<sup>1</sup> Marqués de Castelar, Captain-General of New Castile.

<sup>2</sup> In Aug. 1808, soon after the battle of Rioseco—the scene of Cuesta's defeat and consequent loss of prestige, the revolutionary Juntas of Leon and Castile were joined by that of Galicia and constituted themselves a joint assembly under the Presidency of Valdes. Cuesta, however, as Captain-General of Castile, considered himself the supreme authority in those parts and refused to recognise them. In order to constitute a central authority to prosecute the war a Supreme Junta of 35 members, deputies from the various Juntas, was appointed to assemble at Aranjuez in September. While proceeding thither the deputies from Leon, Valdes, and the Vizconde de Quintanilla were arrested by Cuesta and thrown into the castle of Segovia, there to be court-martialed for disobedience to his orders. They were at once released by the command of the Supreme Junta, and Cuesta was deprived of his command for his presumption.

<sup>3</sup> José de Palafox y Melchi (1776–1847), the most distinguished of three brothers, of whom the eldest was Marqués de Lazan, the youngest Francisco de Palafox. He accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne, but returned to Zaragoza when he saw the impossibility of the latter's escape from the clutches of Napoleon. He was there proclaimed Captain-General of Aragon, though he had no knowledge of military matters. He at once proclaimed war against the French, and held the command in both the sieges of Zaragoza.

tions which appear in his name. He has a chaplain of the name of Tas, who distinguished himself during the siege. He himself is so much beloved by the Aragonese, and next to Our Lady of Pilar<sup>1</sup> is the person who enjoys most of their confidence. V. saw the heroine<sup>2</sup> who defended a battery after all the men were killed, and defeated a French column who were advancing to take possession of the battery by firing off a 24-pounder. She is a pretty, modest-looking woman, and ascribes her mighty deeds to an inspiration from Our Lady del Pilar.

*3rd December.*—Sr. Dd. Baird continues sending dispatches to repeat the urgency of the retirement. He has ordered all ships of war to be detained, as in case of a hot pursuit all must take troops on board. He has desired de Courcy to inform the Junta of the retreat of the army, but that he may assure them the English will never abandon the Spanish cause! What a jest! To insult and deride them at the moment we are abandoning them thus disgracefully. I thought it friendly to hint the danger to Mrs. Hunter. Mr. Arbuthnot, her brother, is here; he arrived by the last packet, meaning to pass a few months with her quietly in the Asturias.

*4th December.*—Mr. Vaughan set off in the *Snapper* schooner laden with letters, &c., for England. We are hastening to Vigo, and shall set off in an hour. A variety of delays owing to the difficulty of getting mules and conveyances. The Governmt. have laid an embargo upon all mules and horses in order to facilitate the departure

<sup>1</sup> A very ancient wooden figure of the Virgin preserved in the Cathedral of Zaragoza.

<sup>2</sup> Agostina Zaragoza, who in battle snatched the lighted match out of her dying lover's hand and applied it to the gun. The Spanish soldiers shamed by this heroic deed returned and beat off the French column. Palafox made her a sub-lieutenant of artillery. (*Oman.*)

of the artillery and stores to Leon. In consequence of Ld. Hd.'s application to the Junta we have one *tiro*<sup>1</sup> released. We are obliged to use a *calesin* and mules of burthen.

Beautiful evening, very light the moon being nearly full; reached Herbes, a wretched *venta*, for the third time in which we slept at it. The Madrid post has not arrived; the *correo*<sup>2</sup> only came from Benavente, a clear proof that the enemy have intercepted the road. Ld. Hd. received a very kind and friendly letter from the D. of Infantado. Also a present from Jovellanos of a new edition, handsomely bound with Ld. Hd.'s name and his own on the cover, of the *Siete Partidas*, the code of laws instituted by Alonzo el Sabio.

5th December was one of the most delicious days I ever felt; the sun was very powerful, and yet there was a gentle air to temper its ardor. The usual occupations of the peasants made some pretty scenes; sowing, ploughing, and harrowing in the same open space. The road less good than when we passed before, partly from the heavy rains, and partly from the passage of artillery. The recollection of our late reception at Santiago made me feel a dread of encountering similar and now undeserved expressions of kindness to the English nation. I dreaded entering amidst acclamations of 'Viva,' 'Viva,' knowing how soon, and justly, those friendly expressions must be changed to contempt and aversion.

6th December.—Received by the post a letter from Adl. de Courcy, in which he mentions the arrival of the *Lavinia*, Ld. Wm. Stuart, and enclosing a handsome letter in which Ld. Wm. offers, considering our forlorn condition, to look into Vigo purposely to take us up and convey us on to Lisbon and further if we choose. As it is a stretch of power to do this, he urges us to be ready to meet him.

<sup>1</sup> Team.

<sup>2</sup> Mail.

He was to sail on the eve of the 6th, and might get there in 24 hours. He has brought Matarrosa,<sup>1</sup> &c., &c., and Gen. Cradock,<sup>2</sup> who is going to take the command at Lisbon.

7th.—As we ascended the hill looking down upon Vigo, we saw the beautiful but melancholy sight of 140 transports and three ships of war! The harbour is very spacious; it is reckoned one of the finest in Spain. The English Consul, Melendez, had procured a very tolerable house for us upon the beach. In the evening Capts. Capel<sup>3</sup> and Digby came to see us; they were very obliging and friendly in their offers of service. The former commands the *Endymion*, a fine, large frigate, but of course his motions are uncertain, as he must superintend the embarkation of the troops, and as yet no acct. is come of their progress. The wind fair for the *Lavinia*. Agreed with Capt. Capel upon his signal in case she should arrive at night.

9th.—A fleet of transports were entering about 5 o'clock under the convoy of the *Orestes*. The Admiral writes from Coruña that he sends round by desire of Sr. D. Baird all the head-quarter ships; and that Sr. D. was at Villafranca on the 4th, and the whole army falling back.

10th.—Just after breakfast Capt. Capel and ye capt.

<sup>1</sup> José María Queipo de Llano Ruiz de Saravia, Vizconde de Matarrosa, and afterwards Conde de Toreno (1786–1843), a member of one of the leading families of the Asturias. He had been to England as one of the deputies sent by the Northern Juntas to seek assistance against the French. He was the author of the well-known history of the insurrection in Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Cradock (1762–1839), created Lord Howden in 1819. He was sent out to take command of the troops left by Moore in Portugal, but was superseded by Wellesley in April 1809, and sent to Gibraltar as Governor. He was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in 1811.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas Bladen Capel (1776–1853), youngest son of William, fourth Earl of Essex.



of the *Orestes* came to announce the dismal news of the *Lavinia* having sailed from Coruña the day before the *Orestes*, and that without doubt from the fairness of the wind she had passed this port in the night of the 7th, and was already at Lisbon! It was a sad *contretemps*; but we must prepare for a land journey, first because we wish to avoid the painful sight of witnessing the embarkation of our fugitive army, and secondly because the delay may be very great, and we may be detained for the *Endymion* above a fortnight.

11th.—The first news this morning was as disastrous as surprising—the loss of the *Jupiter*, 50-gun ship, almost in the harbour! They think against a rock. The heavy guns are overboard; the crew, it is certain, are all saved. I am going to hear some particulars. The guns we heard were signals of distress; Capt. Capel was out all night with her. The fault was entirely owing to the ignorance and presumption of the capt. He had only an old chart, drawn a century ago, and he refused the pilot who went out to offer his assistance; the guns were thrown overboard.

12th.—Col. Long,<sup>1</sup> a staff officer belonging to the 15th Dragoons came from Coruña; he read the orders to the commanding officer at Santiago, the purport of which was that the troop was not to proceed to Vigo, but to wait there till further orders for their proceeding *forward* again. Thus there is great reason to hope Sir John Moore has decided upon advancing. The women at Santiago, when our soldiers entered the town, called out to them that they were not taking the right road to meet ye French, and pointed to the one they had left as

<sup>1</sup> Colonel, afterwards Lieut.-General Robert Ballard Long (1771–1825), a colonel on the staff of Spain. It is stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that he only landed in that country the day before the battle of Coruña.

the fittest for them to go. Such expressions and marks of contempt must be expected.

13th.—Soon after we were in bed we were roused by the arrival of a messenger from Coruña, who brought us an immense packet of old English letters. The messenger was Col. Kennedy's servant, and his verbal acct. was highly gratifying. He represented his master as being in great joy at the news from head-quarters, orders being issued for the advance of the army once more to Astorga.<sup>1</sup> In the morning a confirmation of all the good reports in a letter from Admiral de Courcy to Capt. Capel. Sir John Moore, in consequence of the great exertions making by the Spaniards and the general appearance of affairs on the 5th Dec., took his determination of doing what he *never* ought to have abandoned, viz. proceeding from Salamanca to the junction with Baird. Orders are issued for all officers to proceed immediately to head-quarters, and all preparations for fitting up the transports for the reception of cavalry to cease; indeed it is even hinted that the transports may perhaps be sent back to England immediately. It is

<sup>1</sup> Baird's force was the only one which actually commenced a retrograde movement, and they received a new set of orders from Moore at Villafranca on Dec. 6.

A variety of reasons had caused Moore's change of mind during those days of waiting at Salamanca, though the 'great exertions making by the Spaniards' was an invention of Frere's fertile brain. Hope had reached him with the cavalry and artillery, his own force was full of discontent at the thoughts of retreat, and La Romana seemed stronger than he had supposed. Above all he had discovered that there were no French troops near enough to hinder his junction with Baird, and that Napoleon's real point of objective was Madrid. A blow dealt on the flank of the French he rightly conjectured would draw them upon him in force, and thus ease the pressure upon the capital. He little knew that Madrid had fallen several days before he commenced his hazardous advance, and that the enemies' forces totalled not 80,000, as he supposed, but three times that number. Yet his enterprise was even more successful than he can have imagined or lived to realise, for by that dash on to the Carrion he undoubtedly saved Spain.

most natural to infer from this resolution of Moore's, that Gen. Hope effected his junction successfully, and made so just and fair a report of the state of the public feeling and determination sooner to perish than yield to Napoleon in Castile, that he has convinced Moore not only of the practicability but of the *moral* necessity of advancing to succour the Spaniards.

By letters from the Asturias it seems the alarm of the French was greatly exaggerated, and the few who entered that principality were already withdrawn. 7th Dec. was the last date from Oviedo. The transition from sullen discontent to frank joy at this place is very striking. Great exertions are making everywhere to recruit the Spanish armies. 250 volunteers are now under arms at this little place, who are to be sent to join the army of rescue. Romana is said to have removed, in other words disgraced, many of the officers. Madrid post has failed. Capt. Capel dined.

14th.—We were woken again in the night by the arrival of an express. Col. Long stopped a messenger from Sr. Robt. Wilson to Broderick, which contained a passport for us and an extract of a letter from Gen. Anstruther,<sup>1</sup> at Almeida, dated 7th: 'I am happy to say that three battalions from Oporto are ordered forward to Salamanca with all speed, and I am sanguine that things may yet go well.<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards are making a desperate effort at Madrid; God grant it may be successful.'

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General Robert Anstruther (1768-1809) took part in the Vimiero campaign and commanded a brigade under Edward Paget in his advance from Portugal to join Moore at Salamanca. His brigade protected Moore's retreat to Coruña, but the magnificent services he performed were too much for his strength and he died of exhaustion the day before the battle.

<sup>2</sup> Of these one battalion only, the 82nd, reached Moore in time. The other two were too far behind, and returned to Portugal.

12th.—Oporto, from Sr. Robt. Wilson: 'I march on Wednesday morning. All in high spirits. Capt. Peacock with a British detachment has entered Bragança. We suppose this to be Sr. D. Baird's military chest. Pray tell Ld. Holland this intelligence.'

15th.—Began our laborious and hazardous journey by land on mules and in litters to Lisbon.

20th December, Tuesday, Oporto.—Mr. Butter communicated the sad and melancholy news of the capitulation of Madrid; the enemy were repulsed three times, and it must have been about the 10th that the event took place.<sup>1</sup> The Supreme Junta had removed to Truxillo, and were on their road to Seville; the Freres were with them. The particulars are not known. Col. Trant was sent over to England in the *Lavinia*, the bearer of this intelligence. It came from Lisbon in a private letter from an aide-de-camp of Col. Cradock's to his uncle. Moore had made the junction with Hope, and was in hopes of effecting that with Baird. Sr. Robt. Wilson has set off from hence with his Lusitanian legion, consisting at present of 800 men.<sup>2</sup> This undertaking does not meet with ye hearty support of the Regency, who do not confirm his military appointments or furnish supplies either for the equipment or pay of the troops; he is very anxious to get on to Spain where their *solde* will be at the expense of our Govern't. The re-establishment of the *Regency* has been a most unpopular measure in this

<sup>1</sup> Madrid surrendered at 8 o'clock on the 4th, after holding out for one day!

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Wilson had raised his 'Lusitanian Legion' around Oporto, and in time it amounted to about 1300 men. Napier says the project was originated by Souza, the Portuguese Minister in London, with a view really to dominate the situation in Oporto which was seething with faction. Wilson, however, had different views and moved off his available force (Napier says, by Sir J. Cradock's advice) to other quarters as soon as he was able to do so.

country.<sup>1</sup> The persons in high offices are suspected of being strongly addicted to the French cause. Mr. Villiers,<sup>2</sup> 'handsome with the flaxen hair,' is arrived at Lisbon as envoy ; his sagacity will hardly mend matters. Bernardino Freire,<sup>3</sup> the Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of the Portuguese forces, called. He appears disposed to be very serviceable and obliging. His manner is formal and extremely ceremonious.

We removed from our wretched *posada* to the inn built in the Factory House for the accommodation of the English travellers ; spacious, clean, and possessing the comforts of fireplaces. Sr. Robt. Wilson had prepared a house for our reception, one formerly belonging to the English Consul ; we only heard of it after we had settled to come here. In the eve. Mr. Butter, Mr. Noble, and Capt. Stanhope. The latter came in two days from Vigo ; he left England on the 11th. The alarm there was so great in consequence of the dispatches from Sr. D. Baird, that all the troops, cavalry, and infantry which were embarked at Portsmouth were ordered immediately

<sup>1</sup> After the evacuation of Portugal by the French, the original Regency, appointed by Dom John when leaving for Brazil nine months before, was reconstituted by the proclamation of Sir Hew Dalrymple, the English general. Those members however were omitted who had sided with the French, and the Bishop of Oporto was added, making in all seven members. The Junta of Oporto, who had borne the brunt of the fray, considered it should have received more recognition, and the fact that the Constitution was settled through the agency of the English did not tend to increase its popularity with the Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> The Hon. John Charles Villiers (1757-1838), who succeeded his brother as third Earl of Clarendon in 1824. He was envoy to the Court of Portugal from 1808 till 1810. Lady Holland's quotation is from the *Rolliad*.

<sup>3</sup> Bernardino Freire de Andrada, a cousin of the general in the French army : born about 1764. He took a leading part in the insurrection in 1808 against the French, and was present at the battle of Vimiero. During Soult's invasion of Portugal in the following year he fell a victim to an outburst of frenzy on the part of his soldiers, who accused him of treachery and murdered him.



to disembark, and the empty shipping sent to Vigo to bring away our army.

Mr. Noble dined with us. In the evening the worthy Bishop of Oporto<sup>1</sup> came to see me. I was very sorry, as he had been confined to his bed for five days; he looks sick and dying. He is greatly beloved by the people, and his presence alone keeps them from committing acts of violence. Went to the Opera; had offers of several boxes, Bernardino Freire sent his aide-de-camp offering Madame's. I went into Sr. Robt. Wilson's. The theatre is very large and handsome. The troop good, much better than that of the Haymarket without Catalani. The 1st *basson*, Scamarelli, is engaged at a high salary for the Haymarket. Bernardino Freire and his wife made me a visit: very obliging. He offered, if we chose, to send forward and order the monks of Grijo to prepare for our reception. We accepted.

*Dec. 30th, Marinha Grande.*—Met Ld. Ebrington<sup>2</sup> who was riding past with Gen. Cameron<sup>3</sup> from Lisbon to Almeida in order to join Sr. John Moore. He gave a confused acct. of public affairs; could scarcely collect a single fact from his statements. It appears certain that Madrid is in possession of the French, as he had seen the capitulation, but he did not know the date, nor the stipulations whether the Spanish army had

<sup>1</sup> Dom Antonio de San José de Castro, President of the 'Supreme Junta' of Oporto, and a member of the Regency of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh, Viscount Ebrington (1783-1861), who succeeded his father as second Earl Fortescue in 1841. He went out to Spain as a volunteer, acted as aide-de-camp to Wellesley at Vimiero, and was sent back to England on Oct. 18 as the bearer of a despatch. He must have returned almost immediately to Portugal. He was later attached to Venegas, and was present at the battle of Almonacid.

<sup>3</sup> General Sir Alan Cameron (1753-1828), who was left in command of the troops at Lisbon by Moore when he moved forward to Salamanca. On Cradock's arrival, however, he advanced to join Moore, but hearing at Almeida of the latter's retreat, he remained there and occupied himself with collecting the stragglers.

surrendered, &c. Ld. Hd. got a hurried note from Sr. Robt. Wilson at Lamego, 23rd, in which he refers him to a Portuguese officer for particulars of news, but said officer is not forthcoming. Met other travellers who said the reports were very contradictory.

3rd Jan., 1809.—Remembered the road: it was so rough that I was obliged to ride almost into Lisbon. Met about 3000 Portuguese troops marching to the frontiers. Very tolerably lodged owing to the kind civility of Mr. Bulkeley. He and Mr. Bell called. Gen. Cradock sent his aide-de-camp to offer his services.

4th Jan., Lisbon.—Ld. Hd. went yesterday to Mr. Villiers who was inclined to be very civil. This morning he breakfasted with Sr. John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief of the forces in Portugal. He was very communicative and even confidential to Ld. Hd. It appears that the French, who were as far as Merida on the 26th, and had levied contributions in Truxillo, afterwards retreated and rather suddenly recrossed the bridge of Almaraz, and, it is said, directed their course to Plasencia.<sup>1</sup> It seems that a French column is *at Salamanca and*

<sup>1</sup> With a view to discover the whereabouts of the English, and also ultimately to act as an advance guard for his descent on Seville and Lisbon, Napoleon had pushed Lasalle's cavalry far south to Plasencia on Dec. 17. But as soon as Moore's real position became known, on the 21st, the Emperor collected all the troops he could lay hands on to overwhelm him, leaving only part of Victor's 1st corps, and Lefebvre's (Duke of Dantzig) 4th corps, to protect Madrid. The latter had orders to dislodge, with the aid of Lasalle, the remains of the Spanish armies defeated at Gamonal and the Somosierra from the bridge over the Tagus at Almaraz, where they had collected under the command of Galluzzo. This Lefebvre effected without difficulty on Dec. 24, and after pushing forward to the south a few parties of cavalry, he withdrew, not as Lady Holland says (just as does Napier) to Plasencia and Talavera but right over the Guadarrama to Avila, where he appeared on Jan. 5. This act of disobedience disarranged all Napoleon's plan, and cost Lefebvre his command.

Galluzzo was relieved of his command by the Supreme Junta after his retirement from Almaraz, and his troops were handed over to Cuesta.

*Ciudad Rodrigo*, and that the communication of Sr. J. Moore with Portugal is of course intercepted. The junction of Romana, Moore, and Baird it is certainly believed was effected on ye 22nd, Moore having fallen back from Toro for that purpose.<sup>1</sup> From the letters found upon a French courier whom the Spanish postilion had murdered (the 3rd within these two months) Moore knew that the army of Soult, who is opposed to him, was stronger than he expected, and dispatches of importance with regard to the plans of the French army are in his possession. Cuesta is at the head of the forces in Estremadura; he was proclaimed almost by acclamation their chief, and his nomination has been confirmed by the Supreme Junta, Galluzzo, the former general of that army, having lost the confidence of that province by his loss of the bridge of Almaraz. One English regt. and some Portuguese are at Elvas. Col. Kemmis, who commands, writes that he is prepared to hold out in Fort la Lippe to the last extremity. There is a *very* small English garrison at Almeida. Portuguese troops are collecting at Thomar and at Guimaranes, but excepting these there seems *nothing* to prevent the French from penetrating when they choose to Lisbon.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Villiers

<sup>1</sup> The junction between Baird and Moore was effected at Mayorga on Dec. 20, and La Romana joined them at Astorga on the 30th, much to Moore's annoyance. The latter had requested him to retire through the Asturias if forced to evacuate Leon, and leave Galicia for the British. Moore commenced his retreat from Sahagun on Dec. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cradock found thirteen battalions of infantry, besides cavalry and artillery, at his disposal upon his arrival in Portugal. Of these, one battalion, the 40th, was at Elvas, garrisoning the citadel, Fort la Lippe; four at Almeida, two of which had been sent back by Moore, and two had started too late to reach him. The rest were at Abrantes and Lisbon.

Considering these too few for the defence of Portugal Cradock, early in February, withdrew all but the battalion at Elvas to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and commenced to dismantle the forts on the Tagus in case of the necessity of an evacuation of the town. This in itself was

has already given an intimation to the Factory that they must be ready to depart at a moment's warning, as it may be necessary for them to do so, and measures, Sir J. Cradock told Ld. Hd., were taking already to render the fortresses on the Tagus unserviceable; it seems they are defenceless towards the land. In short the inhabitants of Lisbon are rather *dans un très mauvais pas*, and our journey through Badajoz and Seville is not quite so safe an undertaking as we had expected to find it. Mr. Bell<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Bulkeley dined with us. Sir John Cradock called: great offers of service. Mr. Villiers, the same. He is not a Solomon from his manner. Sent key of his box at San Carlos. Lugo, the Spanish Consul-general, Don Pasqual —, the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, called. The latter is suspected of being a Frenchman in his opinions. Went to the Opera. The singing is not so good as at Oporto; the dancing better. Slender audience.

*5th Jan., Lisbon.*—Went with Ld. Hd. who made some visits; the town full as dirty as formerly. The houses bear evident marks of decay from being shut up, neglected, and uninhabited. Mr. Bell dined with us. Great alarm amongst the merchants, many of whom are already dispatching their property on board of ships. Went

perfectly correct, as they were useless for defence against a land force, but the result showed the proceeding to be both unfortunate and inopportune. The populace at once began to suspect that they were to be deserted by the British, and serious riots were only obviated at the end of January by the presence of the soldiers.

The Portuguese troops at the end of 1808 were practically a negligible quantity. With the exception of five or six battalions near Lisbon, they were scattered all over the country, and having no transport available were not in a position to take the field.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland notes of Mr. Bell in *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, 'An English merchant, whose talents and intrepidity during the French occupation of Portugal should have entitled him to the place of Consul in 1809.'

Mr. Bulkeley is perhaps the same mentioned by Lord Broughton (*Reminiscences*, vol. ii) as having 'charged us 13 per cent. for changing money.'

to the National Theatre, where complimentary songs to the English and Portuguese were sung. Sr. J. Cradock went to place his men this morning at Sacavem, *now* the only military post between us and the force of Napoleon; he has about 3000 men. He was awoke in the night by the news brought by an officer who says the French column from Plasencia have entered Coria, and some already pushed into Castello Branco. If this is so, this place must fall immediately. All the ships of war were hastened off to Vigo, and we have only a Commodore and two frigates. The forts being dismantled on the Tagus has contributed to spread the alarm amongst the merchants. Many French spies are suspected to be about under the disguise of friars and priests. An English packet in 13 days from Falmouth; no letters later than 16th, newspapers down to 21st. The Court of Inquiry<sup>1</sup> is over; but the result is not public, as it has not been laid before the King. Lord Liverpool is dead. The Spanish *chargé d'affaires* told Ld. Hd. that he had heard from Badajoz of the death of Count Florida Blanca at Seville,<sup>2</sup> and that he was succeeded in the Presidentship Altamira,<sup>3</sup> Cevallos Vice-President, and Garay<sup>4</sup> Secy. of State. Much afraid that our Badajoz expedition will not be safe to attempt.

6th.—Dined at Sr. John Cradock's, where our party consisted of Generals Mackenzie and Cotton,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Wellesley,

<sup>1</sup> The Court of Inquiry on the terms of the Convention of Cintra commenced its sitting on Nov. 14 under the presidency of Sir David Dundas. Its report was issued on Dec. 22.

<sup>2</sup> He died of bronchitis, the result of a chill caught during the hurried journey of the Junta from Madrid to Seville.

<sup>3</sup> Conde de Altamira and Marqués de Astorga.

<sup>4</sup> Don Martin Garay (1760(?)–1822), Secretary to the Cortes, and Minister of Finance under Ferdinand VII from 1814 till 1818.

<sup>5</sup> General Sir Stapleton Cotton (1773–1865) who was created Lord Combermere in 1814. He was sent to Vigo in August with a cavalry brigade, but its destination was changed to Lisbon.



Ld. Ipswich,<sup>1</sup> Commodore Halket,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wynne, Capt. Francis, Mr. Fremantle, and Baron Quintilla the owner of the house, which is a noble palace. During the French tyranny Junot was quartered upon him; all the expenses of living were at his cost, and even the *fêtes*, to many of which the Baron was not even invited. The lowest sum at which this was estimated to have cost Quintilla is £40,000.

The story of the French being already at Castello Branco is not credited; it came from the Portuguese Regency. No news from Moore. Genl. Cameron is at Almeida, and Ld. Ebrington, who was knocked up by the journey and had remained at Coimbra, has resumed his intention of proceeding. Mr. Wellesley<sup>3</sup> appears to be very pleasing and intelligent.

8th.—Bad news from Catalonia; Rosas is taken and Gerona is invested.<sup>4</sup> I had a letter from Bartholomew, dated, 4th, Seville. Florida Blanca is certainly dead; he attended his funeral.<sup>5</sup> Capmany is safe at Seville; he escaped from Madrid on the 4th. Quintana left Madrid before it was taken. Capmany is as full of

<sup>1</sup> Henry, afterwards Earl of Euston, and fifth Duke of Grafton (1790–1863). He was an officer in the 7th Light Dragoons.

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded Admiral Cotton as commander of the naval force on the station, and is highly spoken of by Napier.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps one of Lord Wellesley's two illegitimate sons, born before his marriage in 1793 or 1794 with their mother Hyacinthe Gabrielle, daughter of Pierre Roland.

<sup>4</sup> The capture of the fortress of Rosas was effected by St. Cyr's force early in December. In the meanwhile, however, the relief of Barcelona had become an urgent necessity, and the French commander was unable to undertake the reduction of Gerona until May.

<sup>5</sup> 'He was buried in great state: the function lasted four hours. He lay in state yesterday evening, and was carried to the Cathedral upon an open bier, with his hat, uniform, cordon, and cane in his hand; and though I was shocked at the idea of seeing him in this way, when he passed by there was so little difference between the face of the corpse and his face when alive that I could hardly believe but that he was asleep.' (*B. Frere to Lady Holland.*)

energy as ever ; he says his mind has not suffered, and that instead of getting weaker as it grows older, as other peoples' do, it is like the arm of a blacksmith that the more it works the more nervous it grows. Sir John Moore was to leave Carrion de los Condes on the 23rd, in order to attack Sault, who was at Saldana.<sup>1</sup> On the same day Napoleon left the Escorial, and an army of 30,000 men marched to attack Moore. Letters from Elvas and Badajoz. The French have abandoned the bridge of Almaraz. Letter from Col. Peacock, who is entrusted with a large sum of money, under an escort of 500 men, to join Moore, dated ye 30th Dec., Miranda del Duero. He had received a letter from an English officer, Col. Harvey, at Zamora, dated 28th, from which it is clear that the French had never been at Salamanca as was believed here at headquarters. Some of the patrols had been at Toro.<sup>2</sup> The 7th and 18th Dragoons had an action in which they had greatly the advantage of the French. Col. Peacock, was advised, however, not to proceed by Zamora but to go round by Bragança. Letters from Salamanca of the 28th, from which it is certain the French had not been there.

Cuesta has scarcely any troops at Badajoz ; he is not over and above satisfied with our commander for refusing him aid, which considering the smallness of the force here could not be granted. There have been popular commotions, excesses, and murders at Badajoz. Dined at Mr. Villiers's.

<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect : Moore was never at Carrion. He had arranged to attack Sault there at dawn on the 24th, but received the all-important news on the 23rd of Napoleon's advance in force from Escorial and Madrid, which was to be his signal for immediate retreat.

<sup>2</sup> Lapisse's force which was detailed to deal with this district was still at Benavente on Jan. 1. Moving south immediately he stormed Toro, and Zamora only fell after a determined resistance on Jan. 10.

9th.—The French who entered Plasencia advanced on the 1st in the direction of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. This corps is said to be 8000 strong. Cevallos is appointed Ambassador to the Court of London. Cuesta has advanced from Badajoz to reoccupy the bridge of Almaraz. A heap of good news from Sr. Robt. Wilson, but not sufficiently authenticated to justify great confidence in them. It appeared to be the determination yesterday at head-quarters to make a great effort to assist Moore, viz. to send forward all the troops here. The policy at present is to bring from the country all the magazines which had been collecting at Vizeu, Lamego, &c. ; but Sr. Robt. Wilson has, upon his own judgment, proceeded on to Ciudad Rodrigo with his Lusitanians,<sup>1</sup> and taken with him provisions and ammunition, which, as he will most likely be taken prisoner, will fall into the hands of the enemy and be of infinite service to them. Junot, in his march from the frontier, lost 600 men from fatigue and hunger. Went to the Opera in evening.

10th.—Accounts of cruel excesses having been committed in many parts of Spain. Many officers murdered by their soldiers from suspicion of treachery. Cuesta is gone forward with troops to the bridge of Almaraz, and is organizing the army. I walked in Quintilla's garden. Mr. Setaro<sup>2</sup> called in the evening and gave some interesting particulars respecting the departure of the Prince Regent,

<sup>1</sup> Wilson remained near Almeida in order to observe Lapisse's force which had now taken up its quarters at Salamanca. With a force varying from 1500 to 3000 men, he managed most skilfully to keep in check the French corps of 9000 men from January till April, and for some weeks actually interrupted their communications with Madrid.

<sup>2</sup> A Portuguese merchant, in whose charge was the victualling of the British fleet at Lisbon.

Lord Holland gives a full account of the Strangford controversy in his *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, pp. 10, 393.

and confirmed what we had already heard that Lord Strangford, far from being instrumental in inducing the Prince to take the resolution of going to Rio Janeiro, was not aware of his determination till after he had embarked full 24 hours.

11th.—The Regency received news from an officer in whom they have the greatest confidence, date, 4th, Zamora. He had been at ye headquarters of Sr. John Moore at *Villafranca*! on ye 31st. He sends accts. of various actions both before and after the 31st, all of which appear to have terminated to the advantage of the English, and in one subsequent he reports Lefebvre to have been taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup> Gen. Cameron has left Almeida with 2 regts. in order to penetrate *Tras os Montes* to Moore's army. The 14th regt. of cavalry<sup>2</sup> which are embarked, were to have been sent round to Vigo by sea without delay, but the news of Moore's retreat will probably suspend their departure. The P. Government are out of spirits and depressed at the departure of our troops. From *Badajoz* they write confidently of *Infantado's* being at the head of a considerable army with which he is advancing against *Madrid*.<sup>3</sup> Not above 8000 French are left to garrison *Madrid*. We are taking measures to go to *Seville* by the way of *Ayamonte*.

12th.—Gen. Cameron left Almeida on 5th; his line of march was through *Torre de Moncorvo*, *Mirandella*, and

<sup>1</sup> General Count Charles Lefebvre-Desnouettes (1773-1822) was captured by the British at *Castro Gonzalo*, near *Benavente*, on Dec. 29. The 18th Light Dragoons and the 10th Hussars were the chief troops engaged in the action. Lefebvre was sent to England, but escaped in 1811 by breaking his parole.

<sup>2</sup> These had only arrived at *Lisbon* from England in December.

<sup>3</sup> This was *Infantado's* 'Army of the Centre,' which was established at *Cuenca* in *New Castile*—about 21,000 men in all. The operations miscarried owing to the incapacity of the commander, and resulted in a disaster at *Ucles*. *Infantado* fled to *Murcia*, and was deprived by the *Junta* of his command, which was given to *Cartaojal*.

Bragança. Major Roche and Ld. Ebrington came from Pinhel. The magazines collected at Almeida are moving back to Oporto, and the officer who has charge of them has orders to destroy them in case of the approach of the enemy. The French have not been nearer than 12 leagues to Salamanca. Roche is quite a partizan of Cuesta's, and takes his part in that unfortunate dispute with Blake.<sup>1</sup> The 14th are embarking, and Gen. Mackenzie with 2 regts. of infantry are to go with them to Vigo.

Upon a strict investigation of the Portuguese acct. from Zamora, it seems that the officer saw the English army at Manzanal on ye 31st, fortifying a place called Cevadon and cantoned in Ponferrada, Villafranca, and Viana de Belo.

13th.—We received a heap of letters from Coruña, Vigo, and Oporto. One from Ld. Paget, of the 23rd, at Sahagun.<sup>2</sup> He mentions three brilliant affairs in which the cavalry distinguished themselves; in one my son<sup>3</sup> and Capt. Jones at the head of thirty dragoons charged 100 of the enemy, killed 20 and took five prisoners. Complains of the apathy of the Spaniards, and rallies Ld. Hd. upon his *misconceptions* in their favor, adding that they are a *people not worth saving*.<sup>4</sup> He adds in a

<sup>1</sup> Major Roche had originally been sent to the Asturias, as a military agent under Sir Thomas Dyer, and was attached to Cuesta's headquarters. (*Napier*.)

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster (1789-1836) was Lady Holland's eldest son by her first husband. He was gazetted to the 20th Light Dragoons on Jan. 3, but was soon afterwards transferred back to the 18th, which was the regiment here engaged. This skirmish took place on Dec 23.

<sup>4</sup> Compare a letter in the Record Office. Sir John Cradock to Edward Cooke (Under Secretary, War Office), Feb. 26, 1809: 'I saw a letter to-day from those shocking people Lord and Lady Holland (I always put them together) at Seville. His Lordship says the French never had so large a force in Spain as was represented in England, and, what is worse they [the French] made our army believe it. Was not his Lordship content with the loss we sustained? [In the retreat to Coruña.] I believe he would give the lives of ten English to save one Spaniard.'



postscript, 'We march to attack Soult to-morrow,' and seemed confident of success. Unfortunately this bright hope was betrayed, as Adl. de Courcy, in his letter to me of the 1st Jan. from Coruña, mentions that the meditated attack on Soult was not made on acct. of the great reinforcements from Madrid on their way to join him. The English have fallen back on the mts. of Galicia. Mr. Noble mentions the action near Castro Gonzalo, in which Lefebvre was made prisoner. Capt. Capel tired to death of Vigo,<sup>1</sup> and is superceded by Sr. S. Hood. Gen. Broderick writes to Sir J. Cradock at Moore's desire to apprise him that the army is falling back to re-embark, and that transports for at least 14,000 men are wanting, and desires empty ones may be sent round to Vigo. This is dated ye 3rd Jan., Coruña. An English officer writes from Puebla de Sanabria that the English headquarters are at Lugo. From an intercepted correspondence of Berthier's and Josef (*sic*) Bonaparte, it appears that Napoleon was at Astorga on ye 31st Dec.,<sup>2</sup> and from an expression of reassurance it would seem that the great Napoleon himself had been alarmed, as Berthier says, surely, *assurément*, the Emperor must be at his ease as he has 5 regts. of cavalry and 4 of infantry, a force quite sufficient. He complains of Lefebvre (the D. of Dantzic), for sending a force from Avila to Plasencia,<sup>3</sup> a movement he says which disconcerted an operation of the Emperor's; he adds, 'But one is not surprised at his obstinacy and stupidity, after his indecision in the *place d'Aranjuez*.' (This alludes to an affair of which,

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Capel wrote on Jan. 1 from Vigo: 'We have now 11 sail of the line here with 200 sail of transports, the whole of which force will, I conclude, remain here until the fate of Spain is fixed.' (*Holland House MSS.*)

<sup>2</sup> He reached that place on the evening of Jan. 1. (*Balagny.*)

<sup>3</sup> Lady Holland was mistaken. The movement was really in the opposite direction, i.e. from Plasencia to Avila.

of course, we are ignorant.) The troops which were at Plasencia are gone to Bejar, and not to Ciudad Rodrigo.

14th Jan., 1809.—Everything prepared for our departure to Aldea Gallega. Carriages and mules already there, packages in the boats, and *all* ready. I was seized with a dreadful panic at the state of the public mind at Badajoz, and the journey to Seville by land is put off *sine die*. We dined at Mr. Villiers's.

Seville *Gazette* of the 6th, containing the capitulation of Madrid and that precious villain Morla's letter to the Junta.

From Vigo it appears that the advanced guard of the army was expected the next day; the soldiers march at the rate of 7 and even 8 leagues a day. Adl. Berkeley<sup>1</sup> arrived with his family in the *Conqueror*; he of course supersedes the Commodore. The ophthalmia rages in his ship.

16th.—Orders had been received at Vigo to send round the transports to Betanzos Bay, as Moore intended to embark his army there.<sup>2</sup> On acct. of the swell and overflow of the Duero, ships cannot pass the bar, nor can they receive their lading. The consternation here is very great, every effort is making by the merchants to embark their property on board of the ships in the river.

<sup>1</sup> Admiral the Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley (1753-1818), son of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley. He held the post of Commander of the Portuguese station until May 1812. He married, in 1784, Emily Charlotte, daughter of Lord George Lennox, and sister of Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Crawford and Alten's German brigade (3500 men) left the main body of Moore's troops at Astorga and retreated on Vigo, where they re-embarked without molestation. As to the rest, Moore did not finally make up his mind until he reached Lugo, which harbour he would use. In fact the transports only reached Coruña after arrival of most of his force, and it was only by good fortune that they arrived then. Lord Holland relates (*Further Memoirs of the Whig Party*, p. 21) that the order to move the transports from Vigo miscarried, and it was only through a private letter to Captain Capel that Moore's intended line of retreat was made known to the British admiral.

The Portuguese begin to murmur and complain of the English for coming among them to expel the French, and then abandoning them to their rage. Common people and clergy good, and ready to make any exertion and sacrifice. The Regency frightened. Freire begins to be insolent.

17th.—A perfect deluge of rain, and a westerly wind. Bar impassable.

18th.—Hazy weather, wind S.W., bar rough, and all matters very blank. Two letters from Col. Kemmis at Elvas, of the date of 16th. He complains of the want of accurate information of the force and position of the enemy; surprised at Gen. Cuesta's want of intelligence. Kemmis expected us, and sent a courier to meet us at Evora on 15th. Lt. Ellis writes from Truxillo, 12th, he saw a Spanish officer who had escaped from Madrid, and upon the strength of his report he went to Talavera la Reina. No French troops nearer than Madrid (and there not above 7000); in Toledo not more than 4 or 5,000. Bridge of Almaraz *impregnable with common perseverance*, but the Spaniards fled without firing a shot.<sup>1</sup> League and a half south the Puerto de Mirabete, the only one for nine leagues on either side and might easily be defended by a few hundred men.

This day being the Queen's birthday, we dined at Mr. Villiers's, all from head-quarters and the heads of the navy, Admiral and Lady Emily Berkeley; she is a very pleasing, handsome person. Many expressions, and I believe sincere ones, of good will and readiness to serve us from the Admiral, but stated the utter impossibility of his being able to part with any force during the actual state of affairs, indeed that nothing could stir until they knew what Moore's destination was to be in

<sup>1</sup> On Dec. 24, before the Duke of Dantzic's attack. It was his incomprehensible march to Avila which thus exposed Madrid.

future. One officer goes to-morrow with money to Col. Kemmis at Elvas to enable him to march from thence to Seville.<sup>1</sup> This, coupled with the difficulty of getting a vessel, has induced us to resume our project of going by land, and accepting the opportunity of marching with the English garrison as an *escort*.

19th Jan., 1809, *Lisbon*.—Blew a heavy gale all night, the passage to Aldea Gallega too rough to cross; the bar is roaring audibly, consequently no ships could hazard to cross it in its present state. Called upon Ly. Emily Berkeley; she has a delightful house at Buenos Ayres. A messenger last night from Sr. Robt. Wilson; he is still between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. He says he intends to *cover* the frontier of Portugal, or fall upon *Seville* if the enemy approaches. He has about 800 Lusitanians! An incomprehensible kind of letter from the Vice-Consul of Viana to Mr. Villiers; he transmits the copy of a letter from the Junta of Orense to the Govr. of Viana, with date of the 8th Jan., in which mention is made of the arrival of a corps of 4000 English. A postscript of the 10th adds, '5000 more English have entered, and Romana is expected, but his artillery came another route, a proof the French are not near.'<sup>2</sup> Also that a *posta* had come with a letter for Romana, upon not finding him at the English head-quarters at Lugo, and that Blake had taken it not knowing where he was. Sr. John Cradock is greatly alarmed at the position of Moore's army, and expects daily to hear of capitulation or convention. God forbid affairs should be in such a desperate state.

<sup>1</sup> Col. Kemmis had orders to hand over Elvas to the Portuguese, and march his regiment, the 40th, to Seville. He was there to place himself under Mr. Frere's orders.

<sup>2</sup> La Romana took the same line of retreat from Astorga as Crawford's force, and collected near Orense the remnants of his force, which had been severely handled by Franceschi on Jan. 2. .

This day we were employed in taking measures for our journey, which is to commence to-morrow. Gen. Mackenzie, his aide-de-camp Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Rawlins, Commissary-General, dined. The former is very restless at his detention here; he is pressing to get employed in S. Spain, and was almost embarked to go, but Mr. V. was frightened and did not think he could venture upon his instruction to send him away. This, under the strictest promise of secrecy, he told me. He is a man of an excellent, sound understanding, remarkably well informed in his profession, and very correct in his judgment. He laments the division of the English forces, wants them to concentrate in Spain. Catalonia would have been the best point; but Cadiz at present is the only one. Mr. Rawlins very obliging about mules, carts, &c., &c.; delayed the departure of Major Stuart with the money for Elvas to give us the certainty of reaching Elvas before the departure of the whole garrison. General Cameron is safe at Lamego with his 2 regts. Cypriano Freire complained to Ld. Hd. to-day of the sudden alarm which the English had taken, and the fluctuation of their plans. Spanish *chargé d'affaires* wants all troops to go to the Algarves. Castaños<sup>1</sup> is safe at Seville, and is to undergo his trial. The Supreme Junta are sending all the force they can collect to Infan-tado, who commands an army at Yepes, where he has had some advantage over a corps of French cavalry. They are allowed officers to raise companies consisting of one hundred horsemen, and each horseman has a man on foot; these companies are to harass the French, and to keep for themselves whatever they may plunder. When these armed bands are roving about, it will sometimes be a matter of fine distinction betwixt a friend and a foe.

<sup>1</sup> Ridiculous accusations were brought against Castaños and other generals of treachery and secret communications with Napoleon.



21st.—One of the stormiest days we have seen this year. *En dépit du mauvais temps* we embarked at two o'clock on board an excellent boat belonging to the Govt. The waves ran high and the wind burst upon us in sudden and violent squalls; I scarcely know the inducement which could tempt me to encounter another such voyage! The boatmen were very skilful; we had engaged that they should only row, but such was the violence of the current that they could hardly stem its violence. We came in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours, the longest of my life! Reached Aldea Gallega by  $\frac{1}{4}$  past five. A courier from Seville, who is charged with a letter to Romana, which he must deliver whenever he can find him. The commissioners, who had been sent by the Regency to examine into the sufferings of the people at Evora from the French,<sup>1</sup> returned and arrived here this evening.

23rd, *Arrayolos*.—Lt. Ellis arrived from Lisbon during the night; he brought a letter from Sr. John Cradock to Ld. Hd., which he would not deliver to any person. He breakfasted with us. He is active, zealous, and seems intelligent. The enemy quitted Talavera on ye 8th, but returned on 14th.<sup>2</sup> The column which crossed the Tagus was entirely composed of Poles; the cavalry keep with the infantry, and all march in a compact and numerous body; they are aware that all stragglers are cut off. Lt. Ellis was instrumental in saving the lives of 29 whom the peasantry had taken. They pretended not to understand French; he thought they were in

<sup>1</sup> Evora was attacked by the French under Loison in July 1808, and was sacked by them. It was one of the seats of the Portuguese insurrectionary Juntas. Foy puts the numbers of Spaniards and Portuguese killed at 2000, while another historian speaks of four times that number. Lady Holland mentions 800. See p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> The 4th corps had been hurried forward from Avila, and with further reinforcements Joseph and Jourdan were able to again take up the positions allotted by Napoleon for the various bodies of troops south of the capital.

reality foreigners, Poles. Had the Spaniards maintained themselves in Mirabete, and kept the bridge at Almaraz, and Galluzzo advanced against the two regts. which forded the river, they must have been cut off, as the flood swelled the stream and they could not cross the ford. Cuesta has sent that general to take his trial at Seville. He praised Cuesta for his activity and great abilities ; already he is at the head of eleven thousand men, whom he has clothed in a uniform which gives them a more military appearance, and makes them forget that they are peasantry. He told us of 700 horse at Merida, an excellent, well-conditioned troop. He is the bearer of a letter to counter-order the departure of the garrison from Elvas, in *case* they should not have marched ; if they have, they are to continue their route.

We met a Spanish messenger from Seville, which he left on the 22nd. He reports that the D. of Infantado had been compelled to fall *back* upon Cuenca in consequence of the affair at Tarancon, where the division of his army under Venegas was not supported as it ought to have been by M. del Palacio.

This evening Mr. Fletcher of Elvas came to see us ; he is on his way to Lisbon. Cuesta left Badajoz for the frontier of the Tagus on ye 22nd. He thinks the road by Badajoz and Seville perfectly safe for us. He remained at Elvas while the French were in Portugal, being specially protected by Junot, who had lodged at his house and received civilities from him during his embassy. They did not suffer much from the French at Elvas. Terrible cruelties at Villa Viçosa and Evora ; at the latter, persons of all ages and sexes were murdered in cold blood, two fine young men of Mr. Fletcher's acquaintance. Mr. F. knew one who was massacred in his own house and in the arms of his mother by a party

who broke into the house and plundered it. The *cotton* which was taken by some English dragoons and Spaniards is now at Badajoz; Mr. Fletcher purchased it, and advanced 10 thousand crowns to the Junta upon it.

*Elvas, 25th.*—No certain information of the position of the enemy upon the Tagus. General Cuesta left Badajoz suddenly on 22nd. Part of his army had preceded him several days. His head-quarters were at Merida, but altho' there are many stories, such as his movements being combined with those of Infantado, yet nothing is known for certain. He is said to be a person who consults with no one, and never imparts his plans. It is said that the French are at the bridge of Almaraz. Mr. Trabassos related some atrocities which the French had committed at Villa Viçosa.<sup>1</sup> Several persons were seized and brought to Fort la Lippe and shot without any process or form even of trial. One priest having been twice fired at and did not fall; the soldiers cried out he was sorceror, and running at him with their bayonets, hacked, and mangled him shockingly. The people at Elvas, as they did not resist, smarted only in exorbitant contributions. Trabassos intends, if possible, to escape, and get away to *Brésil*. Ld. Hd. gave him letters to Adl. Berkeley and Mr. Villiers, in order if possible to facilitate his scheme. Col. Kemmis obliging, an Irishman; very pompous, and not to all appearance very wise. The garrison of Elvas are to march to-morrow to Seville—our road. The convalescents and cavalry return to Lisbon.

*26th.*—Left Elvas at 9. General Moretti, an Italian in Spanish service, met us on the Spanish ground with Col. Kemmis; Ld. Hd. rode on with them. I felt very

<sup>1</sup> During the occupation of Portugal by Junot. It was plundered by Avril at the end of June 1808.

happy to be once again on Spanish ground. Peasants scampering about on horseback in the true *Andaluz* style. Entered Badajoz under one of the arches of the bridge, which we afterwards went upon to cross the Guadiana. Crowds of people were assembled to view the troops; pretty sight. Rejoiced to see the *basquiña* and *mantilla*. We went to refresh at the house belonging to the Conde de Torre Fresno, murdered a few months ago by the people; <sup>1</sup> he was the nephew of the P. of the Peace. His widow resides in the house, and came up to me and offered all sorts of civilities. We were visited by the Bishop, the ex-Capt.-General, the Governor, &c., and by one of the inquisitors, who remembered us at Valladolid. An English officer, Mr. L'Estrange, came post from Sr. Robt. Wilson on his way to Seville; he left him at Ciudad Rodrigo on 24th, where he had assured the people he would remain and defend it to the last. The town is surrounded by an old wall, and is safe from a *coup de main*. There are heavy cannon which the French might employ in the reduction of Almeida. Salamanca yielded without striking a blow to 1800 Frenchmen. The Bishop went out at the head of some inhabitants, displaying a banner on which 'Vive Napoleon' was inscribed. He, Sr. Robt. Wilson, attacked an outpost and took a few dragoons, but had an English officer made prisoner. He contrives to keep the enemy at bay by spreading exaggerated reports of his strength and the approach of reinforcements. The common people thereabouts well-disposed, but the higher sort very frigid. A person of the name of Marshall introduced himself to Ld. Hd. as an acquaintance of Petty's. He states himself to have served with the Spaniards, and

<sup>1</sup> The Conde de la Torre del Fresno, Captain-General of Estremadura, was killed by the mob in Badajoz on May 30, because he was unwilling to give his support to their demonstrations against the invaders of their country.

to have been made prisoner at Somosierra ; examined by Napoleon himself, who was sitting before his tent at a fire an hour before sunrise, surrounded by his French. There is something *louche* in his story, the being prisoner and then assisting, after his escape from Madrid, in the assault of the *Buen Retiro*.

28th, *Fuente*.—Reached Los Santos at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past four. Baron A——, who commands a division of Romana's dismounted cavalry, called : his position is very distressing.<sup>1</sup> The Supreme Junta are much to blame for negligence in not mounting these men, and securing them from falling into the hands of the French in their present defenceless state. He complained that he was detained by *Monsieur Cuesta*. When on their way to the Supreme Junta he undertook to mount them, but they say the horses of this province are incapable of sustaining the duty of a cavalry horse. They left Romana at Leon on ye 3rd and 4th, and performed their journey by that identical route which our generals deemed unsafe to attempt their junction upon. When at Salamanca the Junta applied to them to assist in defending their walls in case of an attack ; this they declined, as they were unarmed and unused to the use of artillery. The Baron was too Frenchified for a Spaniard ; he grumbled, and tho' he has much to make him complain, yet I did not like his series of grievances.

Lt. Ellis came whilst we dined. One of the deputies from the provincial Junta at Seville, who had been at Lisbon, and was just returned from Badajoz, having left it at 11 last night, brought an acct. from thence, viz. that the advanced guard of Cuesta's army had had an affair with the French, whom they

<sup>1</sup> The four cavalry regiments which La Romana brought from Denmark did not join Blake, having no horses, but marched into Estremadura to obtain them. (*Oman*.)



had compelled to retreat and recross the Tagus at Almaraz.<sup>1</sup> Cuesta's head-quarters were said to be Jaraicejo.

Arrived at Fuente de Cantos at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one. Ourselves and maids were lodged in the house of a priest, the secretary of the Prior of Santiago. The priest could not comprehend who and what we were, when we assured him that we were not military, ambassadors, or merchants. I remember the last time we were in Spain persons were equally puzzled; they then satisfied themselves by asserting that Ld. Hd. was a Grandee exiled from England.

*Jan. 30th.*—Arrived at Seville. The inn, in consequence of the fugitives from Madrid, is excessively full, and we were compelled to be contented with a very indifferent house. Dined at Mr. Frere's. Capmany was rejoiced at seeing us; he escaped from Madrid, and found his way here on foot, after experiencing some very severe hardships. Duchess of Osuna came to see me; she recounted, with great energy, her disasters. She fled from Madrid in the night upon the news of the French having broken the Spanish line at Somosierra, her three daughters, 9 grandchildren, and the wife of Gen. Peña and other friends, with no change of clothes. Her plate, &c., &c., all left to the mercy of the enemy. Quintana delighted at seeing us; he got away on the 4th from Madrid. I omitted an incident which occurred. About two leagues from Seville in the mts., we met a terrified friar on horseback, who had been attacked by robbers about a quarter of an hour before, and fired at as he made his escape. He seemed much concerned at the fate of his companions:—two *proprios*<sup>2</sup> of the Govt. he feared had fallen into their hands, and the robbers had drawn them off the

<sup>1</sup> Cuesta occupied the bridge at Almaraz on the 29th, and broke the central arch.

<sup>2</sup> Messengers.

high road into the wood. We left him encompassed with *tropas*.<sup>1</sup>

31st.—Quintana and Rodenas<sup>2</sup> came to see us, as did the Duquesa de Hajar and the Marquesa de Ariza ; also Jovellanos, who had a very long conversation with Ld. Hd. We dined at Frere's, and in the evening I went to see the Dss. of Osuna.

An acct. from Mazarredo of the state of the English army at Coruña ; he left them on 13th. He draws a most disgraceful and lamentable picture of their retreat. They had not had any action of importance with the French, but had been fortunate in all the skirmishes. They lost in the retreat their baggage, their artillery, and even a portion of their money, and from the forced marches and state of exhaustion in which they arrived at Coruña, he is convinced many must have been left to perish on the road. They were so worn by hunger, want of rest, and disfigured by dirt, that they were scarcely to be recognised ; the inhabitants scarcely could credit that they were the same men who set forth a few weeks before in all the pride and pomp of health and confidence. They were employed in killing their horses, from an apprehension that there would not be sufficient number of horse transports.<sup>3</sup> He describes having seen a number of dead bodies of horses floating in the bay. The French pursued them hotly, and from on board the *Tonnant*, he saw a party of French capture, on the opposite side of the bay, some sailors who were employed in dismantling a fort. The Duque de Veragua and Mde. Blake and her daughters were on board the *Tonnant*. Mde. Sangro in endeavouring to quit the town some days before had been stopped by the populace. *He says*

<sup>1</sup> Soldiers.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> The horses were in a shocking state, and over 2000 were slaughtered in this way.

Admiral de Courcy told him that when the order for retreating was communicated at Benavente to the soldiers, it was received with universal discontent, and the murmur was so great that they even refused to obey at first. Romana marched from Leon after the English had begun to retreat, and at Astorga he lost 2 battalions in an action with the French.<sup>1</sup>

*1st Feb., Seville.*—I called upon Madame d'Ariza ; she had through Mr. Stuart's means complied with my wish of allowing me to occupy her house during her absence. The house is spacious, and has a fine garden ;<sup>2</sup> we move out to-morrow. Poor woman ! She fled with her sister and son, the young Duke of Berwick, very precipitately, without taking even common necessaries ; many of her jewels and all her plate is left.

*2nd Feb.*—Dined very early and moved in evening to this magnificent Casa Liria, a fine palace belonging to the Duke of Berwick, inherited from the family of Alba. In the evening Mde. d'Ariza, her son, Messrs. Arbuthnot and Wynne.

*4th Feb.*—Went to see the books at Casa Aguila ; the library has been sold, and the best books purchased before we came. The house belonged to the Conde de Aguila, who was the first victim to the Spanish cause.<sup>3</sup> Mde. Santa Cruz called in evening. She is in great beauty, having preserved her looks much unimpaired. Rodenas,

<sup>1</sup> La Romana lost 1500 men at the bridge of Mansilla on Dec. 30, the day on which he evacuated Leon and marched to join Moore at Astorga. Lady Holland, however, more probably refers to an action on Jan. 2 near the pass of Foncebadon when Franceschi caught up the Spanish rearguard and took 1500 prisoners and two standards.

<sup>2</sup> The present residence in Seville of the Duque de Alba in the Calle de las Dueñas.

<sup>3</sup> The Conde de Aguila was shot in the streets of Seville on May 27, 1808, by the populace, though accused of no crime. Napier suggests that the assassination was instigated by a personal enemy of the Count. The early months of the rising against the French are full of these atrocities, for which the ungovernable fury of the mob was responsible.

Major Roche, and Quintana dined with us. People called in the evening.

*5th Feb., Seville.*—Went to Santi Ponce to see the remains of Italica. On our way we stopped at the Hieronymite convent where General Castaños undergoes a sort of confinement, not being permitted by the Supreme Junta to enter Seville, though allowed to walk about the environs and see whom he chooses. Ld. Hd. made him a visit, and he came to see me in the sacristy. His manner is a good deal constrained, and he appears, from the size of his clothes, to have fallen away in bulk. He spoke of Gen. Fox with esteem, lamented that the Junta had not mounted Romana's cavalry in preference to the raw recruits; observed that on this day three months Napoleon had just entered Spain; sneered at the Grandees (especially Osuna) for their want of zeal and military spirit; praised Perico Giron; expressed a wish to see Ld. Hd. another time. Went afterwards to see the remains of the amphitheatre, which is in a state of great decay. Dss. Osuna, Mde. de Sta. Cruz, Manuelita, Jovellanos, Capmany, Mariscal de Castilla dined. Some persons called evening.

*6th Feb.*—Went in the morning to see the Hospital de San Bernardo, called commonly Los Venerables. In the church a picture by *Murillo*, in which he imitates the manner of Ribera or Españolito, 'San Pedro'; 'the Conception,' a beautiful figure full of grace and dignity, the groups of angels airy and light, something about the mouth of the Virgin which betrays the manliness which he is accused of giving too much to his female figures. In the Refectory is the deservedly famous picture of 'the Infant Jesus giving bread to the old and infirm priests,' alluding to the foundation of the Charity.<sup>1</sup> A portrait of a 'Canonigo.'

<sup>1</sup> These three pictures were all removed to Paris by Sault. The *Conception* is now in the Louvre: the *Distribution of Bread* in the

*Santa Cruz*, where we expected to find the Tomb of Murillo, but the priests knew not where he lay. This church contains a 'Descent from the Cross' by Pedro Campaña, which it is said was much studied by Murillo.

*Caridad* contains the famous collection of Murillo. 'Sta. Isabel of Hungary washing the sores of the lame and sick.' 'The angel releasing St. Peter' (the worst picture). 'Christ raising the paralytic man.' 'The Distribution of the loaves and fishes.' 'Moses striking the rock.' 'The return of the Prodigal Son.' 'Angels visiting Abraham,' and 'San Juan de Dios embracing a sick man.' A few small altar-pieces of single figures. A 'Virgin and Child' near the high altar. The altar-piece is carved by Roldan and assisted in the perspective by painting and *basso relieve*. The founder is buried under the altar with an ostentatious show of humility, calling himself in his epitaph 'el peor hombre en el mundo.' The weather was delicious.

English forces under Gen. Mackenzie are arrived at Cadiz. An officer from Romana's army was an eye-witness to the embarkation of the British army on ye 18th from Coruña. On the 16th, 17th, a heavy fire of cannons was heard, which ceased suddenly, and upwards of 200 sail of transports was seen going out of Coruña, but they were soon becalmed, and their course could not be ascertained. The French were on the glacis before

Gallery at Buda Pesth; the whereabouts of the *St. Peter weeping* is unknown.

The portrait of a *Canonigo* is that of Murillo's friend Don Justino Neve, the founder of the Hospital. It now belongs to Lord Lansdowne, at Bowood. See *ante*, p. 66.

Of the *Caridad* pictures, the *Distribution of the Loaves and Fishes*, *Moses striking the Rock*, and the *St. Juan de Dios* still remain in their original places. *Sta. Isabel (Elizabeth) of Hungary* is in the Prado Gallery, Madrid; *The Angel releasing St. Peter* at St. Petersburg (Hermitage); *Christ raising the Paralytic* belongs to Capt. Pretyman, at Orwell Park; and the other two are at Stafford House.



the embarkation was completed. Romana, in the gentlest terms, ascribes the ruin and dispersion of his army to Sir John Moore having deceived him; he promised to defend the pass of Villafranca, and Romana accordingly made his movements with that object, but in this he was disappointed, and lost on ye 30th 2 battalions. Romana is making his way through the North of Portugal.

Saavedra, the Minister, told Ld. Hd. that Sir D. Baird's army, it had been settled at Madrid, should be landed at Santander, in consequence of which preparations were made at that place for their reception. It was to the strange change of destination of the army that the difficulty arose at Coruña about their landing, and the subsequent delay of getting them forward.<sup>1</sup> Whilst Moore was at Salamanca, Escalante and another officer of high rank were sent to him from the Junta in order to urge him to advance; they remained with him some days.<sup>2</sup> He was cold, repulsive, scarcely civil to them, and not in the least disposed towards the cause he was employed in serving.

Ardelberg, Col. Duff<sup>3</sup> called evening. There is a *poste*

<sup>1</sup> Any idea conceived by the British Government of landing Baird's troops at Gijon or Santander was given up owing to the smallness of those ports and the probable difficulties of finding supplies in the surrounding country. (*Oman.*)

<sup>2</sup> Don Ventura Escalante, Captain-General of Granada, and General Augustin Bueno reached Moore's head-quarters early in December: That their reception by the British commander was not cordial is clear from his letter to Frere, dated Dec. 6. But perhaps it is hardly to be wondered at, for their glowing accounts of the condition of the various Spanish armies corresponded but slightly with those Moore was receiving from Stuart and Lord William Bentinck. Before their departure also he was able to introduce to them Col. Graham, who had just returned with an account of the action at Somosierra and the French advance upon Madrid.

<sup>3</sup> James Duff, afterwards fourth Earl of Fife (1776-1857). He took service with the Spaniards in 1808, and was made a major-general in their service. He became Lord Macduff in 1809; was severely wounded

from Cuesta, in which he states having repulsed the French from an attack upon the bridge of Almaraz. Strong rumours of the French armies retreating into France, and of Napoleon's retiring to Vitoria. Successes also in Saragossa.

7th Feb.—Jovellanos dined and gave us some very interesting particulars respecting the present and past state of affairs. The D. of Infantado is removed from the command of the army, and the command is conferred upon Urbina, Conde de Cartaojal, a man who distinguished himself at the battle of Baylen. The action at Ucles, Jovellanos thinks, has been the severest blow to their cause. The vanguard of their army, which was entirely cut to pieces, had been placed nine leagues in advance *sin apoyo ningun*.<sup>1</sup> Palafox is shut up in Saragossa with 25,000 men, troops of the line, besides the citizens;<sup>2</sup> he is reduced to straights for want of provisions. His brother Lazan has written to Jovellanos for reinforcements, as 5000 men carrying in supplies had been cut off. Orders are sent to furnish what relief may be afforded, but as Reding writes from Cataluña that he occupies a very favorable position for destroying the French, he will not move. They reckon upon having 40,000 men in Cataluña. Romana, with what he calls his *noyau d'armée*, is at Oimbra, near Chaves, in Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

at Talavera, but continued in Spain till his father's death in 1811, when he succeeded to the titles, and returned home.

<sup>1</sup> Without any support.

<sup>2</sup> He had 32,000 trained fighting men shut up in the town. Lazan had moved his force of 4000 men from Catalonia to the neighbourhood of Zaragoza as soon as the investment commenced, but his force was insufficient to give efficient aid to the besieged.

<sup>3</sup> After parting from Moore at Astorga, La Romana gained time to collect his scattered and disorganised force at Orense. There he remained till the middle of January, when the approach of a portion of Ney's force drove him to take shelter in the mountains on the frontier near Monterey. He was able to collect and reorganise a force of 9000 men, but was constantly obliged to move about owing to lack of provisions.

His letters are 28th and 30th. He lost some of his best troops in consequence of co-operating as he expected with Moore, but Moore disregarded the combination and left him to shift as he could; and in consequence of Hope's<sup>1</sup> division marching upon Vigo just before him, he had a corps consuming provisions in his front and a harassing enemy in his rear. He writes that the French general had solicited an interview with him. He reports that Moore was killed whilst covering the embarkation of his men, that the French were on the glaxis, and that they took possession upon capitulation of Coruña. He adds that Moore would have done better to have made the attack they had agreed upon on the 24th upon Soult at Sahagun than fallen thus.

Jovellanos is a good deal annoyed at the urgent manner in which the English press to be admitted at Cadiz.<sup>2</sup> The Junta are afraid of the suspicions which it will excite among the people, nor are they free from entertaining some apprehensions themselves of the views of the English Govt. in demanding that permission. A certain Sir G. Smith, a confidential friend of Ld. Mulgrave's, an aide-de-camp of the King's, and a man closely connected with Worontzow, pretends to be endowed with

<sup>1</sup> Hope himself was present at Coruña and took command after Moore's fall. Crawford's brigade was a part of his division.

<sup>2</sup> This was Mackenzie's brigade, which had been sent by Cradock from Lisbon on Feb. 2, at Sir George Smith's urgent request, to garrison the town in case of a French invasion of Andalusia. Smith, who was one of the many military agents, had neglected to consult the Home or Spanish authorities before taking this step, and Frere himself seems to have been unaware of what was taking place until he had sounded the Junta on the same subject and had met with an unqualified refusal. The Junta, disturbed by rumours of a British evacuation of Portugal, remained firm in their refusal to allow the troops to land. During the month which the transports spent in the harbour, riots, due entirely to internal causes, took place in the town. Sir George Smith died of fever about the middle of February, and the troops returned to Lisbon soon afterwards.

powers to call for any number of troops he may choose. He offered some to the Govt. of Cadiz. From the proceeding the Junta naturally infer that, as the English Govt. employs agents independent of their accredited envoy, designs are in agitation which are kept secret from him. This, combined with the arrival of Mackenzie's small corps accompanied by the news of the retreat of the English from Galicia and a general belief that they are gone home, has naturally enough excited very strong alarm that the English may think their cause desperate and wish to pillage their arsenals, shipping, &c. Mr. Frere is very ready to insist upon the troops quitting Cadiz two days after they are landed, but he makes a sort of point of honor that they should be admitted there and not, as proposed, at Puerto Sta. Maria, as that would show in a marked manner distrust on the part of the Spaniards, and give a confirmation to Morla's insinuations.

*8th.*—Capmany dined with us. During the dinner, Padre Gil <sup>1</sup> called. He is an incessant talker, full of himself and all he did; his loud voice and disgusting vanity displeased me so much that I fled for refuge speedily into my own room. He saved Andalusia certainly by his courage and presence of mind, but he is a man of such a turbulent nature that he is likely to lose it from mere restlessness and vanity. He is still a member of the Junta of Seville; he is discontented with the Supreme Junta for having usurped authority over them, and they in return are displeased with him and are going to dispatch him to Sicily to get him out of the way.

<sup>1</sup> A Franciscan and native of Andalusia, born in 1747. He was appointed Royal historian, but fell under the ban of the Prince of the Peace. He reissued from his monastery in 1808, and took a leading part in the resistance to the French, especially in the organization of guerilla warfare, becoming Secretary to the Junta of Seville. He died in 1815.

Poor Infantado is universally blamed for the loss of ye army at Ucles. They say the French were really preparing to evacuate Madrid. The French have fallen back from Madridejos towards Toledo. The cause of this retrograde movement is not known.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon has certainly quitted Spain and taken the road towards Toulouse. Rumours of war with Austria. *Oxala!*

*9th Feb.*—Two English ships of war arrived at Cadiz ; they met the convoy *returning* from Coruña to England. Moore was killed ; he remained to the last with a light corps whilst his men were embarking. Baird has lost an arm, and two other generals severely wounded. No mention is made of horses or artillery. The officer who spoke to them estimates the loss of the English at 3000.<sup>2</sup> A corps of French which had reached Betanzos before them was cut to pieces on the 15th.

The Junta, by permission of the French in possession of Coruña, has received an official acct. of the capitulation of that place and of Ferrol, which surrendered on ye 26th. Moore has closed the mouths of his accusers, and sought the only exculpation left to him.

Jovellanos and his nephews dined here. One is the Canonigo Cienfuegos, a member of the Seville provincial Junta, a cheerful, agreeable man, half-brother to the Asturian, Conde de Peñalva. The other — was employed in the *bureau* of *Gracia y Justicia* ; he is a remarkably unpleasant and even offensive person in his manners.

<sup>1</sup> Victor withdrew his main force to Almaraz, in accordance with Napoleon's orders that he should be ready to assist Soult's invasion when required, by a diversion in the direction of Badajoz. A screen of cavalry were left at Madridejos and Ocaña.

<sup>2</sup> The total loss at the battle of Coruña of British troops was estimated by Hope, who took command after the fall of his superiors, as between 700 and 800. Mr. Oman considers this was probably an overstatement of the facts of the case. Soult's losses were perhaps about double.



10th Feb.—There is a letter from Col. Whittingham<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Frere, in which he represents the army of Palacio as being in a most flourishing condition. The infantry amounts to 22,000, and 1700 cavalry, very fine men and all well accoutred, besides 10,000 men ready but wanting musquets. The Spaniards say they stand not in need of men, money, cannon, nor horses; saddles, musquets, and ammunition are all they require. Garay told us that great exertions had been made both in and out of Spain to procure *monturas*,<sup>2</sup> and that persons were employed in Sweden, Lisbon, and Constantinople even, to make them, and that a supply is expected from England. All the workmen in the province are *embargoed*—put into requisition. Infantado's army is in a wretched plight; they are at Sta. Cruz. Rodenas, who is in Garay's office, told me confidentially that it is in agitation that as soon as the army is well collected together under Urbina they are to advance towards Toledo in order to form a junction with Cuesta and attack the French on the N. side of the river.

Went by appointment to see the *Alcazar* with Jovelanos and his *agreeable* nephew. The lower apartment is occupied by the provincial Junta. The large halls, built by Charles V, are filled with modern pictures and the fragments of Roman antiquities found at Itlica.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Samuel Ford Whittingham (1772-1841). While on his way to take up a staff appointment in Sicily, he got leave to join Castaños as a volunteer, and was instructed from home to remain with him. He took part in the battle of Baylen and was made colonel of Spanish cavalry for his services. He was sent away by Infantado, and went to Seville, where he was subsequently employed under Albuquerque and Cuesta. He remained in the Peninsula throughout the war, and received honorable notice by Wellington in his dispatches.

Infantado had 12,000 men left after Ucles, and these added to 6000 or more with del Palacio and some new regiments from Granada make up the number. Cartaojal had taken over the whole at La Carolina on Jan. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Accoutrements.

The Central Junta hold their sittings above; adjoining to the room in which they deliberate Florida Blanca died. Jovellanos gave an affecting and philosophical description of his death; he was not aware of the approach of his dissolution, his memory flagged, and the whole moral system sank from the mere exhaustion of his physical powers. He was nearly 90. A pedantic physician termed his death *hydropesia senil*. There were models of pikes and *crows' feet* (to injure the cavalry) lying about the tables of the room; they had been submitted to their inspection. Jovellanos presented to us his colleague from the Asturias, the Conde de Campo Sagrado:<sup>1</sup> he is the 2nd in the *bureau* of War. He appeared active and zealous. Caught a glimpse of the man who seized the Viceroy of Mexico in his bed and compelled him to return to Europe, which he did and is now under confinement at Cadiz.<sup>2</sup> Visited Garay in his office; he was busily employed, and surrounded by his secretaries.

The Spanish prisoners have the alternative offered them of being sent into France, or of taking the oath and serving Joseph; many to avoid the *agony* of being driven like a flock of animals have taken the latter part, doubtless with a mental reservation and strong feeling that what is done by compulsion is not binding in any court of conscience. King Joseph has issued a *bando*, announcing to his beloved *Madrileños* that he is going to quit them upon a military expedition, and requests them not to

<sup>1</sup> Deputy from Asturias to the Central Junta.

<sup>2</sup> José de Iturrigaray was Viceroy from 1803 until Sept. 1808. The Mexicans firmly refused to recognise the decrees of Joseph sent out to them from Spain, and had them publicly burnt. At the same time the Viceroy was unwilling to receive representations from the Juntas, and gave the impression to many that he was about to usurp for himself plenary powers. To frustrate this a plot was set on foot, and the conspirators surprising him one night as he slept, formally deposed him. He was sent to Spain, where he lingered for some years in prison.

show demonstrations of attachment by delaying him ; that that might ultimately be prejudicial to the general good. Persons from Madrid declare that it was generally considered there to be quite a matter of certainty that Austria had declared war against Napoleon, and that offensive operations in the Tyrol had been actually begun.<sup>1</sup> The Govt. are vigilant about the persons who come from thence with this sort of news, as they are probably spies disguised in the garb of friends and fugitives. It is rumoured that the titles of some of the Grandees are already, with their estates, bestowed upon a number of French generals, Infantado, Osuna, Santa Cruz, Belliard, Bessières, Victor. Escaño, the Minister of Marine, is named to the Govt. of Mexico, but he is unwilling to abandon the Junta at this moment of peril. Since the occupation of Madrid by the French those ladies of distinction who have remained in it have never appeared in the streets, and to communicate with each other they have broken doors through the walls of houses, and can by that means maintain any intercourse they may choose to have together. The whole length of two streets and across the Plazuela in one place, and a similar mode of meeting in another part of the town has been opened.

11th Feb. 1809, *Seville*.—Kearney, an Irish English language master came from Carthage, where he describes the slow state of preparation of 6 ships of the line.

We went to the Geronymite convent of La Bella (*sic*) Vista. A beautiful small picture by *Murillo* of the 'Concepcion'; a statue of San Jerome by *Torregiano*. It is highly esteemed; it represents the Saint on his knees before a book of devotion, with a crucifix in one

<sup>1</sup> Austria declared war against Bavaria, an ally of France, on April 9; and the people of the Tyrol, who had been placed under the dominion of Bavaria, rose at the same time.

hand, in the other a large stone with which he inflicts blows upon his heart. The material is of clay, and it is coloured.<sup>1</sup> In the sacristy some pictures by Louis de Vargas. The architecture of the courts is in very excellent style, and a staircase, which being in the interior of the convent I was not permitted to see. Received some old letters from England, a very entertaining and well written one from L.,<sup>2</sup> with some good hits at Mr. Canning.

Col. Kemmis and Major Thornton to dinner. Great alarm prevails about Cuesta; the Junta are pressing Mr. Frere to make the troops advance from Cadiz.<sup>3</sup> They show their adherence to official forms by requesting in the public note that he will order round the English army from Galicia, whilst in fact they have received the official terms of the capitulation of Coruña and Ferrol after the departure of the English. Cuesta, in the *poste* of to-day, says the enemy are at Talavera making great preparations to cross the river and attack him.

The French at Madrid are said to be very crestfallen and dejected, and that even among the soldiery, especially the German and Poles, strong symptoms of discontent are manifested. Many desert to Cuesta. Mr. F. is desirous of making Gen. Mackenzie march on, and told Ld. Hd. that he had thought of employing him to go over and urge this measure. There are many letters from Galicia complaining of the atrocities committed

<sup>1</sup> These are now in the Picture Gallery.

<sup>2</sup> Lauderdale.

<sup>3</sup> Napier relates that the Junta made four proposals regarding the disposition of the British troops: that they should land at Puerto Santa Maria and be quartered there; that they should be sent up to help Cuesta; that they should be sent to Catalonia; that they should be divided up among the Spanish armies. Frere suggested that part should join Cuesta and the rest garrison Cadiz, but no one considered this a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. Mackenzie contended that it would be exceeding his orders, and that re-embarkation after an advance towards the French would attach a stigma to his troops: while the Junta remained resolute that the force should not enter Cadiz.

by the English, and in one there is this expression, '*Terror enfurecido de nuestros aliados*,'<sup>1</sup> who ravaged towns and villages and even surpassed the French in some of their excesses.

The substance of Jovellanos's conversation with me, when he spoke in the most open and frank manner possible, was as follows:—

I. An application was made to the English Govt. to furnish military support to Gen. Blake. Through Mr. Stuart, a promise of 10,000 men was made to them, who were to be landed at Santander to co-operate with Blake, then at Reinosa. Orders accordingly were issued by the Minister of War that every preparation should be made for the reception of this force. To the great astonishment of the Supreme Junta, the Governor of Coruña announced the arrival of the English army in that harbour demanding cantonments about Ferrol, which request the Governor did not think was consistent with his duty to comply with until he knew what were the intentions of his Govt. with respect to that armament.<sup>2</sup>

II. They have received from Apodaca<sup>3</sup> *las quejas* or

<sup>1</sup> Fear spreads of our allies.

<sup>2</sup> La Romana's force from Denmark, 10,000 in number, was first sent to Coruña; but orders were there received from England to send them on to Santander. Lord Castlereagh's dispatch to Lord William Bentinck, Sept. 30, 1808, states clearly the attitude of the British Government. 'It would have been more satisfactory, had our army been equipped for service, to have disembarked it at St. Andero, or some point nearer the enemy; but as it is of equal importance to the Spaniards, as it is to us, that the army should not be partially committed or brought into contact with the enemy, till the means of moving and following up an advantage is secured; and as the navigation on the coast becomes extremely precarious towards the close of the year, it was the decided opinion of all military men and of none more than the Marqués de la Romana, whose sentiments on the subject are stated in the accompanying memorandum, and will be expressed on his arrival in Spain as fully approving the decision that has been taken, to make Coruña our principal depôt and operate from thence.'

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish Ambassador in England.



grievs which the Eng. Govt. has against them. I could only collect three, but rather think there is a fourth which has escaped my memory. 1st, the delay in allowing Baird's army to land and the want of alacrity to supply and further them on their march. 2ndly, the reserve and want of confidence in the Spanish. 3rdly, their requiring the English generals to be subordinate to the Spanish generals.

The Junta set forth in reply and vindication that the disembarkation having been adjusted for Santander, there could be no complaint at their not being prepared for the reception of any army at Coruña. For in the place agreed upon between the Junta, Stuart, and perhaps Ld. Wm. Bentinck,<sup>1</sup> the English were to act as auxiliaries to Blake; the plan of a junction with Moore having been quite a secret and subsequent project, it never having been understood by the Junta that the English were to act as a separate and distinct army. To the accusation of reserve, Jovellanos says that the English Minister has access to the Junta during its deliberations, and gives an opinion upon the change of generals, movements of armies, &c., &c. 3rdly. They have copies of Romana's notes to Sr. John Moore, in which he offers to serve in any way, with or under any English general whom he may approve, only requesting Sr. John Moore to employ and dispose of him and his army in the manner he may deem most advisable for the general cause.

He complained of Moore's whole conduct, and his offensive treatment of the persons sent from the Junta.

<sup>1</sup> Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck (1774-1839), second son of William Henry, third Duke of Portland. He was raised to the rank of major-general in 1808 for his services in India and was sent on a mission to the Supreme Junta in Spain. He joined Sir John Moore after Mr. Frere's arrival at Madrid, and took part in the battle of Coruña. He was sent to Sicily as Envoy in 1811. He was subsequently Governor-General of Bengal, and the first Governor-General of India.

Escalante, when the first retreat was known, was deputed, and found him sulky and repulsive at Salamanca. In reply to the arguments urged to induce him to advance, he made no reply further than that, 'Mon parti est pris, mon parti est pris; Romana has only 5000 men. I have ordered rations at Ciudad Rodrigo for ye 10th of Dec., and mon parti est pris.' Escalante, disgusted at his reserve and haughtiness of manner, quitted him, finding it hopeless to attempt to make any impression upon such an obdurate character. On his return towards Madrid, he met Don Juan de Texada, the Gov. of Ferrol, who was just come from Romana, and in great spirits at having been surrounded by an army already composed of 17,000 men, and which was daily increasing. This intelligence induced Escalante to return to Moore with Texada in order that he might hear a distinct account from an eye-witness, but Moore was contemptuous and incredulous, and they departed in despair of shaking his resolution. Mr. Stuart went from Truxillo in company with Caro,<sup>1</sup> a deputy from the Junta, and they were more successful, for after an interview with them Moore determined upon advancing. (Moore told Stuart Escalante was an old woman. Stuart allows that Moore was haughty and offensive in all intercourse he had with the Spaniards.)

He looks upon Cuesta as a doubtful character, full of intrigue and ambition. The quarrel between him and Valdes<sup>2</sup> has been productive of much mischief. He is

<sup>1</sup> Don Francisco Xavier Caro, a professor of the University of Salamanca, and brother of La Romana. One of the deputies for Old Castile.

Stuart and Caro saw Sir John Moore at Toro on Dec. 16. They certainly had no hand in influencing the latter's decision to advance, for that was taken at Salamanca on Dec. 5, and the infantry actually commenced their march on the 11th. Moore's remark about Escalante being an old woman was repeated in a letter to Frere.

<sup>2</sup> Don Antonio Valdes (1744-1816): See *ante*, p. 232.

very popular in Castile and his present appointment is owing entirely to the clamour of the people in his favor. Had the Junta assembled in Madrid as it was originally proposed, he has no doubt that the people would have compelled them to have named Cuesta to head the army.

The loss of Spain he ascribes to the influence of O'Farril who was so highly esteemed by all the officers in the army. To him may be imputed the hesitating, irresolute conduct of Solano, Espileta, Amarillas, Filanghieri, and several others of that class. Besides the general estimation in which he was held in the army, he formed a great party in consequence of that opinion in his favor and attached ye young officers who were best informed and most zealous in the service.

The dispassionate and benevolent character of Jovelanos, considering all he has suffered, is very remarkable ; there is such a mixture of dignity and mildness that it is impossible to avoid feeling the strongest inclination towards him of love and admiration. He views the active scene into which he is thrown with philosophical calmness, and should he see the cause he has espoused succeed he will enjoy the victory without triumphant exultation ; and should it fail, he is prepared to fall without despondency or sinking in abject despair. Were he some years younger, he would attempt to direct the Govt. and begin by destroying their Junta, which in its form is vicious ; it wants the promptness of Monarchy and the energy and confidence of popular Govt.

The D. of Infantado injured himself in the public estimation by his conduct at Bayonne, where he used to *submit* to associate with Savary, and pass his mornings playing at tennis, apparently cheerful and unconcerned at the dreadful web which was weaving to entangle his country, King, and friends. It was entirely owing to his advice and to that of Escoiquiz that Ferdinand VII

acted as he did, altho' many persons believe that he remonstrated against his entrusting himself in the hands of Napoleon before his title was acknowledged.

12th.—The French have fallen back from the Mancha upon Toledo to the amount of 17,000 or nearly 20,000. It is not known how much of this may be destined against Cuesta. That general is threatened on his flank by troops from Coria and Plasencia. Letters from Sr. Robt. Wilson. He still keeps his position at Ciudad Rodrigo. Jovellanos said a *poste* had arrived from Romana, full of the most *amarga*<sup>1</sup> complaints against Moore, his haughtiness, insolence, ignorance, and want of skill. A copy of these complaints has been sent to the Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs. The retreat through Galicia abounded with instances on the part of our troops of every species of outrage and violence upon the poor inhabitants. Mr. Frere received accts. from England, by Cadiz, to the 14th Jan. He says 4000 troops under Gen. Sherbrooke are coming out immediately to Cadiz.<sup>2</sup>

14th.—Went to the Franciscans,<sup>3</sup> and by good luck got into the cloister where are the famous Murillos. The finest without all comparison is the 'Death of Santa Clara'; I scarcely think any of those in the Caridad excel it, but unfortunately the moisture of the air to which it is exposed, has considerably injured the picture. The figures of friars standing before a Pope are also an exquisite performance. The sides of the small cloister are covered by Murillo, but these are his masterpieces.

<sup>1</sup> Bitter.

<sup>2</sup> Canning in his dispatch to Frere, dated Jan. 14, states that the British Government considered that the South of Spain was now the most important place in which to assist that country. Four thousand troops had therefore been dispatched under General Sherbrooke, with orders to go on to Gibraltar if not admitted into Cadiz. They only reached the latter place, however, just as Mackenzie was leaving, and were taken by him to Lisbon.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 62.

A 'Concepcion' in the church; a fine altar-piece carved by *Mertunes*. A Walloon regt. quartered in this spacious convent.

Ld. Hd. received a note early from Jovellanos, in which he mentions the arrival of the *poste* from Cuesta during the night, containing the acct. of the enemy being in motion near the bridge of Arzobispo, but *todavía*<sup>1</sup> not in great force. Cuesta had been interrogated by the Junta as to the meaning he affixed to the bridge of Arzobispo being *intransitable*;<sup>2</sup> he explained by saying that from the strong fortified position he has taken the French cannot penetrate by it to the southwards.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Walpole from Cadiz. Sir John Moore was wounded by a cannon ball. He very gallantly, at the head of his own regt., was supporting the 50th and 42nd *out* of Coruña to cover the embarkation. He spoke after his wound to Col. Graham. It required such an end to redeem his reputation.

16th Feb.—Jovellanos wrote a few lines to mention, and with concern, that Infantado had not complied with the orders of the Junta to go to Seville. From various circumstances it appears that nothing can be more unfortunate for the Duke than the *mal entourage* and his own irresolution of character.

There is much disgust expressed in this place against the Central Junta; it is said by its enemies that Gen. Cuesta is abandoned, and that they would rejoice at hearing news of his defeat. People also talk big that if that disaster should happen Cuesta would march

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless.

<sup>2</sup> Impassable.

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding Cuesta's assertion Lasalle's cavalry were able to cross the bridge on Feb. 19, and force Trias' division which was opposed to them to take refuge in the mountains. The French, however, soon retreated over the river, and Cuesta again remained undisturbed for another month on the line which he had taken up south of the Tagus.



against the Junta and dismiss them from the administration of public affairs. All make in exception in favor of Jovellanos, whom they say always proposes good measures but is overruled by Garay and others, who consequently are become obnoxious. These complaints come from the provinces also, where the Junta are accused of ignorance and incapacity, and blamed for the selfish objects they have in view. It is even said that gold is amassed and not issued from the Treasury, in case on the approach of the French the Junta should be compelled to fly, and this hoarding would furnish them with a supply. Capmany dined with us, also Quintana, Rodenas, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Pearce.

Saragossa still held out on the 8th, though completely invested, nor were there any thoughts entertained of its surrendering.<sup>1</sup> Don Francisco Ferras y Cornel, who is the nephew of the Minister for War, who is himself an Aragonese and was in Saragossa during the sixty-one days' siege, and who came from thence only lately, says there were upwards of 30,000 infantry and 800 cavalry in the city. A population of 60,000 souls, with a prodigious proportion of women. Bread in abundance, but meat and forage is scarce. An attempt was made to throw in some succours, under 5000 men, but they were baffled, and entirely cut off.

Joseph has issued orders to raise 40,000 men by conscription; this has had a good effect already, as many to escape it have fled to Romana, and 2000 already have reached Ciudad Rodrigo. Persons from Madrid attest the departure of Joseph from thence; some say he is gone to Valladolid, others to Toledo. If the former,

<sup>1</sup> Zaragoza had been invested for a second time since the middle of December. The actual siege was commenced on Dec. 20, and lasted until Feb. 20, on which day the remnants of the garrison marched out.

it is to be out of the way of the population of Madrid ; if the latter, it will be to take the command most likely of the force destined to act against this province. It is believed that the Galicians, especially about Orense, have risen in arms against the French.<sup>1</sup> Infantado still remains with the army ; he does ill to contest with the Govt. he has promised to obey.

17th.—Went to see the mosaic pavement at Italica. On our return met 600 cavalry well appointed, but moderately mounted, making on towards Cuesta. Many of the trees about town are felled in order to deter the enemy from using them should they approach near enough to assault city. Works are going on ; the lines are extensive, but the English engineers think them very badly constructed.

18th.—A *poste* arrived from Cuesta with the intelligence of the French having passed the bridge of Arzobispo, with what design is unknown. Genl. Trias had taken a position at Garvin. In evening found Jovellanos, and Hermida,<sup>2</sup> the Minister for *Gracia y Justicia*. He had received a most desponding letter, dated 16th, from Cuesta, who laments his own situation from whom so much is expected ; that his means are inconsiderable to oppose the force which is opposed to him, that he can only depend upon 12,000 men, and the enemy exceed 24,000. He concludes by advising him to recommend himself to God, who alone can work miracles.

<sup>1</sup> A general rising, encouraged by La Romana and fanned by the local priests, took place early in February throughout Galicia, and added seriously to the many difficulties which Soult had to face in his invasion of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Don Benito Hermida (1736–1814). He was a Judge for some years, but abandoned his profession for politics, and held high office until 1802, when he was disgraced for his opposition to certain measures of Godoy. He took a leading part in the affairs of the nation after the abdication of Charles IV. He was a fine linguist and musician, and was a skilful lawyer.

The account of Saragossa is alarming. Napoleon weary of the tedious manner in which Moncey was pursuing the siege, ordered Lannes to take the command, and carry the town by *vive force*. The French are in possession of the outworks, and a battery in the town which commands a Spanish fort raised in a convent. Palafox complains of having such unequal powers of artillery ; the calibre of his not exceeding *pieces of 8*.

Went in the eve. to Mde. Osuna's. She had received a letter from Perico, dated 13th, Almagro, where he was with an advanced guard of 11,000 men under the D. of Albuquerque, detached from the main army of Urbina to assist Cuesta ; they were to be at Ciudad Real on 14th.<sup>1</sup>

Infantado has not yet given up the command ; he wishes to remain with the army and act only as colonel of his regt., but this will not be permitted. I am sorry he holds out still.

Blake arrived to-night from Portugal, full of griefs against Romana probably, as he quitted him abruptly at or near Orense. A courier from Vienna, which he left on 10th, brings the acct. of the bakers having received orders to prepare ammunition bread, and the artillery horses to move onwards. On ye 12th at Trieste the Russian ships were getting ready to move out of the harbour.

19th.—Palafox has written to Col. Doyle, who transmitted a copy of the letter to Mr. Frere. It is dated the

<sup>1</sup> This statement that these troops were detached to 'assist Cuesta' is somewhat misleading. The help was only indirect, i.e. to keep the French busy, and prevent them from reinforcing Victor who was opposed to Cuesta. It was, according to every authority, after the affair at Mora on Feb. 18 and his subsequent retreat to Manzanares (see p. 291), that Albuquerque was detached by order of the Junta with 3500 infantry and 200 cavalry to join Cuesta.

7th Feb. He says he foresees they must perish within the walls, which he is prepared to do, but that it is hard to fall without any attempt having been made to relieve him. Their situation he represents as deplorable, and refers him to the bearer for other particulars. The circumstance he would not write was that a contagious fever was raging amongst the inhabitants. Doyle is resolved to go with the force which is to attempt to force its way with a convoy of provisions.

The division of the Central army which has advanced to assist Cuesta was at Yebenes on 15th.

Reports of the Galicians having risen in many parts against the French, and to have cut off corps conveying supplies. In Val de Orsas they have killed 84 cavalry and taken 19, with the plunder of Genl. Marchand.<sup>1</sup> Romana estimates the loss of the French in their pursuit of English through Galicia at 14,000. Romana writes a private letter, date, 7th, to Jovellanos. On the 12th in his *poste* he mentions that in consequence of the favorable reports from Galicia, he had resolved upon returning thither, and had already reached *Monterey*. I feel he is sanguine, but he adds that he expected in a week to have 3 divisions of 10,000 men each.

Quintana's *manifesto* on Europe appeared to-day.<sup>2</sup> Jovellanos attempted to read it, but he was so affected that he could not pursue the *lecture*. It is written in a most masterly style, and in the appendix the letters from Murat to Dupont are annexed. They add, if any additional proofs were required, to the certainty of the

<sup>1</sup> The approach of Marchand's division, belonging to Ney's corps, forced La Romana to evacuate Orense and move south to Chaves and Monterey; in which neighbourhood he was continually forced to change his head-quarters owing to want of provisions.

<sup>2</sup> Quintana was appointed head of the secretariat attached to the Junta, and was personally responsible for many of the orders and manifestos issued at the time by that body.

base system of treachery and perfidy which were pursued by the French towards this country.

20th Feb., Monday.—Cuesta is not so well disposed towards the English as he was previous to their retreat from Galicia. Lt. Ellis, who is returned from his head-quarters, left him on acct. of the coolness of his reception and manner.

Fernan Nuñez, who is just come from his regt. at Ecija dined here, also Quintana, Paiz,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Luttrell.<sup>2</sup> Fernan Nuñez is in a bad state of health, and from his appearance and the strong symptoms he has of a pulmonary disorder, I fear he is in a declining state. He lost in hard specie in his house at Madrid, one million 8000 reals, money he had raised for his regt., besides all his papers, many of which were valuable as they would throw light upon many of the transactions previous to capture of Ferdinand VII.

General Blake came with Don Francisco Ferras y Cornel in eve. His manners are plain and simple, his whole appearance military and prepossessing. He expects very little from the Galician peasantry, unless they should be assisted by regular troops and commanded by some able leader. He reckoned the French force which pursued the English into Galicia at between 28 and 30,000. Romana's loss in retreat arose more from sickness, hunger, and desertion than from the attacks of the enemy, with which it does not appear he ever was engaged. I questioned him as to the succour he expected from Santander; he said he was greatly disappointed at their not arriving, as he had been long led to expect

<sup>1</sup> 'Auditor de guerra in Romana's army in the north.' (*Lady Holland.*)

<sup>2</sup> Henry Luttrell (1765(?)–1851), a natural son of Lord Carhampton, the well-known wit and poet. He was a frequent visitor at Holland House in later days.



them (another proof that the original destination of the British troops was to have been at Santander). He praised Lefebvre,<sup>1</sup> whom he reckoned the most enterprising general who had been opposed to him; the French operations were much brisker after Lefebvre assumed the command. Blake evidently took the by roads through Portugal to avoid touching Cuesta's territory; he entered upon the high road at Santa Ollala. He mentioned the strange impudence and assurance with which the French assert the greatest falsehoods in their bulletins, not only in falsifying and misrepresenting accounts of battles and engagements, but really in describing actions which never took place, and boasting of victories gained and prisoners taken, where there never was even a Spanish patrol. He gave one or two instances, and named the places where such examples had occurred.

Romana in a confidential letter to Jovellanos, which he entrusted to Lord H. to read and even copy, estimates his loss in his retreat from Leon, owing to fatigue of body and mind and putrid fevers, to not less than 11 colonels, one general of division, and a great number of subaltern officers of distinguished merit. He uses very strong language about General Blake and Martinengo, whom, he says, shamefully *fled*, abandoned, and seduced from him many officers, and taken the military chest. His army, he states to be at present about 8000 men, but without arms, ammunition, or generals. He has been assured the French lost from 4 to 5,000 men in the action at the Puente de Burgo,<sup>2</sup> and that had not Moore been killed, and the 2nd-in-command wounded, they would in probability have been greatly cut up, nor would the English have retreated.

<sup>1</sup> Duke of Dantzig.

<sup>2</sup> Coruña.

21st.—Cuesta has removed Trias from his command, for not attacking French when they crossed bridge at Arzobispo. Junta have already sent to Cuesta 2000 muskets two days ago, and are to send him 2000 more to-morrow. Cartaojal has removed his head-quarters to Valdepeñas. No certain news, but some unpleasant stories about the surrender of Saragossa.

22nd.—Jovellanos told us the contents of Cuesta's *poste*. Body of French, 4000, attacked one of Cuesta's advanced posts, consisting of 300, in which the Spanish commander was killed after having employed the enemy near 3 quarters of an hour. They were driven back to Alia. The French, Cuesta imagined, were pushing on to Guadalupe with an intention of pillaging the convent, but if that should be their object they will be foiled, as the riches of the convent and all the monks have been removed.

From Ciudad Real Perico writes to Dss. of Osuna on ye 17th it was supposed in the army that an attack was to be made upon Toledo. General Blake has received orders from the Junta to serve in Cataluña, where, as Reding is the oldest general, he will only act as 2nd-in-command.<sup>1</sup> I asked him when he first knew that he was not to be succoured from Santander, his answer:— 'Only when I heard the English had landed at Coruña.' Had they even landed at Santander when they did at Coruña, he would have been saved, as the French did not begin their attack till full 10 days after the troops might have been landed, refreshed, and ready for action. Dn. Francisco said they had been busily employed in going through the business of Genl. Eguía,<sup>2</sup> who is now confined

<sup>1</sup> Reding died early in March from the wounds received at the battle of Valls on Feb. 25. Blake on his arrival at Tarragona found himself in command, and received the post of commander-in-chief of the *Coronilla*—Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia.

<sup>2</sup> General Eguía was head of the 'Army of Reserve' and held the command of the troops collected for the defence of Madrid against

in the Cartuja ; the accusation against him is that he did not defend Somosierra on 29th. Cuesta wishes the trial to be deferred in order that he may be sent to him ; he is reckoned an able military character, and Cuesta complains of the total incapacity of most of those under him.

23rd Feb.—Went to the Cathedral with the Canonigo Cienfuegos ; Jovellanos joined us during our stay in the Cathedral. . . . There is a public library belonging to the Cathedral, which is open at fixed hours daily for the benefit of the public. It contains some useful reading books ; above the bookcases are a range of portraits since the first Archbishop of Seville down to the present. The first was the son of San Fernando, the present is the Cardinal de Bourbon, brother of the Pss. of the Peace, and son of the Infante Don Luis.

Quintana, Rodenas, Mr. B. Frere, Mr. Pearce dined. Luttrell eve. During dinner Sangro (the Galician deputy) arrived. He appeared excessively dejected ; he had a bad voyage from England, and heard at sea off Coruña the deplorable retreat of the English army from Galicia. He thinks the Junta are not acting wisely here, and desponds of any good arising unless their discussions are public and their representation more numerous. Romana is still at Oimbra, but is very sanguine about the state of the public mind in Galicia. He has advised the Bishop of Orense to return and fulfil his duties there. His secty., Cacciaperos died at Orense of a putrid fever. He complains of Blake's *flight*. The French are said to have lost all their horses in Galicia, and have been compelled to mount their men on mules and asses in order to transport them back to Castile.

Napoleon's advance in Nov. 1808. His subordinate San Juan was in charge of the division entrusted with the defence of the Somosierra. Eguia later became second-in-command under Cuesta, and succeeded the latter when he was obliged by failing health to resign after the battle of Talavera.

24th Feb.—Albuquerque with 1000 horse surprised a corps of French cavalry of 400, commanded by a Gen. Dijon or Dejean, took a hundred prisoners and the general *equipage*.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish infantry ought to have come up and surrounded the town of Mora, by which the escape of the enemy would have been rendered impracticable, but the guides who conducted them mistook the way, and they went by Yebenes, which caused the delay of half a day, and the *coup manqué*d.

There was a serious disturbance at Cadiz. The pretext was that 1500 Poles, who were made prisoners in Dupont's army, should not be allowed to garrison the town, and the people rose and shut the gates against them. They also seized the person of Villel,<sup>2</sup> a member of the Junta, and but for a *Capucin* who interposed for his personal safety, he would probably have been destroyed. He had offended the people by interfering with their amusements, and even dresses; they accused him of treachery and being upon the point of betraying Cadiz to the enemy. The *poste* arrived from Seville during the scuffle, and the mob insisted upon seeing the dispatches; fortunately the contents referred solely to the fortifications of the town, &c. The people entrusted him to the custody of the *Capucins*. They then drew up a series of their

<sup>1</sup> This was the affair at Mora on Feb. 18: The French losses were probably not so large as here stated. The French commander was General Digeon. Jourdan in his *Memoires* remarks that Albuquerque was responsible for a false statement of facts in his dispatch to the Junta, which caused great elation at Seville. This is evidently the version believed and quoted by Lady Holland.

<sup>2</sup> The Marqués de Villel had been sent to Cadiz as Special Commissioner, and it was to his treatment of the people that this *émeute* was due. He appears to have considered that the reverses of the Spaniards were due to the decadence of their habits and customs, and took drastic steps to try and find a remedy. Colonel Leslie, of Balquhain, in his *Military Journal* mentions that none of the British rank and file on the transports in the harbour were allowed to land in the town, but that the officers continually came ashore and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants. See also Appendix C.

grievances; among those enumerated is that persons favored by the P. of the Peace still retain their offices, that accused persons were not tried, and various other points. Heredia,<sup>1</sup> who was placed in some office by the P. of the P. at Puerto Santa Maria, was murdered by the populace; and orders that Caraffa and the ex-Viceroy of Mexico and another prisoner should undergo their trial immediately. The temporary Govt. is entrusted to a *Capucin* friar and Felix Jones,<sup>2</sup> the Govr. Several edicts and *bandos* are issued. One is that no foreign troops whatever shall enter the town of Cadiz, but that the artillery officers of their faithful ally the English shall come into the town and examine the state of the works, there being a suspicion entertained by the people that the Junta have ordered ye fortifications to be so constructed that the enemy may not find any impediment from them.

25th, *Seville*.—Albuquerque's movement meets with general disapprobation—*cosa de muchacho*.<sup>3</sup> There is a conjecture that an English Colonel Whittingham, who is in correspondence with Mr. Frere, has made him push on beyond the limits prescribed by the Junta. Cuesta *se quexa mucho*; <sup>4</sup> he expected the reinforcements to join him by 22nd.

Blake is clearly of opinion that Moore might have defied the power of France if he had taken his position in the valley of Vierzo between Villafranca and Manzanal. He could only have been attacked by the enemy in front; the nature of the country prevented his being flanked. Capmany read us a proclamation he is going to publish in a few days.

<sup>1</sup> Head of the coastguard, and unpopular for his severe measures against smugglers.

<sup>2</sup> An Irish officer in the Spanish service. He was military governor of Cadiz.

<sup>3</sup> Foolhardy.

<sup>4</sup> Makes many complaints.



Arriaza, the poet, has made his escape from Madrid ; he came in the disguise of a *mayoral*.<sup>1</sup> Also several other persons have got away both from Bayonne and Madrid.

26th, *Sunday*.—Sangro, Mariscal de Castilla, Mr. Pearce to dinner. Eve, Jovellanos, Conde de Campo Sagrado, Mr. B. Frere, Mr. Pearce. Blake considers Moore's first alarm of being flanked by the French by Mondoñedo through the Asturias as too ridiculous to have been a serious opinion ; he allows that the enemy might have entered Galicia by the pass of Sanabria, but rejects the probability of their doing so, as artillery could only pass with difficulty, and the attempt was too hazardous for them to make. He saw Ld. Paget only once, but, from all he collected from the Spanish generals and officers, is positive that of all the English generals Ld. P. was the most averse to the retreat. It was also considered as an unpopular measure amongst the inferior officers and troops.

27th.—Rodenas, Quintana, Mr. Ellis, Pearce, dinner. After the action at Mora, Albuquerque fell back upon Consuegra, where he was briskly attacked by the French, who had received by forced marches reinforcements from Madrid, Aranjuez, and Toledo, to the amount of 12,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. The retreat of the Spaniards was made in good order ; the cavalry covered the rear, and he reached Villarta with the loss only of four or five men. He has joined Urbina's main army at Valdepeñas. The Spanish cavalry had greatly the advantage over the French. This circumstance has put them into great spirits here ; besides they consider this diversion as having operated in keeping Cuesta free from an attack, which from the force collecting at Talavera would probably have taken place almost immediately. Great complaints

<sup>1</sup> Shepherd.

of Frere, whom they accuse of *mauvaise foi*, and say he has pushed the affair of landing troops at Cadiz with malignity. He wears the patience and takes up the time of the Junta in making long-winded speeches full of equivocal expressions in confused and unintelligible Spanish. Garay has resolved to conduct all business in future by notes. The Junta have peremptorily refused to allow the admission of ye English troops into Cadiz. Frere assured them arms were embarked on the 18th Dec. for Spain, and their not being arrived has filled them with suspicion against Frere, whom they suspect of asserting facts without having any authority to do so from his Govt.

28th.—The English troops afloat before Cadiz are to return to Lisbon! It seems now that Mr. Frere, who said he had no authority over them, can dispose of them as he likes. Jovellanos speaks of Frere's conduct as having been intricate and violent; they all appear dissatisfied personally with him, because Apodaca's dispatches, which are subsequent to those Frere has received from his Govt., do not state the wishes of the English Ministry to be at all urgent with respect to the occupation of Cadiz by English troops.

1st March, Wednesday.—Col. Doyle's last letter to Mr. Frere was dated 22nd Feb. Saragossa had not then fallen. He mentions their being in possession of positive information of French troops having left Spain. Mr. Tupper (the partner of Price, an English merchant at Valencia) writes from Valencia that several of the Swiss Cantons are in insurrection, as they do not choose to have Berthier imposed upon them for a King.<sup>1</sup> The French papers breathe war in very hostile articles against Austria. They give a copy of Hope's dispatch upon the embarkation at Coruña, at which, as he terms it *victory*, they very

<sup>1</sup> One of Berthier's recent honours was his appointment as Sovereign Prince of Neufchâtel.

fairly sneer, and hope the English may always enjoy such glories.

Some persons think that it was the D. of Infantado's intention, had he succeeded in getting to Madrid instead of being so cruelly cut up at Ucles, to have in concert with Cuesta destroyed the Govt. of the Junta and restored the Council of Castile to its splendor and functions. He is the President of that Council, and Cuesta is also a member.

*2nd March.*—A report of Castaños having been murdered in a village by the people on his way to Algeciras.

Arriaza is a writer of considerable merit ; he published some pretty verses, and had lately rendered himself conspicuous by the *Prophecy of the Pyrenees*, and a *National Hymn* in honor of the Battle of Baylen. He could not get away from Madrid when it was first occupied by the enemy, and he remained tolerably at his ease, in consequence of its being given out that all men of letters and science might remain and should be protected. He was to his dismay, however, informed that the French sought him and had resolved to shoot him. He escaped being arrested by his presence of mind, for on perceiving two suspicious men waiting for him at his house door, he passed on, took refuge with a friend, and got out of the town in the disguise of a *mayoral*. This was very difficult for him, as he is uncommonly short-sighted and wears spectacles constantly. He was suspected at Toledo, but after some risks and many alarms he arrived here about a week ago. Napoleon was accompanied in his journey into Spain by a clever man of the name of Edouville, a French emigrant, who had been kindly received in Spain when of the age of 12 years. This man, who is a mixture of literary and military character, has given him a great insight into Spanish manners and customs. He read aloud, and translated as he read, Capmany's first *Centinela* ;

some passages he wished to skip, but Napoleon insisted upon the whole. Arriaza was a great friend of the O'Farril; he is, like all the others who knew O'Farril, astonished at his conduct, and convinced that he is full of remorse for the mischief he unintentionally has caused.<sup>1</sup> O'Farril, Mazarredo, Azanza, and Urquijo act together; the other part of the Ministry headed by Cabarrus, whose adherents are Arriba, Romero, &c. Arriba is a man of very extraordinary talents, who owes his situation entirely to his own assurance and enterprise: his office is Grand Judge. Romero is a very able man, draughted from the corps of *abogados*, and is placed at the head of police.

The French officers when among themselves and talking over the state of the war in Spain bore testimony universally to the military talents of Blake, whom they said after a severe day's fighting, in which he was outnumbered and obliged to retreat, never lost one piece of cannon; and when he retreated at night he disappeared, and was always found the day following in the best position. After the battle of Zornoza, in which Blake showed great talents, Napoleon asked O'Farril, 'Who is that Blake?' 'Sire, c'est un bon militaire, et un parfait honnête homme.'

Cuesta mentions in his *poste* that a French *parlementaire* appeared at the bridge and announced the fall of Saragossa. The report is not entirely discredited, tho' considered by Cuesta as an artifice of the enemy to ascertain the state of the bridge. Story of Castaños quite unfounded. He arrived at Algeciras amidst the applause of the people, who retained a grateful recollection of his good govt. when he commanded there.

3rd March.—D. of Infantado came to us; he is thin and altered.

<sup>1</sup> By taking service under the French.

*4th March.*—Cuesta relates, in his *poste* of to-day, a ridiculous circumstance, which if it was meant as a stratagem of the enemy to ascertain the state of the bridge, ended fatally for their employé. A man from the French posts appeared dressed like a priest when officiating at mass, and announced himself a messenger from the Virgin. The sentinel levelled his piece, fired, and shot the holy ambassador dead. It was a whimsical incident and not very intelligible.

*5th.*—Blake set off on Friday for Tarragona, by the way of Malaga, where he intended, if a good opportunity offered, to embark. A malicious story circulated against him, which had been even laid before the Junta, viz. of his sketching the fortifications from the summit of the Giralda, marking certain points, and expressing concern when the paper was carried off by a gust of wind. He had made an outline of the works. He was perfectly at liberty to do so, but Don Francisco Ferras, who ascended the Giralda in his company, declares the whole story to be a fabrication. Changes meditated in the Govt.; Council of Castile likely to be revived. Talked of Infantado's views. Infantado obliged to go to Cadiz to his mother, who is unwell; has promised to return as speedily as possible.

*7th March, Tuesday.*—Saragossa fell on the 21st and 22nd.<sup>1</sup> Palafox had given the command to St. March,<sup>2</sup> as he was attacked by the epidemic of which he was dying. Genl. O'Neill was dead, and St. March confined to his bed dying. The garrison from 30,000 men was reduced to 5000; the general ration had long been 4 ounces of bread and a small allowance of oil. The French army was

<sup>1</sup> 20th and 21st. Oman says that about 8000 peasants and soldiers marched out of the town.

<sup>2</sup> St. March's appointment was ill taken, and Palafox handed over the supreme command to a Junta of thirty-three persons. (*Oman.*)



reduced to 16,000 men. The town yielded to the mode which the French pursued of undermining and blowing up every house in succession.

Reding met with a smart check, and has been compelled to fall back upon Tarragona. He was wounded in 5 places. Col. Doyle also is ill of the contagion; it is feared that in the Army of the Center there prevails an epidemic, and as they are ill provided with medicines and surgeons, there is great reason to fear it may occasion havoc and spread over the country. The enemy are withdrawing from the south of Madrid, and Cuesta writes that he shall construct pontoons in order to cross the Tagus, from which it should seem that both the bridges of Almaraz and Arzobispo are destroyed. The French fleet are out,<sup>1</sup> and they write from Cadiz that an English fleet under Duckworth is in pursuit of it. Arriaza came in eve., and was very pleasant.

*8th.*—A mysterious letter from Gen. M.<sup>2</sup> who had informed me a few days ago that his destination was to the eastward, but that within 2 hours of giving me this notice he had received intelligence that the enemy were in a quarter where he did not know they were, and that he was going to meet them.

A deputy arrived from the Asturias, which he left a fortnight ago. He represents the force there at about 30,000 men, armed and disciplined, and ready to repulse the enemy at every point.<sup>3</sup> Cuesta is jealous of Romana having dignities which he claims as having been conferred

<sup>1</sup> This was the Brest fleet. It was partially destroyed by Lord Cochrane in the Basque Roads during a night attack on April 11.

<sup>2</sup> General Mackenzie, the commander of the British force lying off Cadiz, which was now ordered to return to Lisbon, and join Wellesley's army.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Oman mentions a dispatch (Frere to Lord Castlereagh) of March 24, in which it is stated that the Asturian Junta reported that they had over 20,000 men under arms.

upon him by Fernando VII, the Captain-General of Castile, &c., &c. Lobo<sup>1</sup> came this eve. He left London on 22nd Feb. Jacome<sup>2</sup> and his nephew are also arrived. The arms and saddles will soon come. The day he left London it was generally believed that Lord Castlereagh was out, and Ld. Wellesley was to come in.<sup>3</sup>

*Thursday, 9th March.*—Dn. Francisco Ferras, Capmany, Rodenas, and Don José Manescan.

Manescan<sup>4</sup> is a friend of Rodenas's. He is an *oidor* of Valencia, and distinguished himself considerably during the disturbances in that city, especially in his decision of character and readiness to punish offenders. He sentenced to death 38 offenders in one morning. They amply deserved punishment, as they were of those who had burst open the prison doors and butchered 300 defenceless French prisoners, and were also instrumental in the murder of poor Saavedra. He is reckoned very clever, and full of fire and enthusiasm. He joined loudly in disapproving the mode of administering justice here, where a French spy detected and convicted is to be secretly strangled to-night in his prison, and his body to be exhibited to-morrow in the Plaza, with a label affixed to describe his quality, country, and offences.

Cuesta is impatient for the arrival of the pontoons, which are prepared at Badajoz. He intends to pass the Tagus and give battle to the enemy. The Govt. have it in contemplation to decree a national mourning

<sup>1</sup> Don Rafael Lobo y Campo, Spanish sailor. He was sent to London in 1808 as secretary to the Mission from Seville, and remained as secretary at the Embassy. He put himself in communication with La Romana, in Denmark; and assisted in person in the escape of the Spanish troops. He died in 1816.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the Junta of Seville, and one of the deputies sent to England in 1808 to seek assistance against the French.

<sup>3</sup> As Secretary for Foreign Affairs in place of Canning.

<sup>4</sup> One of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

for the loss of Saragossa of 9 days, public funeral orations, and extensive privileges to the town for its glorious and never-to-be-forgotten resistance. Quintana is busily employed in composing this solemn and affecting appeal to the feelings of the public. The French have not ventured to enter the town yet, partly from fear of the epidemic, and perhaps some apprehension of the expiring hand of an unsubdued patriot.

Jovellanos brought the Asturian deputy. The state of that principality is very promising. Ballesteros commands a division of 10,000 men;<sup>1</sup> he is greatly beloved of the soldiers, who chose him by acclamation, and whenever he exposes his person they entreat him to be more cautious for their sakes, as without him they could do nothing. Matarosa,<sup>2</sup> &c., are at Gijon, and very active in these disturbances. Went to Mde. Osuna's; Ld. Hd. and Ld. John to La Villa Manriques' *tertulia*. No particular news.

*Friday, 10th March.*—Sr. Robt. Wilson still continues collecting men at Ciudad Rodrigo. By offers of reward he gets Polish and German deserters, and if they bring arms he adds considerably to the recompense. Genl. Sherbrooke and his troops are off Cadiz.

Jovellanos has been occupied in preparing materials for the re-establishment of the Council of Castile, a revival which the Junta have in view.<sup>3</sup> He told me that

<sup>1</sup> Ballesteros' division was that part of the Asturian force which had not followed Blake to Leon after the battle of Espinosa, but had retired to their own mountains and remained quietly there. The Junta had been recruiting largely in the province and had nearly 20,000 men in April, but had done little or nothing towards the common cause: This force was told off to watch Bonnet's division near Santander.

<sup>2</sup> The Conde de Toreno.

<sup>3</sup> The effete Council of Castile had seriously discredited its importance by the ignominious and unhesitating surrender to Napoleon's wishes in the matter of Joseph's appointment as King. It was superseded by the Central Junta in Oct. 1808, after a long wrangle as to the legality of the powers of the newly elected body.

it was an error to suppose that Council had any pernicious tendency agst. civil liberty : that previous to the formation of the Central Junta it had usurped powers it did not possess legally, but that the Cortes had always been a favorite object in it : that it was indispensable to have a tribunal of *dernier report*, and useful for the internal administration of affairs to have a supreme authority to superintend its political economy.

*Wednesday, 15th March, Seville.*—Received a letter from Capt. Parker in which he informs me of his being in the Tagus, having brought out General Beresford<sup>1</sup> to Lisbon for the purpose of disciplining the Portuguese levies.

Perez de Castro<sup>2</sup> is gone to succeed Tenorio as *chargé d'affaires* from the Junta at Lisbon. He is a very clever man ; the first declaration of war from Aranjuez was written by him, and the whole of that celebrated work to which Cevallos has affixed his name is also his composition.<sup>3</sup> He also went in disguise to Bayonne and obtained an interview with Fernando VII, and facilitated the escape of some of his companions in the *segretoria de estado*.<sup>4</sup>

The pontoons which are gone from Badajoz to Cuesta are magnificent of their kind ; they cost 14,000,000 reals. Upon the river Tietar there has been a little affair which terminated to the advantage of the Spaniards, who made several prisoners. Cuesta has now 22,000 men, well equipped and disciplined ; upwards of 2000 cavalry in excellent condition. His head-quarters are at Deleitosa

<sup>1</sup> William Carr Beresford (1768–1854), raised to the peerage in 1814 as Lord Beresford. He took part in Sir John Moore's retreat, and having then returned to England with his troops, he was sent out to Portugal to reorganise the military forces of that country.

<sup>2</sup> Don Evaristo Perez de Castro. Arteché speaks of him as Spanish representative in Portugal.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Holland evidently refers to Cevallos' pamphlet on the affairs of Spain and the events of Bayonne, which he published in London in 1808.

<sup>4</sup> State prison.

to be nearer the enemy, who seem to be making some demonstrations towards the bridge of Almaraz.

From the intercepted letters it appears that the French in Salamanca are ignorant of Soult's position in Galicia, from whence it is inferred that the *Gallegos* have cut off all communication between that army and the French corps which are dispersed about Castile. The *Lively* frigate went into Vigo, and cut out some English small craft which had been captured by the French. The country from thence to Santiago is in insurrection, and if the people had more arms and ammunition, they might make an effectual resistance to the French. The French attempted to cross the Miño on boats; the Portuguese allowed them to advance, and then opened a brisk fire from some masked batteries which they had erected.<sup>1</sup> Romana is still in the neighbourhood of Oimbra; the accusations against him are numerous, the accusers respectable, and the points plausible. He learnt at Sorèze too much of the French *légèreté*, and I greatly fear his statements partake more of that quality than is befitting they should upon such important matters.

*17th March, Friday.*—*Lord Carlos Doyle*, for so he styles or allows himself to be styled, writes from Tortosa that the French have behaved with the greatest inhumanity to their prisoners at Saragossa, stripped them literally naked, having robbed them of everything. Palafox is alive, and when able to be moved is to be conducted to Bayonne; he was delirious when the French officer came to his bed-side, and was ignorant of the surrender of the city.<sup>2</sup> Reding is at present at

<sup>1</sup> This was on Feb. 16 at Campo Saucos, about two miles from the mouth of the river. The French failed ignominiously to effect a landing on the other bank.

<sup>2</sup> The French officer tried to insist on his signing orders for the surrender of two other towns, and when he refused threatened to have him shot. He was taken to France and confined in close captivity at Vincennes until the end of 1813.



Tarragona with 8000 men; Lazan at Tortosa; the French at Fraga. The French have fallen back in La Mancha to the neighbourhood of Yepes, Dos Barrios, and other villages, which they occupied before the affair at Mora. At Valencia there are 14,000 men embodied, but only 4,000 musquets to arm them with. The French fleet are in Basque roads, closely blockaded by Ld. Gambier. General Sherbrooke is arrived at Lisbon with the troops originally destined for Cadiz. The convoy with provisions and clothing for the Spanish army is arrived at Cadiz; the arms unfortunately are not on board any of these vessels, tho' mentioned as belonging to that convoy.

Hermida told Ld. Hd. that he had been making great exertions in the section of Grace and Justice to procure some modification, if not abrogation, of the decree against the Liberty of the Press; but that notwithstanding all his efforts, he had hitherto been unsuccessful. His chief ally in the section is Jovellanos; the principal opponents are Riquelme<sup>1</sup> and the Archbishop of Laodicea.<sup>2</sup> The latter is a narrow-minded, timid, feeble man, but being the only Archbishop in the Junta he is a sort of head of the clergy, and being also a member of the provincial Junta of Seville, he acts in the double capacity and has greater influence. Quintana represents Garay as being totally under the control of Jovellanos (but this I doubt). Calvo<sup>3</sup> is one of the most able and eloquent men they have. He was originally a small merchant in Madrid; he failed in his business. He placed himself by the side of Palafox in Saragossa, brought into the town amidst the balls of the enemy a timely supply of provisions. He wrote that famous

<sup>1</sup> One of the members from Aragon to the Central Junta.

<sup>2</sup> One of the members for Seville, and Bishop Coadjutor of that town.

<sup>3</sup> Don Lorenzo Calvo de Rozas, an intimate friend of Palafox, and his representative on the Council at Madrid in September.

proclamation signed by Palafox, in which he makes Napoleon responsible for the safety of Ferdinand and throws out a hint of favor of some Austrian Prince.<sup>1</sup> Upon his first admission to the Junta, it was expected that he would take the lead, but he lost himself entirely by making a proposition on behalf of Palafox, whom he proposed should be Regent.

18th March, Saturday.—The Council of Castile has been re-instated by a decree of the Junta, but the members who are to compose it have not been summoned, nor have the powers been defined. Infantado, who is the President, considers himself as slighted, whereas the re-establishment of it was, I believe, chiefly done with a view to please him and make him a station worthy of his consequence, and as a compensation for the loss of the command of the army.

Dn. Francisco Saavedra is the *Ministro de la Hacienda*.<sup>2</sup> He is a stout man, apparently about fifty-two or three, but he is in reality a year older than Jovellanos. The upper part of his face, his brow, is very fine and has the same commanding and animated character as that of the late Ld. Lansdown; the lower features have a more set appearance, indicating a sort of suffering. This they have acquired since the severe illness he had, which the vulgar ascribed to poison administered by the Queen during his Ministry. The place he now holds is excessively laborious, and he quite sinks under the fatigue. It must be very ill organized, because he told us that full two hours every day, from 5 till 7, he employed solely in signing his name.

When the Queen broke the Administration up, Jovellanos was sent into the Asturias and Saavedra

<sup>1</sup> This proclamation was issued at the time of the first rising in Zaragoza, and was dated May 31, 1808. See *Arteche*, vol. i. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer. See *ante*; p. 116.

exiled to Puerto Santa Maria. The intrigue which occasioned their downfall is not exactly known; some ascribe their failure to Saavedra, who advised a line of conduct about the P. of the P., without activity and energy to enforce it. He recommended in order to get him out of the way, that he should be sent to travel with an honorable commission to all the Courts in Europe. The Queen, who tho' displeased, angry, and jealous, and wished him to be mortified, could not bear his absence, and to avoid parting sacrificed those very persons she had been exciting to act agst. Godoy. Jovellanos praises the integrity and candor of Saavedra, whom he seems to admire and love very affectionately.

*19th March, Sunday.*—An extra-ordinary messenger arrived this morn. early from Cuesta with the alarming account that 12,000 Frenchmen had crossed the bridge of Arzobispo. The Spaniards behaved perfectly well; they defended the river Ibor, and with great order and bravery retired to Campillo.<sup>1</sup> Cuesta is satisfied with the conduct of his troops. The French are without artillery, it being impossible to convey any across that bridge. Previous to dispatching the news hither, Cuesta had sent to apprise Albuquerque, who is at Ciudad Real, of the necessity of his supporting his right, which they hope A. will feel and advance without orders from Cartaojal's head-quarters. Cuesta has 4000 cavalry. The opinion and belief in the Govt. is that the French force on the line of the Tagus is not above 28 to 32,000 men, and not above 4000 cavalry. Urbina, some say, already has 6000 cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> The French advance must have come somewhat as an unpleasant surprise to Cuesta, who had been himself gaily talking of advancing across the river. Victor crossed the Tagus on March 16 with Ruffin's and Villatte's divisions at Arzobispo, while Leval's Germans crossed at Talavera. The Spaniards under the Duque del Parque made a long and determined resistance against this combined force, but fled in confusion when the enemy came to close quarters.

Cuesta, they say, writes in spirits ; he is at the Puerto de Mirabete.

An officer who has made his escape from Saragossa, gives a melancholy acct. of the condition of the inhabitants and the state of the city. The latter is chiefly a heap of ruins, and the inhabitants are dying as rapidly as they did in Andalusia of the yellow fever. Lannes has placed guards in the churches in order to protect the plate, that no one may share the plunder with him.

*20th March, Monday.*—M., Mde. Ariza dinner. Great anxiety prevailed for the arrival of intelligence from Cuesta, which was not of a nature to dispel alarm. The French have crossed at Almaraz, and their force altogether consists of 27,000 men, a force superior to Cuesta's. The bridge of Almaraz was yielded scandalously by Henestrosa, either from cowardice or treachery, but the other points were bravely fought.<sup>1</sup> Cuesta is afraid the enemy may attempt to push on and intercept him from Truxillo, where his magazines, &c., are. His plan was to abandon Mirabete and reach Truxillo last night, but there was a bare possibility of the enemy getting there before him. His intention is to fight his way through and reach the passes of the Sierra Morena, so as to cover Andalusia. The moment is critical : one false movement in tactics and the whole cause is lost.

At length the arms are arrived at Cadiz, 30,000 musquets, &c., &c.

Jalon, an officer sent from Valencia, gives a good report of the state of the public mind there. They have 4000 men armed with *bad* muskets, and 12,000 clothed,

<sup>1</sup> Henestrosa's position opposite Almaraz had become impossible owing to Victor's success at Meza de Ibor, and Oman states that Cuesta sent orders to his lieutenant to abandon the position. Cuesta's force retreated without danger to Truxillo, but Henestrosa only got away with difficulty, yet managed to inflict two decided checks on the enemy during his retreat.

trained, and embodied who have none, and as many more enlisted who have no clothing and are not drilled.

There is a foolish, prating Baron Crossard from the Austrians ; he has no mission, but is allowed to come in order to see the armies. According to the private letters and public papers, the English public are only occupied with the disgraceful business of the D. of York,<sup>1</sup> against whom some women of no character and some men of bad character have brought forth very severe charges of corruption if they should be substantiated. Spain, the reverses of the English army, and the failure of the measures of Ministers, seem all forgotten in the superior interest of examining women of the town at the Bar of the H. of Commons.

*21st March.*—The news from Cuesta has revived the drooping and almost expiring hopes of the Spaniards. Cuesta began his retreat at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past ten on the night of the 18th from Mirabete ; he effected it in excellent order to Truxillo, without sustaining the loss of a single piece of cannon or any of his baggage or ammunition. His head-quarters were at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and his *avant* guard at Truxillo ; the enemy had an advanced post at Torrecillas. His intention was to maintain himself at Sta. Cruz until he knew what were the movements of the army of Albuquerque in his favor. The opinion now is that the enemy are not in great force, that they hardly equal, and certainly do not exceed that of Cuesta. From great despondence, the spirits of the people are rising almost too much.

Great complaints of the English military adventurers who go to the Spanish armies and interfere and meddle. Infantado sent away one when he discovered that he

<sup>1</sup> The scandal about Mrs. Clarke.



was not employed by the English Govt.—a Col. Whittingham. The consequence has been that he has traduced and injured the Duke in every possible manner.

*23rd March.*—Cuesta, conscious how exposed his situation was if the French should advance and get on his rear, resolved to fall back and avoid active operations, in order that the Army of the Center might have full opportunity to pursue its operations. He found considerable difficulty in repressing the ardor of his troops, who are very desirous of advancing in this affair as well as in that of Consuegra.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that the Spanish cavalry is far superior to that of the French.

Albuquerque left Ciudad Real at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past four in morning on the 19th, with the intention of proceeding to Guadalupe to support Cuesta. Urbina was to follow up this movement, and to attack the French at Toledo, where they are said to be *700 weak*; but I much fear the Spaniards are sanguine and credulous about the forces of their enemies. Ld. Hd. has had a letter from Romana. He was attacked at Chaves by a considerable force, and at the close of the affair they came to the bayonet; he has fallen back. Ciudad Rodrigo is terrified, and an attack is hourly expected.

Cuesta continues retreating, he has fallen back upon Medellin, where he intends to maintain himself to give scope to the movements of the Central Army. The Spanish cavalry has again had a brilliant pursuit and victory over the enemy at Miajadas;<sup>2</sup> the regts. Infante and Almanza are named for their bravery. Cuesta adds that but for the appearance of a column of infantry, the

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 289-291. Cuesta was awaiting two valuable reinforcements, hence his unusual show of caution.

<sup>2</sup> This was the second of two successful skirmishes with the enemy, which were planned by Henestrosa during his retreat. The French lost over 150 men killed and wounded. The first took place on the 20th at Berrocal.

enemy would have lost every horseman. These regts. are part of Romana's dismounted cavalry who were in Germany, and left this place about a fortnight ago equipped and tolerably mounted. This skirmish happened on 21st.

The 40th regt.<sup>1</sup> have orders to march to Elvas next Monday. Gen. Sherbrooke has about 4000 men freshly arrived at Lisbon. Cornel, the Minister of War, applied to the English Minister, Frere, to allow the 40th to take the post of Sta. Ollala; I know not what has been the answer. Great succours in clothing, &c., are arrived at Lisbon from England; the people are quite enraptured.

Blake is to be appointed Capt.-Genl. of Aragon and Valencia, and to have one half of Lazan's army put under his command, and to collect near Teruel. Very pleasing accts. of the successes of the *somatenes* and *miqueletes* in Catalonia. Two thousand men have advanced from Sta. Ollala to join Cuesta,<sup>2</sup> and the same number of raw troops have gone from hence to supply their place at Sta. Ollala. They write from Gibraltar and Cadiz that in an English frigate which passed the straits an Austrian and Russian courier were on board. Good news if true: great rumours of Austrian war.

*24th March.*—Duque del Infantado, Chev. Ardelberg, Arriaza, Dn. Francisco Ferras y Cornel. Cuesta's *poste* of to-day is still dated from Medellin, but it is supposed that he intends to fall back upon Campanario, in order to secure his junction with the Duke of Albuquerque, who on the 16th left Ciudad Real and joined Gen. Echavarria at Almodovar del Campo. Their corps united consisted of 8000 infantry and 500 cavalry, and it is reported, for it is not authentic, that his advanced guard was in

<sup>1</sup> The British regiment which had been sent from Elvas to Seville in February. See *ante*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Three regiments from Badajoz under the Marqués de Portago.

Guadalupe on the 21st.<sup>1</sup> Urbina has marched towards Aranjuez with 4 or 5,000 cavalry and flying artillery. The infantry and remainder of his army will follow; they were in Valdepeñas and Manzanares. The French south of Madrid are said to be considerably weakened and disheartened.

Freire, the Galician, called with Sangro this eve. He reports unfavorably of Romana's conduct and of the state of his army.

It is not accurately known how many French have crossed the Tagus; Cuesta at a rough guess estimates them at 26,000. Those who know Cuesta are very much pleased at a little trait of liveliness, a disposition very foreign to his nature in general; for when he dispatched the courier who arrived to-day, he gave him himself the dispatches and gravely asked what he thought of his army, adding 'Diga á Sevilla que no tengan cuidado.'<sup>2</sup> The Junta are perfectly aware that the first fruits of a victory will be their complete annihilation. Cuesta will fall unmercifully upon them and assume the Govt. himself. Already some of his officers write loudly in his praise, and of the necessity of constituting him *generalísimo*.

25th March.—My birthday. Cuesta dates from Campanario on the 23rd. His nephew had come from the advanced guard of Albuquerque, which was within 4 leagues of him. Cuesta intended to go on to Higuera to meet Albuquerque who was at El Valle. That district is remarkably fruitful and abundant, and will furnish *viveres*<sup>3</sup> and straw, especially for the cavalry, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Albuquerque does not seem to have picked up any of Echavarría's force, and joined Cuesta with the seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry from Cartaojal's force—a little over 4000 men in all. Arteche says that Cuesta expected a reinforcement of at least 10,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tell Seville not to be afraid.'

<sup>3</sup> Provisions.

chiefly on that acct., to replenish his supplies, that he goes thither.

Various rumours about Romana and his army; some say he is already at Astorga on his way to the Asturias. At Chaves there is reason to fear he conducted himself very ill *sans coup férir*.<sup>1</sup> He as usual has quarrelled with those he acted with, and Silveira the Portuguese general and he mutually accuse each other of great errors.

Went in the evening to the Condesa de Condamina's, Jovellanos, Freres, and D. of Osuna. Jovellanos has been confined to his house nearly a week with a painful complaint, a *divieso* or boil, in his thigh. I had refrained from calling out of discretion, but I longed so much once more to enjoy the charms of his conversation, that I went. He is cheerful, and was very pleasant. Hermida's daughter is just arrived from the neighbourhood of Saragossa. Had the besieged possessed a greater stock of gunpowder, they might have destroyed the French who had lodged themselves in the convent of St. Augustin by undermining them, but their quantity was very small, and all they used was manufactured in the town. The epidemic raged universally. Ten canons of the Cathedral died, and when this was alleged as a reason for capitulating, Palafox still protested in favor of death to infamy. The French in order to conciliate the Aragonese have

<sup>1</sup> La Romana's refusal to leave Spain and enter Portugal to assist Silveira, the Portuguese general, certainly had the appearance of cowardice and treachery, especially as neither they nor their men were on good terms. But in reality it was the wisest line La Romana could have taken. He was thus enabled to draw off his force, which was hardly fit to take the open field, practically unharmed, and could place himself on Soult's flank and rear—the very position from which the latter had wished to dislodge him. His skeleton rear-guard, it is true, was intercepted and dismembered by Franceschi, but his main force was safe, and keeping within the Spanish boundaries he moved by easy stages into Galicia.

declared that Saragossa shall be exempted for 6 years from all contributions whatever, that all the monasteries shall be abolished and the edifices demolished, so that the materials may be used by the inhabitants to repair and rebuild their houses destroyed by the siege. Palafox, they say, in the infirm state of health in which he is, was compelled to go to his balcony and view the execution of his friend and preceptor, Dn. Ignacio de Asso. They required the Auxiliary Bishop to preach a sermon of thanksgiving for the conquest in the church of Our Lady *del Pilar*. He is a clever man, and will either not comply or do it in a tone that will not please.

*26th March.*—Cuesta's *poste* of the 24th is from La Serena, and the junction with Albuquerque is considered as effected. The distance between them is only 4 leagues, and the officers ride over from head-quarters. The enemy seem to have remained without any change of position at Miajadas. Cuesta has received intelligence of the enemy having sent out of Madrid on the 14th 12 pieces of heavy cannon for battering walls. This ordnance is coming down to the army of Estremadura, and Cuesta is convinced that they intend to besiege Badajoz ; he rejoices at this probability, as he is confident that he shall be able to cut off their retreat and seize their magazines. Ferras is all eagerness that Cuesta should attack without delay, as the Spaniards do not fight so well when they wait to be attacked. He reckons the force of that army now with Albuquerque, the supplies from Badajoz, St. Ollala, and this place, 33,000 effective men.

Very contradictory rumours about Romana ; some say he is recalled and coming here, others that he is at Astorga, and some say at Lugo. He has quarrelled with the Portuguese, and the whole of his conduct betrays a degree of flightiness that has hurt him in the opinion of



those most disposed in his favor. His *intendente*, Heras, is the man who in fact does all.

*27th March.*—The French have not advanced beyond Miajadas, but from some observations of the spies they were preparing to go on to Merida. The French have evacuated Reus in Cataluña, and a few of their regts. have returned to France; this gives great strength to the report of an Austrian war.

Quintana gave a curious acct. of the fears of the Govt. in case Cuesta should gain an important victory; indeed so fully are they aware of their own weakness and unpopularity that to avoid Cuesta's seizing upon the Govt., they would at the time of announcing publicly his successes issue an edict for assembling the Cortes. This Garay told him yesterday was resolved upon.

By a letter from Valdepeñas, it appears that Cartaojal has surprised and routed a Polish regt. of cavalry at Yebenes.<sup>1</sup>

*28th.*—We dined with Jovellanos, who is still confined to his house. Our party consisted of Garay, Campo Sagrado, Hermida, and the two nephews of Jovellanos. Cartaojal has found, as I always dreaded, the enemy much stronger in the Mancha, and accordingly the scheme of reaching Toledo is renounced. The enemy are in great numbers at and about Consuegra. Garay had received accts. from Portugal that about 17,000 French had penetrated to Braga and were advancing upon Oporto. The populace at Oporto had risen in a most disorderly manner, broke open the house of Bernardino Freire, and murdered him and his

<sup>1</sup> This was the most northerly point reach by Cartaojal in his foolhardy dash on Toledo. It is true he routed this Polish outpost and killed or took 100 men, but he was forced to retreat to Ciudad Real on Sebastiani's approach. The latter then most unexpectedly pressed forward towards that town, and in the rout which ensued the Spanish troops were very severely handled before they could reach the shelter of the mountains.

aide-de-camp.<sup>1</sup> Poor man! they accused him of being a *traidor*, the common cry when the armies fly, as those of the Portuguese do generally. The runaways said nothing but the want of powder prevented them from gaining a complete victory over the French.

29th.—Cuesta in his *poste* of the 27th complains of the small numbers furnished by the Andalusian armies; the force brought by Albuquerque not exceeding 3500 infantry and 300 cavalry, in lieu of 8 or 9,000 men promised to him. The advanced guards have been engaged with the French near Medellin, and it is said that a column of the enemy has been detached towards Merida. Garay told us that Cuesta was very much discontented at the smallness of the succours, and wrote excessively out of humour.

Cartaojal is much censured by the Junta for advancing without his infantry, having left it at Valdepeñas without instructions how it was to march. Garay spoke warmly against him and said it should be a severe *carga*.<sup>2</sup>

30th March.—Cartaojal writes a confused and unintelligible letter from the Venta de Carolina. A division of his army under Moreno, has been attacked and defeated! In consequence of which he made the whole army retreat to Viso and Sta. Cruz. Thus this army, which was to seize Toledo and conquer Madrid, has fallen back upon the Sierra Morena. The cavalry he entrusted to the most inefficient general, Perellos, but omits mentioning where they were. The Junta of armament has removed back to Carolina.

The *poste* of Cuesta did not come in at the usual hour.

<sup>1</sup> Bernardino Freire was murdered by the populace at Braga, not at Oporto. He was dragged to his death from the gaol, where his second-in-command, Baron Eben, chosen by the troops as his successor, had placed him in the hope of saving his life. He had certainly shown little courage or foresight in his efforts to oppose the advance of the enemy.

<sup>2</sup> Reprimand.

31st.—The accts. arrived very late from Cuesta last night, bringing the acct. of a most disastrous result from a successful and brilliant commencement. On the 28th, between Don Benito and Medellin, he attacked the enemy, and had at first greatly the advantage; his infantry and artillery drove the French in every direction, but a regt. of cavalry called by that inauspicious name for Spain, Maria Luisa, yielded to a charge of the French cavalry, and nothing but confusion and disorder ensued.<sup>1</sup> Cuesta was thrown from his horse and bruised, but did not sustain any material injury. He writes that had he died he should have at last had the satisfaction of seeing the French turn their backs. He was nearly taken, and to avoid it threw off his general's uniform and put on the coat of a private soldier.

An officer from Cartaojal's army says his loss did not exceed 800 men.<sup>2</sup> Those prisoners taken at Yebenes are brought away, but it was from all accts. a disgraceful retreat, and shows a complete want of all military knowledge and common presence of mind on the part of Cartaojal.

*April 1st, Seville.*—We were to have set off to-day,

<sup>1</sup> Victor drew up his army in front of the town of Medellin, and Cuesta placing all his troops in the front line, which allowed only four men deep, advanced without any reserve, with the intention of enveloping the French by their longer front. At first the Spanish tactics were successful and the French were forced back, but as soon as their advance was checked the thin Spanish line wavered and fell into confusion. After this the end soon came, and though the Spanish cavalry to a large extent escaped owing to their cowardly behaviour, the infantry were decimated by the French cavalry. The Spanish losses were probably about 8000 men.

Mr. Oman states that it was the 3 regiments on the left flank which behaved so badly and threw their comrades into disorder. These were the 2 regiments from La Romana's army, and a Toledo regiment which rode over Cuesta. He also mentions that the Maria Luisa regiment was in the centre of the line, and behaved well in preserving some of the right wing from the French.

<sup>2</sup> Arteché computes the casualties in this action at 2000, besides the same number of prisoners.

but the violence of the rain, thunderstorms, &c., prevented us. Cuesta writes from Campillo on the 30th. He was too sanguine as to collecting his *dispersos*. The cavalry were ordered to Llerena, he was to put his *cartel-general* in Berlanga, and he intended to form a semi-circle in order to collect the fugitives. Jovellanos has recommended some salutary and judicious measures to the Junta; his moderation and firmness at this juncture is very striking, and he may easily derive a greater degree of influence from it over his terrified colleagues than he acquired in their days of prosperity. He has advised great publicity towards the people, and publication of all the *postes* as they arrive.

Garay read a letter from Lisbon in which he is informed of the retaking of Chaves by the Portuguese general Silveira, who surprised a corps of French who had been left at Chaves;<sup>1</sup> they have killed 200 of them, and driven the rest into a castle where they cannot maintain themselves above three days.

*2nd April.*—Just as we were going to set off, I was taken ill rather in an alarming manner and obliged to go to bed.

Cuesta's last *poste* is written in a very desponding state. He is at Berlanga and means to proceed to Llerena, but is not sanguine at all as to the probability of collecting together as numerous a force as he had expected. The French entered Merida on 30th and

<sup>1</sup> Chaves had been taken by Soult early in May, after La Romana had moved away and left Silveira to his fate. The latter had collected the remnants of his army in the mountains, when the French advanced on Oporto, and on the very day that Soult defeated Eben at Braga Silveira reappeared at Chaves with 6000 men. Only one company of able-bodied Frenchmen had been left there, the remainder being either sick or unreliable legionaries. The commandant retired into the citadel, but surrendered after 5 days, when 1200 men fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

See Appendix B.

remained there on ye 31st. He still believes their object is Badajoz. All the assistance which can be given is sent from hence already.

Albuquerque arrived this evening from Cuesta's army. Mr. Jackson brought us an acct. from Alicant written by the Austrian Consul that Ld. Collingwood had issued orders that Russian vessels were not to be detained. Russian vessels in the Tagus preparing for sea.

3rd.—Cuesta's cavalry are almost all assembled at Llerena, but unfortunately his infantry come slowly. He is to retreat towards St. Ollala. The French advanced parties for foraging have been as far as Almen-dralejo. He still believes the French intend to attack Badajoz.

The accts. of Cartaojal's army are as bad as possible. He made a scandalous retreat before an inferior force. The Junta are so much displeased at this conduct that he is to be recalled immediately, and Cuesta is appointed Commander-in-Chief, with Albuquerque *ad interim* 2nd-in-command, until Venegas<sup>1</sup> can be found, who has been confined by illness at Valencia. The Junta have appointed the Archbishop of Mexico to be Viceroy of that country; Cisneros, who is already there, to be the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, and another marine officer who

<sup>1</sup> General Francisco Venegas, who as Infantado's second-in-command was actually in charge of the force defeated at Ucles. He may not have been entirely to blame in this action, as his commander left him unsupported in the face of a vastly superior force of the enemy. All authorities, however, agree in belittling his military skill, and in all probability the 'Army of the Center' was exchanging a better commander for a worse. Colonel Whittingham writes from Aldea del Rio on April 9: 'General Venegas has taken command of the army of Sierra Morena, and the Count of Orgaz that of the division on their march to join General Cuesta and which will pass through Seville. The D. of Albuquerque having no longer any command will return in a few days to Seville.' (*Holland House MSS.*)



has conducted himself well, to Caraccas. They had, at the formation of their Junta, desired the American provinces to elect deputies to represent them in the Junta.

*4th April.*—Cuesta still at Llerena with a very small number of infantry. He ascribes their dilatoriness to the swelling of the torrents, which must have prevented their joining. The enemy remain at Merida.

Cartaojal's magazines have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the want of forage has compelled him to place his cavalry at Ubeda.

*5th April.*—Cuesta has placed his head-quarters at Monasterio, and placed advanced guards at Fuente de Cantos and Santos. The French have been at Zafra. The French have evacuated Viso and Visillo in La Mancha. Vives writes that he keeps the French *escarmentado*<sup>1</sup> about Ciudad Rodrigo, that Romana is at Ponferrada, and Brigadier Wilson at Alcantara. Romana Ferras calls the *duende*; <sup>2</sup> he is here, there, and everywhere. The Portuguese have taken the castle in which the French had shut themselves up after the affair of Chaves. The *Gallegos* have summoned Vigo, and only given the French 24 hours to consider, which they must from the smallness of their numbers comply with.<sup>3</sup> A party of 400 cavalry have summoned Badajoz; the Governor made a spirited and vaunting reply.

*6th April.*—Cuesta mentions that the enemy has retreated from Almendralejo and gone in the direction of Lobon and Talavera. Cornel, the Minister of War, thinks the Governor of Badajoz is a man of firmness but totally without talents. From a note which Campo Sagrado

<sup>1</sup> Beaten troops.

<sup>2</sup> Will-o'-the-wisp.

<sup>3</sup> Vigo was blockaded by the Galicians soon after Soult's advance into Portugal. They were assisted by two English frigates, which arrived on March 23. Five days later the French surrendered, stipulating only that they should remain prisoners in British hands.

wrote to me this eve., it appears that the official return of the state of Cuesta's army is as follows : 2971 cavalry, 6702 infantry., besides 200 cavalry soldiers without horses.<sup>1</sup> He has also from 3 to 4,000 recruits, and at St. Ollala there are more. His *dispersos* are assembling, and many have reached Cordoba already.

*7th April.*—Before I set off, I went to take leave of Jovellanos, who is still confined by his boil. He seemed very much concerned at our going. Nothing had arrived from the armies; however he promised to let us hear regularly the bulletins from thence. We quitted Seville at 2 o'clock; I never felt more regret at leaving a place, the loss of society, and interesting information. It reminded me of the going out of the late Ministry, as to me the chief pleasure of their being in office was that I knew sooner and better what was going on.

*11th April.*—Entered Cadiz at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past four. Duff and Lobo called. Went to the play. Dss. of Hijar and Fernan Nuñez came to see me in my box.

*13th April, Cadiz.*—This place so insufferable that as we cannot go by Gibraltar, we have wisely determined upon returning to Seville for 10 days. Admiral Purvis called; very obliging, and promised assistance about frigates, &c. We *cannot* embark till after 7th May. Dined at the Dss. of Infantado's.

*15th April.*—Set off with great satisfaction from Cadiz. Slept at Pta. Santa Maria.

*16th, Pta. Santa Maria.*—Set off at 12, the weather not too hot, and going in a northerly direction made it very pleasant, as the sun was not so powerfully upon my head. News from armies continues good, as far as great force being collecting. Cuesta, with the army of

<sup>1</sup> These figures tally closely with those in a letter from D'Urban to Cradock, quoted by Mr. Oman, of date April 8.

the Carolina which is now passing through Seville, will have 26,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry.<sup>1</sup> Victor is entrenching himself at Medellin. After dinner called upon Mrs. Gordon; her daughter Mrs. Dos very pleasing. Complaints agst. Frere universal; Spaniards full as much as English. They want an Ambassador and a man of consideration and rank. Mr. Cranstoun said the complaints were so strong that application had already been made for his recall.

17th April, 1809, Xeres.—Set off from thence at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 11; met Mr. Gordon equipped in the *Andaluz* peasant dress, well-mounted, waiting to show his farm, which lies partly by the road-side, and is very extensive; he manages it under the direction of a Scotch bailiff. The weather was very cold. Spoke, at the Venta del Cuervo, to Major Evatt on his return from Seville to Gibraltar. The only news from Seville is that Urbina cannot be found; some think he has absconded to the enemy, others that the Govt. wish him to escape punishment, and have connived at his concealing himself in some convent. The popular feeling is very strong against him.

19th April, Seville.—Jovellanos and Ferras to dinner. Eve., Quintana, Capmany, Perico came; Wiseman,<sup>2</sup> Col. Whittingham. The latter accompanies the D. of Albuquerque, who is now here but on his way to join Cuesta with a reinforcement of 7000 infantry and near 3000 cavalry. Venegas has still from 15 to 16,000 effective infantry and 1500 cavalry. The French are entrenching themselves at Merida; they have been re-inforced by 6000 men from Salamanca, who on their way took possession of the bridge of Alcantara, in consequence of the Junta of Badajoz having withdrawn, when

<sup>1</sup> These figures nearly tally with Napier's account. Mr. Oman gives 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry as the correct estimate.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 58.

their town was threatened with a siege, their forces from thence.<sup>1</sup>

Pedro Giron very much improved; manly, military appearance, greatly esteemed in the army, and beloved by his officers and soldiers. The opinion of the best informed military men is against the translation of the war from La Mancha to Estremadura; in the latter the cavalry cannot be subsisted so well, and the present positions are unfavorable to their operations. Wiseman criticized Cuesta's mode of attack, the disposing the army in a long line without a corps of reserve, and his cavalry, with the exception only of 200, all on one wing. This was the case at Medellin and will ever be his tactics, as he is obstinate and determined upon persevering in his own plan. The steadiness of the infantry was astonishing, and even with the hottest fire playing upon them they continued advancing with greatest firmness and regularity. The loss of the Spaniards is estimated at 5000, that of the French at 3000.<sup>2</sup> All concur in believing that the result of a pitched battle will always be fatal to the Spaniards from the superior discipline and manœuvres of French, but that in skirmishes and guerrillas they will always succeed, both in infantry and cavalry. W. speaks handsomely of Venegas, tho' all Albuquerque's partisans are discontented at present with him. He throws the whole blame of the affair of Ucles on the D. of Infantado; that action was the most fatal to the Spaniards. They lost 9000 of their best infantry, including the greater part of veteran regts., which were

<sup>1</sup> This was Lapisse's division, which had been kept inactive near Salamanca by Wilson's small force for two months. They reached Merida on April 19. Alcántara was sacked and the inhabitants treated with the utmost cruelty.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Oman computes the Spanish losses to have been at the lowest 7500. There is great uncertainty about those of the French. Sémélé and Jourdan put them at 300, others at 4000 and 2000.

surrounded and entirely cut off. Venegas had frequently apprised Infantado of his danger and that he should inevitably be surrounded ; he even sent an aide-de-camp to head-quarters at Cuenca to expose his situation, but he neither received assistance nor a reply to his application. The enemy were three times his number when they attacked him.

All parties agree that nothing could be more scandalous than the flight of Cartaojal, who fled from an enemy but one-third equal to himself. All the letters from Cataluña and Aragon state the retreat of the French. Blake in his letter to Ferras corroborates this report, and adds that many corps of their army have passed through Irun.<sup>1</sup> Jaca, in Aragon, was sold to them by the treachery of the commanding officer.

*20th April, Seville.*—Intercepted correspondence has been brought in ; the letters of most interest are from King Joseph and Jourdan to the French commanders, especially to Sebastiani. Joseph declares it is not his intention that any operation against Seville should take place until Victor has communicated with Soult, and then the attack is to be a combined one from Estremadura and La Mancha.<sup>2</sup> A Visconde de Quintanilla,<sup>3</sup> who is just come from Lisbon, declares that the English army amounts to 25,000, a fact much to be doubted. Frere has an official account of 14,000 men, but no more.

An officer who had escaped from Aragon gave many instances of the cruelty of the French towards their prisoners. The garrison of Saragossa was marched to

<sup>1</sup> The result of the Austrian war.

<sup>2</sup> This was Napoleon's own plan of campaign. Soult was to capture Oporto, communicate with Victor when nearing Lisbon, join with him in Estremadura after capturing the Portuguese capital, and advance in combination against Seville.

<sup>3</sup> Deputy for Leon. His information as to the numbers of the British was quite correct.



Bayonne with a French column, the prisoners who halted and could not keep pace with them were shot ; he saw 140 lying dead on the road. This fact corroborated by Whittingham and Don Francisco.

It is in agitation amongst the members of the Junta to take some steps towards convoking the Cortes. A decree or manifesto sketched by Garay is to be drawn up by Quintana, and to be published immediately. This excellent measure is owing to our venerable friend Jovellanos, who has never ceased urging the necessity of the proceeding. However the period of the assembling of the Cortes will be remote, one year at least.

21st April.—Perico brought the D. of Albuquerque, whom I was glad to see. He is low in stature, his head is full one-fifth of his height, his long face does not afford a very intelligent countenance ; his eyes are remarkably small but rather lively, fair light hair. His manner denoted neither the silliness of character imputed to him by many, nor the great superiority of talent ascribed to him by others. He complained of Cartaojal not having given him the detachment he was ordered to supply, which if he had obtained, the battle of Medellin would have been a second Baylen.

The French have abandoned the bridge of Alcantara, and the Spaniards, Portuguese, and a few English under Sr. Robt. Wilson have taken possession of it. The Conde de Montijo,<sup>1</sup> who was arrested at Granada for an absurd tumult excited by himself to invest him with the authority of Capt.-General, is arrived here ; the

<sup>1</sup> D. Eugenio Eulalio Portocarrero y Palafox, VII Conde de Montijo, son of Don Felipe Antonio Palafox and Da. María Francisca de Sales Portocarrero y Zuniga, Condesa de Montijo in her own right. A turbulent, discontented reactionary, he was always at the head of any movement directed against the more sober members of the Junta. In this case, he was banished for the time being, first to Badajoz (not San Lucar, as is stated by Arceche),

whole affair was so foolish that it will not lead to any consequences.

22nd April.—The guerrillas of Cuesta have made a handsome prize, 14,000 merinos belonging to the Conde del Campo de Alonge, which were going with French passports to the north of Spain, also a number of brood mares.

23rd.—Dined at Jovellanos'. Party consisted of Garay, Campo Sagrado, Jovellanos' nephews. Garay very much delighted at the approbation bestowed upon him for the share, and it seems to have been a powerful one, in bringing about the measure in favor of the Cortes, his mind being well imbued with Jovellanos' opinions upon that subject. For Jovellanos, besides his declaration at Aranjuez, had very recently during his late illness delivered in again in writing his opinion. He had proposed a few nights ago without any previous concert in the Junta the convoking the Cortes. Campo Sagrado told me that he occupied himself with observing the effect produced upon the countenances of many present who had, under the influence of Florida Blanca, rejected the proposition for assembling Cortes when proposed at Aranjuez by Jovellanos,<sup>1</sup> and he observed great surprise, but no very decided opposition. Calvo who had rejected the scheme at Aranjuez, upon finding it likely to be carried, adopted the plan with eagerness and made a flaming speech, declaring that unless the measure was adopted by the Junta he would take minutes of the proceedings and lay before the public the salutary scheme which had been rejected by them. The most hostile to the project are Valdes, the Archbishop, and Riquelme, whom Jovellanos calls an *athlète* against it; there are also several others. Campo Sagrado described the meeting at Aranjuez upon the subject to have been very animated; a dispute arose between Jovellanos

<sup>1</sup> During the early sessions of the Supreme Junta.

and Florida Blanca, in which the former was about resigning, and would have done so but for the disasters of the campaign.

Calvo is a suspected character, always ready to fall into the current and with suff. dexterity to see in time which way it is likely to flow.

Jaca, in Aragon, which had been sold to the enemy by the treachery of its Governor, has been retaken by the inhabitants headed by the apothecary of the town. Fresh reports of the French withdrawing from Spain.

Sebastiani has written to Jovellanos and Saavedra with offers of accommodation, telling them the cause of the insurgents is lost, &c. I have copies of the letters.

25th.—Jovellanos, Garay, Quintana, Rodenas dined. Ferras, eve. Garay very lively and amusing; a quick, open, frank, clever man.

Reding so ill of the epidemical disease which rages in his army that his life is despaired of, and the command of the army is assumed by Coupigny. The manifesto and decree which is drawn up by Quintana is at present undergoing ye considerations of the section of the Junta. It is reckoned too long and rather full of poetry. Some ascribe the acquiescence on the part of the Junta to the fear of Cuesta.

26th.—Nothing fresh from either of the armies. French couriers are daily intercepted, and the valise containing the letters is brought here; 100 *doblonos* is the reward. The armed peasantry contrive to kill even the hussars who escort them. Victor has received reinforcements from La Mancha. The French are said to have collected a force of 18,000 men at Saragossa.

27th.—Ld. Hd. and Ld. John dined at the regimental mess of ye 40th regt. Ferras and Perico eve. Ferras gave a statement of the force at the armies. The French have evacuated Barcelona, taking with them all their plunder

and prisoners, leaving only a small garrison in the *Ciudadela*. It is said they have shaped their course towards France by the way of Vich. Coupigny has detached a corps under Wimpfen to annoy them on their march, and the *somatenes* are very active.<sup>1</sup>

28th.—Six valises have been brought to Govt. within 4 days. In Estremadura the peasantry are formed into regular bodies who harass the enemy and cut off their communications in every direction and intercept their correspondence. These lost letters are of use to Cuesta, by giving the military details of the positions of the force of artillery, &c., and their intended movements. A corps of 1400 men has been sent from Victor's army towards Caceres, and another detachment is gone to Madrid.

29th.—Jovellanos gave us the news of the arrival of Sr. Arthur Wellesley at Lisbon.<sup>2</sup> General Doyle who, *par parenthèse*, was never within hearing of a musket being fired off, gave some acct. of Saragossa. The *artillera*, the heroine whom Mr. Vaughan mentioned with so much praise,<sup>3</sup> was killed in the 2nd siege by a cannon ball, as were 3 other women who had been inspired by her courage and followed her example. Palafox was insulted by the French and cruelly treated; they removed the surgeon who attended him, and placed a Frenchman in his place. In his room there were several drawings done by the celebrated Goya, who had gone from Madrid on purpose to see the ruins of Saragossa; these drawings and one of the famous heroine above mentioned, also by Goya, the French officers cut and

<sup>1</sup> St. Cyr moved out to Vich on April 18, to save his store of provisions in Barcelona, and at the same time to cover the preparations which were going forward for the siege of Gerona.

<sup>2</sup> He arrived there on April 22, and a week later moved out and commenced his advance to meet Soult, who was then in the neighbourhood of Oporto.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 233.

destroyed with their sabres, at the moment too when Palafox was dying in his bed.

*30th April.*—News came to-day of the death of Reding at Tarragona, and also that Coupigny had been ill of the same contagious fever for 3 days. Also that General Vives has died at Ciudad Rodrigo of a pleurisy; only five days' illness. Considerable solicitude as to the nomination of a President; the election is to take place to-morrow. Jovellanos excluded himself in the paper upon the Cortes which he wrote at Aranjuez; he wishes to name a President out of their body, and would choose Saavedra. There is an apprehension that Valdes may be chosen, and he is reckoned to be the worst that could be named. Altamira is objected to from his excessive nullity.

*1st May.*—Altamira<sup>1</sup> has been chosen for the Presidency, and perhaps it was the most judicious choice, as they could not have Jovellanos, and by not choosing one out of their body neither could they have had Saavedra.

*2nd May, Seville.*—Cuesta mentions the arrival of wagons with 70 wounded at Victor's head-quarters, but has no guess from whence they came, unless they are the victims of the holy crusade, or that there has been an affair with Brigadier Wilson. It is said, but not from authority, that the bridge of Alcantara has again been evacuated. The Govt. are somewhat displeased and a little disconcerted at Frere's behaviour in urging fresh plans of military operations, considering that Miguel Alava<sup>2</sup> has only just been dispatched with full instructions from hence and from Cuesta to Lisbon, to concert with Genl. Wellesley for a combined plan of campaign. This conduct of his, and some expressions which he dropped

<sup>1</sup> Marqués de Astorga.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 148.



inadvertently, give reason to apprehend that Wellesley's orders from home are to consider the defence of Lisbon as the chief object of his expedition. Frere, without waiting to hear the result of Alava's communication with Wellesley, is pressing a project in which the D. of Albuquerque shall have an independent command in the Mancha, but the Junta very judiciously reject all such plans until they hear what are to be the movements of the English army. The Junta have complimented Cuesta with the nomination of a successor to General Vives, and it is supposed the Duque del Parque<sup>1</sup> will obtain the appointment.

The spirit of the Aragonese remains undaunted still. At Molina de Aragon after repulsing the French in several successive attacks, when they found an irresistible force coming against them, they resolved to abandon the town and withdrew with their families and portable effects into the mountains, and continued there until the French chose to evacuate the place.

At the Castillo de Albuquerque near Caceres, in Estremadura, the inhabitants upon being demanded to furnish rations for 2000 men, said they had no answer to make to such requisitions but from the mouths of their cannon.

The priests headed by a Bishop and several dignitaries of the Church have established a sort of crusade in Estremadura against the French. The initiated wear a cross upon their breasts, like those worn in the Holy Wars against the infidels, and the pious crusader is consecrated for engaging in such a sacred cause, and Heaven is promised and certain reward if he falls in the contest. It is wonderful the havoc these enthusiasts

<sup>1</sup> Duque del Parque-Castrillo (1755-1832): He served Joseph for a short time, but soon took service with his compatriots: He was in command of a division at Meza de Ibor and Medellin.

make amongst the enemy, and Victor has complained to Cuesta of this cruel and irregular mode of warfare. It well becomes a Frenchman to complain after what they have inflicted and are inflicting upon the poor priests, and indeed upon every class and denomination of the community in Spain.

Col. Whittingham confirms the report of the excellent state of Cuesta's army, and the exactness of Ferras' numbers—25,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry beyond Monasterio, and 3500 on this side under the command of Albuquerque. Provisions are abundant and there is no sickness, but the cavalry want forage.

3rd May.—No further decision was made in the Junta last night than to defer the discussion upon the subject of the Cortes to the 14th of this month, and then every *vocal*<sup>1</sup> of the Junta is to deliver in his opinion and vote in *writing* on the subject.

General Wellesley is marching on towards Oporto, and carries every soldier, Portuguese and English, he can gather. Alava writes in praise of his activity and frankness, but seems disappointed that no *positive* promise of assistance is made to support Cuesta.

Antillon<sup>2</sup> is a geographer, and has just published a statistical survey and description of Spain; he is clever and well-informed, it is said, upon *la physique*. He is an Aragonese, and was in Saragossa during the first siege, and near it latterly. He confirms the stories of the cruelties and murders committed by the French in violation of the terms of capitulation. He is remarkably unpleasant in his manners, and has filthy tricks which might prove he was akin to Belsham. The *Semanario*

<sup>1</sup> Voter.

<sup>2</sup> Don Isidoro Antillon (1777–1820), professor of history and geography at the Colegio de Nobles, and the author of various works on geography, astronomy, and history.

*politico (sic)* is going to be revived, and he in conjunction with Blanco <sup>1</sup> are to be the writers. Quintana told me that it was suspected that Frere was averse to the convoking of the Cortes, and that Garay this morning had been betrayed into some degree of warmth and refused him the paper which had been submitted to the sections, upon the pretext that it was not yet an official piece, not having been decreed by the Junta.

4th May.—Ferras told me that 14,000 French from Saragossa under Marshal Mortier were proceeding by the way of Burgos to Galicia to assist Ney and Soult. He also told us that the French had contrived to get into Barcelona a convoy of 30 transports, escorted by 5 sail of the line; the latter, owing to the shallowness of the water in the harbour, did not attempt to enter.<sup>2</sup> These vessels have probably brought stores and supplies for the garrison, and perhaps a few troops.

I told Frere that he was accused of being unfriendly to the Cortes; he admitted that he objected to their mode of proceeding, and certain it is this clamour for reform in England has revived all his old anti-Jacobin terrors.

5th May.—Cuesta in his *poste* of to-day expresses great ill-humour against the English, whose armies, he says, are never exposed. This opinion is given in consequence of the letter he received from Gen. Wellesley, who does not

<sup>1</sup> Don José María Blanco y Crespo, more commonly known as Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841), son of Don Guillermo White, an Irishman by birth and British Vice-Consul at Seville. Quintana had established the *Semanario patriótico* in Madrid in 1808, and when it was removed to Seville the editorship was offered to White and Antillon. Their free style of writing, however, frightened the Junta, who put a stop to the publication of the Journal. White soon after (1810) went to England, where he took up his abode, and later became editor of the *Español*, a periodical which lasted for four years, being published in England and circulated in Spain.

<sup>2</sup> These ships came from Toulon, under convoy of Admiral Cosmao.

seem to fulfil all the flattering expectations which had been raised by Don Miguel Alava's *first* report.

6th May.—The Queen of Sicily has returned to the Spaniards all the jewels which the Pss. of Asturias had given back to her family, and also 5000 muskets, 3000 of which are arrived already at Alicante.

7th May.—The *Madrid Gazette* at length announces the commencement of hostilities between Austria and France.

8th May.—The corps which was under Vives in the province of Salamanca has met with some successes. They have taken possession of Ledesma, and pushed on their forces into Avila. Coupigny sends two *postes* in which he mentions that the French were attacked near Vich and lost 1400 men, and that the garrison of Barcelona had made a sortie but had been repelled with some loss.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions Lord Collingwood having divided his fleet into two squadrons, one directed towards Toulon, and the other towards Gibraltar to watch the Straits.

Sr. Arthur Wellesley was at Coimbra on the 2nd, and expected to be joined by his whole force on 4th. Silveira has maintained himself at the *Puente* against a corps of Soult's army and effected a junction with 4000 of Beresford's army.<sup>2</sup> A strange story of an intercepted letter of Victor's to Frere. Jovellanos has received a long letter from Blake in which he states all the difficulties of his situation, and gives a plan of campaign which he thinks more advisable than that proposed by Reding, but which is incompatible with the orders he received from the Junta of clearing Cataluña; he presses the

<sup>1</sup> No movement of any importance can be traced about this time, but the French were continually being harassed by the bands of *somatenes* and *miqueletes* which took such a prominent part in the warfare of this north-east corner of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Silveira had gallantly kept 9000 French under Loison in check at the bridge of Amarante for a whole fortnight, but was driven back on May 3 and his force dispersed. He took refuge at Lamego, and was not joined by Beresford's flanking column until May 10. (*Oman.*)

necessity of making the seat of war in Aragon. The Junta have sent him a *carte blanche*, and he is Captain-General of Aragon and Commander-in-Chief of the 3 armies.

10th May, Seville.—Ld. Hd. received a letter from Adl. Purvis, apprising us of the arrival of the *Ocean* off Cadiz harbour, adding that he advised us to lose no time, as she was to proceed to England with dispatches. Accordingly we determined upon setting off to-morrow.

Ld. Hd. had a long letter from Sr. Robt. Wilson.<sup>1</sup> Lapisse's division got from Salamanca to Alcantara in consequence of the cowardice of the Portuguese, who fled when they were ordered to advance. The peasants defended the bridge of Alcantara five hours. He mentioned that from an intercepted letter of Kellermann's it appeared that Ney and Soult had quarrelled in consequence of the expedition of the latter to Oporto, which had been undertaken without the approbation of Ney, whose plan was first to subdue all Galicia.<sup>2</sup> Kellermann was stationed at Valladolid with cavalry to watch Romana and the Asturias, and keep down the spirit of the people at Leon who were ready to rise. We dined with Jovellanos, his nephews, Monasterio, Mde. Santa Colomba, Hermida's daughter, and her husband. Eve., Capmany, Quintana, Rodenas, Paiz, Ferras, Arriaza, Gallegos, Malo, &c., &c., and Frere to supper.

11th May.—Quitted Seville with extreme regret quarter before 11. A short time after reaching Utrera a most melancholy accident occurred; Joaquin, our coachman, whom we took at Coruña, was stabbed by one of our own *carreteros*, of the name of Martin, who drove our own cart and Portuguese *machos*.<sup>3</sup> The blow was aimed at

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Relations became very strained between Ney and Soult over this point, but the latter had Napoleon's instructions to push south, and he could but obey.

<sup>3</sup> Mules,



the heart, but fortunately only pierced the lungs; for near half an hour Mr. A. was very doubtful whether the blow was mortal or not. The poor fellow instantly demanded a confessor and the sacraments. After being administered his agitation of mind subsided greatly. The assassin was thrown into prison and the *Justicia*, personified in the *corregidor* and *escribano*<sup>1</sup> took the depositions of the wounded man and the witnesses; they stripped the assassin of all his property and secured his effects, which were carefully registered by the *escribano*. What his future lot may be is uncertain, owing to the extreme tardiness of the Spanish law proceedings.

12th May.—Set off at 4. Reached the Venta de San Antonio about the *oracion*, near eight. The people of the *venta* were under some alarm in consequence of a troop of horsemen who had been committing great depredations on the high road in the morning; the robbers were supposed to be lurking in a house under the ruins of an old tower about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league off. As the banditti in Andalusia often force the solitary *ventas* to admit them, our soldiers immediately secured the only two gates of entrance, and it was determined that we should remain the whole night in order not to encounter the danger of being attacked. I went to bed, and our party supped at a table just at the foot of my bed and opposite to a small grated window (without glass) which opened to the country. At about 10 o'clock, just as supper was coming in, I heard the sound of a horse, followed immediately by another. Jokingly I said to Charles, 'Hullo! here are the robbers!' Ld. Hd. jumped up immediately and ran to the window asking, 'Who goes there?' The answer was not calculated to set us at rest, 'Caballeros, no tengan cuidado, Señor.'<sup>2</sup> In an instant the soldiers and servants and muleteers

<sup>1</sup> Notary.

<sup>2</sup> 'Gentlemen. Don't be afraid, Sir.'

put themselves into a posture of defence, for 6 or 7 horsemen had arrived at the front gate, and were clamorous for admittance; fortunately no shots were fired, and when a parley was obtained it seemed that this was a party of 13 from *Espera* in search of the robbers, who had plundered a house there and committed various excesses. We were not without apprehension, even after they were admitted, that we had let in the rogues. However they proved to be what they really pretended. The alarm was very great and justifiable; every face was blanched from fear. The reason for their surrounding the *venta*, and posting themselves at the gates was from a supposition that the robbers might have quartered themselves there for the night, and unless so circumvented might effect their escape.

13th.—On our road we met a person belonging to the house of Gordon, who told us that a convoy of 70 vessels were come from Malta, and put under the *Ocean*, which was not to sail for some days. In eve. the *nuncio* and two other persons called upon us.

14th May, *Pta. Sta. Maria*.—I was resolved not to return to the villainous *fonda*, and with some difficulty we got by favor into a private house belonging to Mr. Vaughan (who is at Gibraltar) upon the Alameda, and was, I think, formerly occupied by Ly. Westmorland. The Sheridans<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Campbell called. The *Ocean* is very much out of repair, and tho' safe, would yet from its rolling and being so strained terrify me excessively, besides the passage would from the convoy be at least 6 weeks. Frere is recalled, and Lord Wellesley is named

<sup>1</sup> Tom Sheridan, R. B. Sheridan's only son (1775-1817), who died at the Cape of Good Hope while acting as Colonial Treasurer. He married, in 1805, Caroline Henrietta Callender, the novelist, and by her was father of the three noted beauties, Mrs. Norton, Lady Dufferin, and the Duchess of Somerset. He had been ill for some time, and was travelling abroad for his health.

to succeed him. Ld. Grey made a severe attack upon Frere for his letters to Moore. Ministers hardly made any defence for him.

15th May.—Dined alone. Mr. Campbell very obligingly has offered us his house, which is larger and cooler. We moved in the eve. Duff who had been over to ye *posta* with Sir John Cradock<sup>1</sup> (who is gone to Seville) brought us letters from Jovellanos and Ferras. There have been several skirmishes in the Mancha, all in favor of the Spaniards. In Estremadura the French are retiring towards Truxillo, and Cuesta's advanced guard is in Santos.<sup>2</sup> Venegas' have reached Infantes. Blake in a *posta muy reservada* tells the Junta that he has had an offer of being put into possession of one of the gates of Montjuich *moyennant* 10 millions of reals and a secure refuge in Spain.<sup>3</sup> He has acceded to the proposal, and it is approved, as the advantage is well worth the money. Jovellanos says the opinions delivered on the Cortes on the 14th were so long that the time was consumed in hearing them read.

Romana has dismissed the Provisional Junta of Oviedo by military force; he ordered grenadiers to lock

<sup>1</sup> Cradock was offered the appointment of Governor of Gibraltar when superseded in Portugal by Wellesley.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to a rumour that the head of a Portuguese column had reoccupied Alcántara, Victor moved against that place with Lapisse's division, and had little difficulty in reoccupying it, as the force was in reality a small one of 2000 men—part of the Lusitanian Legion, under Colonel Mayne. Victor did not remain, but withdrawing the main body of his troops to the neighbourhood of Caceres he rejoined them there.

<sup>3</sup> Blake had personally little or nothing to do with the conspiracy which was hatching in Barcelona for the purpose of ejecting the French. He was far away, engaged in the campaign which resulted so unsuccessfully for him in the battle of Alcañiz and Belchite. Doubtless, however, the reports of his lieutenant, Coupigny, would be forwarded by him to the Junta. The plot was frustrated by two Italian officers who were approached and feigned willingness to help, but who told all to Duhesme, the governor. The ringleaders were arrested before the appointed time, and the whole scheme miscarried.

the doors of the room in which they usually assembled, and prevent their meeting.<sup>1</sup> The precedent might prove fatal to the Central Junta itself, especially if Cuesta were younger.

18th May, Cadiz.—Ld. Hd. and John dined on board the *Atlas* with Adl. Purvis. Victor is retreating towards Alcantara, either with an intention of making an effort to assist Soult, or to meet with Mortier, whose division left Saragossa supposed with the project of getting into Castile. Cuesta is pursuing, but slowly, as he is afraid this movement of Victor's may be a stratagem to draw him into the plains; accordingly he keeps towards Badajoz.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the Junta are for calling the Cortes, and declaring to the public their intention.

19th May.—Conde de Fernan Nuñez dined. Jovellanos sends a bulletin daily of all events. He laments as a lover of the fine arts the loss of that magnificent work, a specimen of the taste of the age of Trajan, the bridge of Alcantara, which was destroyed by the Portuguese and English on the approach of Victor's army. As a military operation it was judicious, but one of the finest works of antiquity is thus demolished, and owes its destruction to those modern Vandals, the French.<sup>3</sup> When the French found the bridge blown up, they fell back, and are on their march to cross the Tagus higher up. Cuesta pursues slowly. Albuquerque was ordered for-

<sup>1</sup> The Junta of Oviedo had refused to furnish the necessary supplies for La Romana's army; hence his arbitrary action. From the report of an eye-witness, he marched 50 men into the Council Chamber and ordered them to clear the room.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup> The bridge was not demolished when Victor attacked Mayne on May 14, as the mine was not completely successful. The French were able to cross in sufficient numbers to drive back the defenders, and it was not until June 10 that Mayne, having reoccupied the position, finally destroyed the arches.

ward with his cavalry, and doubtless will harass the enemy greatly on their march.

Ballesteros made 700 French prisoners at San Vicente de la Barquera, and killed many in the action; they also were drowned in making their escape over the river.<sup>1</sup> For want of boats he could not follow them, otherwise he would immediately have got to Santander where the French have only 4500 men. It is supposed that he must be in possession of it by this time.

Romana was on the 9th at Oviedo. Jovellanos does not disapprove of his proceedings against that Junta, where I believe he acted in the capacity of delegate from the Supreme Junta. The Junta was thwarting Romana in all his regulations about the army, which by robbery and secret intrigue they would soon have destroyed. A report here that Blake is coming upon Cuenca to threaten Madrid. Also a story of Josef's having withdrawn to San Ildefonso.

20th.—By a letter from Mr. Hoppner<sup>2</sup> at Seville to Mr. Campbell, it appears that the French column 10,000 strong, who were marching upon Alcantara, fell back upon the news of the destruction of the bridge, and are now

<sup>1</sup> No mention is made by any authority of an action about this date. In fact Oman states that Ballesteros only left his lair in the mountains at Covadonga on May 24 in order to annoy Bonnet by his raid on Santander. This was entirely successful, and the numbers of French losses correspond closely with the fight above mentioned. The date given by the Spanish historians of the capture of Santander, however, is June 10. Ballesteros unfortunately for himself lingered in the town, was caught there two days later by Bonnet, and his army cut up and dispersed with a loss of 3000 prisoners. Can it be that rumour had forestalled the event by a whole month? There is an authentic parallel in the case of the battle of Bailen. It was reported in Galicia on June 24, and Wellesley touching at Coruña on *July 20 en route* for Portugal heard of the battle in Andalusia on the very day on which it took place.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Lascelles Hoppner, younger son of the painter, who was sent to Seville with dispatches and remained some time studying the pictures of Murillo. He was shortly after shut up in a lunatic asylum. (*Autobiography of Blanco White.*)



at Arroyo del Puerco. Another division is gone directly from Merida to Almaraz. Cuesta's head-quarters are at Fuente Maestre, nor does it appear that any part of his army has crossed the Guadiana.

Quintana writes, not in great spirits, that the Cortes will meet in the course of next year, and sooner if circumstances permit. The analysis of the opinions delivered on 14th are not yet made out. Plans of reform and internal govert. are in the meantime to be prepared for the Cortes when they meet.

21st *May*.—Great rejoicing at Seville in consequence of the news from Portugal.<sup>1</sup> There was a great function at the theatre, a salvo from Purvis's ship, and patriotic songs. An official announcement of the taking of Santander, which Jovellanos is afraid is premature.

French to the number of 4 or 500 are shut up and fortified in a convent at Merida, and they are in momentary expectation at Seville of hearing of their surrender, as Zayas has already summoned them.<sup>2</sup>

Cabezas, the deputy from Asturias, who was recommended to Ld. Hd. by Jovellanos, gives a sad acct. of Romana's qualities as a general, tho' praises his gallantry as a soldier. It is to be regretted that the Central Junta have not recalled him, as he does infinite mischief, having contrived to disorganize the army, disperse and reduce it to a small force, nor allowed them whilst he was with it to fire off a musket; he is so disliked in Galicia that he probably will never venture himself there. His army is at Lugo under a good officer of the name of Mendizabal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wellesley's successes at Oporto, and Beresford's at Amarante. See Appendix D.

<sup>2</sup> The French—two battalions of Germans, had no difficulty in holding their own, and the Spaniards speedily retreated upon an alarm being raised of superior forces moving against them.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is incorrect in most of its particulars, but has been retained in the text as an example of the jealousies of the time and the false statements which are apt to obscure the truth.

22nd May, Cadiz.—Lobo, who was so greatly dissatisfied with the Junta, is now quite won over by his being named to the command of a frigate and sent in it on a mission to Constantinople; his violent patriotism has subsided, and instead of finding him quite furious at the delays about the Cortes, he soberly observes that too much time and reflection cannot precede such an important measure as the convoking them.

23rd May.—The accts. from Seville do not fulfil all we had expected. Zayas, instead of seizing the French whom he had summoned in Merida, is at Lobon, where he intends to pass the river with his cavalry; he can retreat upon Badajoz if the enemy should attack him with superior forces. Jovellanos says, '*Lo que nos da alguno cuidado es la division de Bassecourt, cuya direccion era á Truxillo, y desde este se ignora. Pero Cuesta no teme.*'<sup>1</sup>

Alava is returned from Portugal; he praises both Cuesta and the English army, especially the cavalry of the latter. A *contrabandista*<sup>2</sup> and his gang have taken the French general Lasalle and a Col. Artan, killed all their escort, and stripped and robbed them entirely.<sup>3</sup>

Sir John Cradock, Ld. Ebrington, and Col. Reynell called; he is just returned from Seville whither he made an excursion. He was not pleased with Frere, who was as usual negligent, did not present him to the Junta, and with difficulty to the President. He has all the appearance of a broken-hearted, wounded man; I admire his not being able to dissemble his feelings.

<sup>1</sup> 'That the division of Bassecourt gave us some alarm; it had gone in the direction of Trujillo, and its whereabouts afterwards was unknown. But Cuesta was not afraid.'

<sup>2</sup> Smuggler.

<sup>3</sup> This story must be a Spanish fabrication. General Lasalle was present at Medellin on March 28, and was recalled a few days later to take charge of a division in Germany. De Cléry in his *Memoirs* mentions that Roederer met him at Burgos on April 28, and from a dispatch it appears that he was at Ebersdorf on May 19.

He said he had resigned the appointment given to him of Governor of Gibraltar. He confirmed the acct. of the discontent and insubordination which is said to exist in the army of Soult. The English forces he rates much lower than we had hoped, in all only 20,000, cavalry included. General Mackenzie is with a force at Abrantes, and some troops are left in Lisbon; then Sr. Arthur Wellesley has not above 16 or 17,000 men with him. Beresford and Silveira between 7 and 8,000. The quarrel between Ney and Soult has been most destructive to the operations and the French arms in that quarter.

Ld. Hd. received his letters from Seville. In the eve., Jovellanos, Ferras, and Capmany. *The French have returned to Merida.* The *poste* from Cuesta had not arrived. Venegas is still at Sta. Elena, and the enemy in their former positions. No *poste* from Blake, from whence they infer that he is in motion. It is at length finally settled that the Cortes are to meet in the course of next year and sooner even, if circumstances shall admit, and this is to be announced immediately to the country by a short and simple decree. Admiral Berkeley has sent gun-boats to Abrantes.

24<sup>th</sup> May.—Sr. John Cradock sent to Ld. Hd. Ld. Castlereagh's dispatch and private letter, and his answer relating to his removal from Portugal and appointment to Gibraltar.<sup>1</sup> Ld. Castlereagh's letter is written in a

<sup>1</sup> 'May 24, 1809. Allow me to ask your perusal of the enclosed, as the question may arise why I am sent to Gibraltar, leaving the army I lately commanded in Portugal before the enemy. I cannot blame Ministers for any act that either give the appearance or reality of more success, but perhaps it was not fair to me for five months to leave us to our fate in Portugal with no other instruction than "to maintain our situation until compelled to evacuate." While distress, danger, and disgrace were our lot the command was consigned to me; when all is changed it was given to another. Lord Castlereagh's letter to me is a private one.' (Sir J. Cradock to Lord Holland.)

most disgusting manner, full of the jargon of the H. of Commons, and he labours throughout to give a very false impression. By way of consoling Cradock he tells him that the eyes of Europe will be diverted towards Gibraltar, as the struggle will be there and he may acquire as much of glory as the commander did in 1782 and more than at the head of an army. A thorough false, tricking letter. Cradock with feeling and spirit declines the inactive station of Gibraltar. It was a cruel mortification that he should be withdrawn at the very moment he was, for he had commenced active operations and was actually on his march towards Soult. He told Ld. Hd. very confidentially that on the 22nd April a colonel in the French service passed from the French quarters at Aveiro to Col. Trant and applied to him for a passport to return to France.<sup>1</sup> Upon being questioned whether he was a deserter, he replied that he could hardly be called one, as he withdrew with the knowledge of almost all his brother officers; for, with the exception of Soult himself and three other officers, all were heartily tired of the war and ready to embark in any measures for the restoration of peace upon the Continent, and were even inclined to compel Napoleon to comply with this measure. He added that this feeling was pretty general in the army, but the Imperial Guards alone were so firmly attached to Napoleon, that no assistance was to be expected from

<sup>1</sup> The officer was Captain Argenton, adjutant of a Dragoon regiment. He was conducted to Lisbon by Major Douglas, an English officer in the Portuguese service, and Beresford, and had an interview with Wellesley who had just arrived. He was sent back to Oporto, but saw Wellesley again near Coimbra on May 6. He was betrayed to Soult, however, on his second return to the French camp, and was thrown into prison. The plot therefore entirely miscarried, as Soult acting on his information, arrested the ringleaders. Argenton in his examination mentioned Wellesley's presence and the movements of the British force, and thus ruined Wellesley's hopes of surprising the French. Nothing was done to the conspirators, and Argenton himself escaped to England.

them. This Col. advised C. to collect every soldier in the country and press forward upon Soult, whom if they could surround and offer a capitulation of a safe retreat into France for his army, he was certain the offer would be accepted, and the troops once returned to France would there manifest the disposition he knew they had to act against Napoleon. C. sent this off to Ministers, and when Sir A. Wellesley arrived he communicated this information, upon which, however, he did not implicitly rely. Wellesley naturally enough felt averse to any sound that resembled that of Convention, and judged it best to compel Soult to see England than to permit him to return to France. Upwards of one half of Soult's army is composed of foreigners; Ld. Hd. suspected that the name of this colonel was Melzi.

Jovellanos writes from the Junta, where Campo Sagrado was reading Cuesta's *poste*. Zayas was opposite to Merida, preparing to ford the river, and recommence his attack upon the old convent. Henestrosa is at Almendralejo and Torremegia with the cavalry. Bassecourt is at Campanario and Medellin. The French are at Truxillo, Alcuescar, Merida, Arroyo del Puerco, and Brozas. General Mackenzie with 16,000 men and cavalry.<sup>1</sup> (Sr. John C. says he may have 10,000, and that he has two regts. of English cavalry.)

Soult is hemmed in by Wellesley; his army can only escape by dispersion. Sickness both in Soult and Victor's army to a very great extent.

25th May.—A messenger who left Madrid on the 10th May told Fernan Nuñez that he had witnessed an *alboroto*<sup>2</sup> on the 6th, in consequence of the condemnation of four criminals, who were to be executed in the Plaza de la

<sup>1</sup> General Mackenzie was detached by Wellesley with about 12,000 men to hold Abrantes, and resist any advance of Victor's troops in the direction of Lisbon.

<sup>2</sup> Disturbance.



Cebada. A pardon was granted at the foot of the gallows to one, because he was a Corsican and countryman of Josef's; the others were Spaniards. The people were incensed at the distinction and were riotous. No blood was spilt.

Nothing fresh from Cuesta; he assured Alava that he should keep his word to Wellesley, that he would not engage with Victor until the destruction of Soult's army was completed. Zayas had fallen back on the approach of a superior force. Vessel arrived from Lisbon, which it had left on 21st; no accts. of fresh successes. Mr. Jackson writes to me from Seville, that Soult had retired towards the Miño, and that Wellesley was in full pursuit of him.

Napoleon released the Prince of Castelfranco<sup>1</sup> from his prison and allowed him to choose his retreat. He selected Vienna, and sent to Madrid for his wife to join and accompany him thither; however upon the news of the Austrian war, Castelfranco was thrown again into prison, and the Princess arrested at Bordeaux.

26th May.—The Madrid *Gazette* of the 6th claims a victory over the Austrians between Landshut and Ratisbon on 21st *ulto*.<sup>2</sup> . . . This acct. is most likely to be a good deal exaggerated, yet the rejoicings at Boulogne and elsewhere confirm the report of a victory.

Cuesta and Victor continue nearly in the same positions. The French have not re-entered Merida. Zayas is preparing to ford the river to renew his attack on the old convent. Albuquerque is at Zafra. The French have placed 1000 horse at Miajadas to keep their communications from being cut off with Truxillo.

<sup>1</sup> D. Pablo Sangro y de Merode (1740-1815), Spanish general, and Ambassador in Vienna until 1808. His wife was Dowager-Duchess of Berwick.

<sup>2</sup> The battle of Ecmuhl, on April 22.

Campo Sagrado in his bulletin mentions an intercepted letter from Victor to Soult, which states that on 29th April (day letter was written) his infantry consisted of 20,741, cavalry 4762, besides artillery. He apprised him of his plan, which was to penetrate by Almaden del Azogue. In consequence of this intention Bassecourt with the 5th division has been ordered from Campanario to Monterubbio. Victor's plan most probably was to make a junction with Sebastiani. It is said that Joseph has quitted Madrid and joined the army in the Mancha.

Perez de Castro sent off an extraordinary to Seville from Lisbon, giving an acct. of the surrender of Soult and his army.<sup>1</sup> There is no official acct. from Oporto, but the details in the private letters are so circumstantial and bear such marks of truth, that Castro is satisfied with the fact. A small bark came in to-day from the Bayona Islands. An English frigate told her on ye 18th that Soult and his army had reached Barcellos, and that Sr. A. Wellesley was following closely. A vessel from Malta brings an acct. of a splendid victory fought near Venice between the Austrians and French, in which the former were successful. The news came from Trieste on 20th. The story is too dramatic. The catastrophe is brought about by the Archduke John, who wounds the Vice-King Eugenio, and then after three days hard fighting and reverses the Austrians are finally victorious.<sup>2</sup> This news is published in an extraordinary *Gazette* at Gibraltar, but it seems to want confirmation.

<sup>1</sup> This was of course incorrect. Soult was able after many hardships to draw off the remains of his army into Galicia.

<sup>2</sup> The Archduke John inflicted a signal defeat on Eugène Beauharnais on April 16 at Sacile, near Pordenone. The French commander, however, does not appear to have received any wound. The successes in Italy were more than counterbalanced by Napoleon's rapid advance to Vienna.

29th.—Alas! all the glorious news which had been so positively asserted for some days was quite overthrown by the accts. from Seville. Jovellanos says the news from Portugal is not so successful in the result as they had been taught to expect. Soult with  $\frac{3}{4}$  of his army has escaped into the mts. of Orense; he sacrificed the remainder of his army, his baggage, artillery, &c. Wellesley was going to fulfil his promise to Cuesta,<sup>1</sup> and was to cross the Mondego on ye 25th or 26th. Mortier appeared at Salamanca and threatened Ledesma; he has fallen back no one knows whither, but it is conjectured that he will attempt to form a junction either with Victor or Sebastiani. Cuesta has applied for Mackenzie with his corps to come from Alcantara to prevent Victor's *salida* <sup>2</sup> into Castile. (Sr. John Cradock says this request will not be complied with, as the English army has positive instructions not to operate in detached corps.) Victor was making some movements towards Almaraz.

Romana, foolish fellow, instead of collecting and reinforcing his army with the troops he might draw from the Asturias, was on the 12th of this month at Oviedo, squabbling and disputing with the Civil Govern't. In La Sierra Morena there has been an action *muy bonito* with the guerrillas. Blake has taken Alcañiz, and the whole plan and conduct of affairs was judicious and brilliant.<sup>3</sup> There is to be an extraordinary *Gazette* upon

<sup>1</sup> To move his troops to assist him, as soon as Soult had been dealt with.

<sup>2</sup> Sally.

<sup>3</sup> In Aragon, owing to successes achieved by the Spanish irregulars at Monzon and Pomar, affairs began to look well for the Spaniards. One of Grandjean's brigades under Laval was forced by Blake to evacuate Alcañiz on May 18. His army at that time amounted to about 10,000 men. Suchet at this juncture took up the command of the French troops in Aragon, and at once marched with 8000 men to attack Blake. The battle took place near Alcañiz on May 23, and resulted in a defeat of the French, who lost at least 700 men and retreated in complete disorder.

this success. Mr. Jackson sent me an abstract of Sr. A. Wellesley's letter to Frere, dated Oporto, 22nd. He followed Soult beyond Braga to Salamonde. He came up with their rearguard and took 600 prisoners under the command of Loison. On the 27th he and his army were to be at Coimbra. He refers Frere to Mr. Villiers's letters for details, but these letters have not yet arrived. About  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the French army has escaped, without cannon, ammunition, or baggage.

No news in the Seville letters from the armies. Jovelanos begins to be afraid that Cuesta, who has rigorously kept his word not to attack whilst Wellesley was going on to Oporto, will consider his promise as sufficiently fulfilled and begin attacking immediately. The day of San Fernando probably will excite him to some attempt of the sort.

*30th May, the day of San Fernando.*—Intelligence from Blake, the defeat of a body of French who had marched from Barbastro to punish Monzon, followed by the evacuation of Barbastro. This last was sent to me by Don Francisco, and is contained in a letter from his uncle, dated Lerida, 22nd. It seems that 1300 French had crossed the Cinca in order to punish Monzon, were not only foiled in that object, but prevented from returning by the swelling of the river, in consequence of which 600 of them were made prisoners, and the rest including the Commander, a Great-Cross of the Legion of Honor, killed or drowned.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of these disasters, those who remained at Barbastro evacuated that city on the night of ye 29th. In several towns of Aragon the French have had public rejoicings for the taking of Seville. They

<sup>1</sup> Habert was the French general in command. He seems to have been one of the few who escaped capture. His attempt to recapture Monzon from the insurgents, who had driven out the French, took place on May 16.

are said to have abandoned their intention of besieging Gerona.

Jovellanos is discontented at the choice of the Commissioners for the Cortes ; the five are Jovellanos, Caro, Castanedo, the Archbishop of Laodicea, and Riquelme.<sup>1</sup>

31st May.—Jovellanos writes shortly, as he had spent the whole of the San Fernando in ceremony tho' the day was melancholy, for certainly without having any great love for Ferdinand there is something very dismal in passing a day in his honor in festivity, whilst he, poor fellow, is cut off from all intercourse with his countrymen and confined in a foreign country. I do not believe, however, that these were Jovellanos's feelings when he said the day was not *de alegria* ;<sup>2</sup> he was probably more annoyed at the election of the Commission of five. He says Cuesta writes that he has *certain* intelligence that Mortier is returning into France with his division ; in his army nothing new has occurred, nor in that of the Sierra Morena. Ld. Hd. has a letter from Quintana and Blanco very full of complaints and dissatisfaction at the decree for the convocation of the Cortes, which they call barren, cold, and formal. They are even unreasonable in grumbling at Jovellanos, to whom they ascribe very much of this delay, but in which they accuse him *à tort*. Sr. John Cradock, &c., sailed in the *Surveillante* for Gibraltar. Ld. Ebrington and T. Sheridan rode over to Gibraltar, leaving his good little wife. My rheumatism very troublesome.

<sup>1</sup> By a proclamation issued by the Central Junta on May 22, the Cortes was to be called together 'early the following year or earlier if circumstances permit.' The method of procedure was to be left to five members. Arteché places a different construction on the respective attitudes of the commissioners from that stated by Lady Holland on p. 347. He remarks that Riquelme and Caro were opposed in their views to the other three members.

<sup>2</sup> Festive.



2nd June.—Letters from Jovellanos, Ferras, and Quintana, containing an acct. of a very brilliant affair of Blake's with the French near Alcañiz on the 23rd May. Ferras enclosed Maldonado's relation of the battle, which as he was present, is interesting. The French, commanded by Suchet, who had succeeded Junot, attacked him four times and were vigorously repulsed. At one moment, owing to the great superiority of the French in cavalry, the Spanish line was thrown into so much disorder that Maldonado and Burriel seeing the danger to which the general was exposed, advised him to save himself 'que no habia remedio, aun hay remedio dixo'; and with a company of infantry only he encouraged and sustained the artillery, and the rest followed his example and saved the day. The French lost one piece of cannon, 500 killed, 100 prisoners; they abandoned their positions and retired towards Saragossa.

The siege of Gerona is begun, but the garrison are full of spirits and confident of success, and have made several successful sallies.<sup>1</sup> A slight advantage under Grimarest in ye Sierra Morena. When Cuesta's *poste* came away, Zayas and Bassecourt were engaged with the enemy. Cuesta believed that the French were preparing to cross the Tagus at Almaraz. Romana was in the Asturias on the 15th with 7000 troops, ill equipped and provided. He has 6000 men in Vigo, and the remainder of his army near Lugo. He has written to Wellesley that if he destroys Soult, he will demolish Ney, but if they form a junction Galicia and the Asturias will be lost.

Most melancholy details in the Madrid *Gazettes*; the bulletins of the French army in Bavaria from the 24th to 27th April. On 19th and 23rd actions between French

<sup>1</sup> The siege of Gerona in Catalonia was actually commenced on May 24 by Verdier. The place, which was commanded by Alvarez de Castro, held out till Dec. 10.

and Austrians which finally terminated in the total expulsion of the latter from Bavaria, with loss of 30,000 prisoners, 100 cannon, baggages, ammunition, &c.<sup>1</sup> The Archduke Charles had fallen back to Bohemia, the French had passed the Irun, and Napoleon promised his army to be in Vienna in a month.

*3rd June.*—The French from their movements appear disposed to retreat upon Almaraz. They have already abandoned Miajadas. Jovellanos says the Commission of five was chosen by secret votes. His was the first name that came out. He admits that Riquelme and the Archbishop were chosen by the enemies of the Cortes, but he is satisfied that he can defeat their intentions by devoting himself entirely to the trust committed to him, and supported as the cause of liberty is by the public opinion, he feels confident of triumphing over any opposition that may be made to him by others of the Commission. King Joseph has been at Toledo, where he did not meet with a single *viva* from the people; he returned to Aranjuez.

*4th June.*—A vessel from Gijon in five days brings the bad news of the French having penetrated into ye Asturias, and reached the neighbourhood of Gijon on ye 19th, which place was preparing to defend itself; <sup>2</sup> many women and children and old persons had escaped on board some English transports and other vessels on the coast, and that

<sup>1</sup> The campaign of Abensberg, Echmuhl, and Ratisbon. Napoleon had only left Paris twelve days before the Austrians were driven from Bavaria.

<sup>2</sup> This was one section of the concentric advance planned by the French, in order to envelope and destroy the scattered Spanish forces in Galicia and the Asturias, by the simultaneous advance of three columns moving from different bases. The attack on Oviedo and Gijon, undertaken by Ney, was completely successful. La Romana was taken by surprise, retreated hurriedly to the coast, and embarked without his troops. Oviedo was occupied by the French on May 19, and Gijon on May 20.

Romana had embarked his army in order to convey it to Ribadeo in Galicia, so as to get into the rear of the French. This vessel says that the French army is Ney's, who has evacuated Ferrol and took the Asturias in his way to France for the sake of plunder, but this is mere report. A splendid illumination at the theatre in honor of George III, and a representation of the escape of Romana and his army from the Isle of Fünen. A dull performance.

5th June, Cadiz.—Ferras says the *encomienda*, a military *comandancia* at Peso Real in Valencia, which the Junta have given to Blake, is worth 60,000 reals. He complains of Caro at Valencia, who does not support Blake with supplies and cavalry,<sup>1</sup> and adds that the family will ruin Spain, for Romana has fled from the enemy in the plains. Jovellanos knew of the French having possession of the principal Juntas in the Asturias; he laments over Gijon, and adds that their former Junta would not have abandoned them as Romana has done!

There are official accts. of the French having been driven from Santiago on the 23rd by Don Martin de la Carrera after a severe defeat, and of a battle near Lugo on the 19th, in which they were defeated with great loss by Don Nicolas Mahy, and compelled to shut themselves up in that town.<sup>2</sup> There are official communications

<sup>1</sup> Oman (vol. ii. 414) combats a somewhat similar suggestion made by Napier. The reinforcements supplied from Valencia seem adequate, and compare favourably with those sent by other provinces.

<sup>2</sup> General Mahy had escaped westward from the advance of Ney's column, and being unpursued set himself to attack the isolated French garrisons left in Galicia. He attacked General Fournier at Lugo with 6000 men, drove him into the town, which he was about to attempt to assault when Soult's unexpected arrival from Orense with the discomfited remains of his Portuguese army drove him to take refuge in the mountains. At the same time Martin la Carrera with a small body of regulars from Puebla de Sanabria joined the insurgents who had attacked Tuy and Vigo, and advanced against Santiago. The French commander

from the respective generals and conveyed by English cruisers to Lisbon to Perez de Castro, who forwards them to the Junta. There is a subsequent acct. of the surrender of Lugo on ye 24th, but it rests entirely on the testimony of a Portuguese officer, who added that Mazarredo was in Lugo. Mahy's letter of the 20th mentions the departure of Ney with all his scattered parties from Old Castile towards the Asturias, which he meant to plunder on his way to France, whither he was going, and that he had already reached Cangas de Tineo. He adds that he could not besiege Lugo for want of battering cannon, and meant to take a position near Mondoñedo to watch the motions of Marshal Ney.

A letter from Zafra of 31st from Col. Whittingham, which mentioned that Victor was concentrating his forces at Torremocha.

Jovellanos enclosed a bulletin from Campo Sagrado. Cuesta has a *terciano*,<sup>1</sup> which is not yet become malignant: O'Donoju<sup>2</sup> writes for him. Two English colonels from Wellesley's army had reached his head-quarters in order to concert a plan of operations. The English army was to leave Coimbra on 1st June, but from the badness of the roads and the want of shoes it would not arrive till the 15th or 16th. The amount will then be 20,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 6 brigades of artillery.<sup>3</sup>

June 7, *Chiclana*.—Jovellanos sends an extract from the *Moniteur*, 11th May, which announces the appointment of Ld. Holland to the embassy of Vienna;

Maucune met them outside the town, but was defeated with the loss of 600 men, and driven to Coruña, where he was joined in all haste by Ney and his victorious force from Oviedo.

<sup>1</sup> Tercian fever.

<sup>2</sup> Cuesta's chief of the staff.

<sup>3</sup> The whole total of English troops which entered Spain was about 22,000 (*Oman*). The leading brigades did not enter Spain till July 3.

it adds that his *Seigneurie* must lose no time in getting there, as he may find another sovereign than the one he is sent to. Jovellanos is annoyed at the delay of Wellesley, and is full of suspicion and discontent, and complains that he has exacted a promise of forbearance from Cuesta. Ferras says there are no further details from Blake, about whom he feels the greatest anxiety; he probably has advanced to Caspe. Reinforcements of cavalry and infantry are sent off already from Valencia. Nothing from Cuesta.

8th.—Hot day. Arriaza, Iglesias, Caceres, and Don Arturo Gordon called Monday. Eat an early dinner, and went in eve. to Cadiz. Crossed the bark which is very ill contrived. The toll of the bark is due to the Duke, and but for Solano, who sacrificed the convenience of the public to favor Medina Sidonia's interests, who as *Señor* of Chiclana has the profits of the ferry, the public might have had an excellent stone bridge; the whole scheme was propounded, but for the above reason was dropped. Duff told us that the profits to Villafranca upon the tunny fishery at Conil last year were 90,000 duros, but as the market was over-stocked they do not mean to get as many fish this year. In Catalonia the tunny fish had a great consumption, but that market at present is closed to them. Cuesta continued so ill that he had not been able to see the English colonels sent by Gen. Wellesley. Eguia has the supreme command at present. The French are concentrating at Merida. Some say they are waiting for pontoons from Madrid to cross the Tagus.

9th.—By Jackson's expression of *they say* that Wellesley is to be at Badajoz, it seems as if he doubted the truth of the report. Cuesta is impatient to advance. The Lisbon *Gazette* reports that Soult's army was pursued to Allariz near Orense. By a letter from the



Duque del Parque of 30th, Ciudad Rodrigo, it seems that the French are in force at Salamanca, Avila, Valladolid, having abandoned Ledesma from the increased force of the Spaniards in that quarter.

Madame de Hajar has just heard that Napoleon, who had given permission to Castelfranco to choose any place for his residence out of Spain, has again ordered him to be arrested, and he is to be confined as a prisoner at Gaeta because he had chosen Vienna for his retreat. His wife, the Dow. Dss. of Berwick, [who] had obtained permission to join him, is detained at Bordeaux *gardée à vue*. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is already in his prison at Finistral in Piémont. The French entered Vienna on 12th May.

10th.—Infantado called; he wants to speak with Ld. Hd. confidentially. Ld. Wellesley is to come out in the *Donegal*,<sup>1</sup> and brings Cevallos.<sup>2</sup>

12th June.—*Poste* of last night this morning. No news from armies. The official returns, Mr. Jackson writes to me, were from Cuesta as follows: 28,000 infantry, 7000 cavalry well mounted, besides artillery and unequipped troops. Venegas has 19,000 foot and cavalry altogether. The English cols. who are with Cuesta are Bourke<sup>3</sup> and Cadogan.<sup>4</sup>

Albuquerque left Zafra on the 9th to proceed to Villanueva de la Serena and Don Benito, in order to reinforce Bassecourt, who was at Medellin threatened with an attack from Miajadas. Zayas was preparing to renew his attack on that eternal convent in Merida.

<sup>1</sup> He arrived off Cadiz on July 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cevallos had been sent to England by the Junta as their agent.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Bourke (1777-1855), assistant quartermaster-general to the British army in Portugal, and afterwards Governor of New South Wales. He was made K.C.B. in 1835.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Cadogan (1780-1813), aide-de-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley. He was killed at Vitoria. ]

Bassecourt advanced first; had a skirmish with the French on the 8th half a league beyond Medellin.<sup>1</sup>

Very severe *solano* or *levante* wind which affects everybody; I have suffered greatly from a fluxion in my head and cheek. Mr. North, Lt. Lewisham, Mr. Fazakerley dined; I was too ill from pain and went to bed.

14th.—No company on acct. of my illness. Cuesta writes that the enemy were preparing to come upon Merida or Medellin,<sup>2</sup> which compelled him to divide his forces between these two points. He has made the first division march to support Bassecourt at Villanueva de la Serena, and has given the command to Eguia, remaining himself with the rest near Merida. On the 11th he had a letter from Sir A. Wellesley apprising him of a French division having returned upon Alcantara, where the Portuguese commander had *cortado el puente*. The French had got a letter of Cuesta's to an officer at Alcantara, which fortunately contained nothing but instructions not to destroy the bridge until the last extremity. Some English have reached Portalegre. Wellesley has assured Cuesta that he will co-operate with him, and march if expedient north *los Pirineos*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jackson to Lord Holland: 'June 12, Seville. On the 8th the 2nd regiment of Hussars of Estremadura (alias of Maria Luisa) belonging to Bassecourt's division and advanced half a league beyond Medellin, was vigorously attacked by 80 horse, who came within musket's shot supported by a body of 400. Their Colonel Ribas attacked the first who offered themselves with the greatest intrepidity, and Bassecourt says he saw them entirely turned, so that no one wd. have escaped, had not the principal body charged ours and obliged Ribas to retire, which he did in such order that they dared not venture to pursue him. We lost only 3 killed and one wounded; the enemy 40 of the first and 70 of the latter.' Albuquerque had 1400 men with him.

<sup>2</sup> The news of Soult's retreat had just reached the French, and the retirement behind the Tagus was only commenced on this date, June 14. It was more due, however, to the lack of provisions south of that river than to any fear of the British advance.

Romana<sup>1</sup> was at Orense on the 4th between the Miño and the Sil acting on the defensive, whilst Soult had reached Lugo in the most deplorable condition with his army. Ney had returned from the Asturias. Mortier had dispatched 6000 men to Leon.<sup>2</sup>

16th.—Arriaza at dinner. Col. Doyle gave us an acct. of Ward, whom he had left at Gibraltar more out of humour and discontented than ever. He has made an enemy and furnished matter for a joke wherever he has been. Doyle has received an exact acct. of the Valencia forces which left Valencia to join Blake on the 2nd June—7000 infantry and 800 cavalry; of the latter he says there is one regt. equal in excellence to any in the Spanish service. Also an admirable officer whom Blake is determined, whenever an opportunity may offer, of raising to the rank of *Mariscal-de-Campo*: Valcarcel is his name. The letter from Jovelanos which ought to have arrived last night came this morning. He is not ill. It gives an acct. of the evacuation of Merida by the French; the 300 in the convent were escorted out under the cover of 2000 cavalry, and have withdrawn to Alcuéscar. Zayas occupies Merida, and Henestrosa has orders to advance with his infantry to Almendralejo, and his cavalry to Calamonte.

Romana writes his disgusting proceedings from Orense, where he is on the defensive with 9633 men. Soult has formed his junction with Ney, who has evacuated

<sup>1</sup> After his escape by sea from Oviedo, La Romana landed at Ribadeo and joined Mahy. Seeing, however, that the Spanish troops were thus confined in a corner, he decided to move to Orense, and slipped past Soult, who had plenty to do at Lugo with reorganising his battered force and quarrelling about future movements with Ney.

<sup>2</sup> To join Kellermann. He was not long allowed the use of them, for Mortier sent for the division back in a hurry to assist in repelling the expected advance of Wellesley towards Salamanca.

the Asturias.<sup>1</sup> Campo Sagrado, in his bulletin, mentions that the French had entered that principality in two corps, one under Kellerman by Paxares, the other 6000 under Ney by Ibias. A curate! acted as guide to the latter corps, which proceeded so secretly and rapidly that it had reached Salas and Cornellana before its entrance into the Asturias was known at Gijon. Campo Sagrado is highly incensed against Romana, whom he thinks highly deserving of punishment, and wishes much to have it inflicted; for according to his own statements there were 6000 good troops under Ballesteros and 5000 under Worster, but he gives no explanation or justification of his conduct in first suppressing the Junta, and then in neglecting and abandoning the defence of the province.

17th.—A packet from England came this morning with papers and letters to the 6th June. Very dismal accts. from Austria which have depressed us all, as when that country is subdued Spain must be over-run by legions of fresh invaders flushed with victory and conquest, and what can she do against such physical superiority?

G. Lamb<sup>2</sup> is married to Caroline St. Jules. D. of D. behaves very kindly. They are to live in a house of their

<sup>1</sup> La Romana had taken the sensible resolve never to engage the enemy in force if he could avoid it. How much better would it have been had other Spanish generals done likewise! From a letter, however, in the Record Office (June 9), quoted by Mr. Oman, he appears in this case to have intended to fall on Ney's flank, but was deterred from doing so by the presence of Soult at Monforte.

Soult and Ney had decided, after much squabbling at Lugo, to undertake the reduction of Galicia, and arranged a plan of campaign accordingly, which the former appears to have had no intention of carrying out. He in fact took the first opportunity of marching away to Leon, leaving Ney to undertake a task which was quite beyond his power with the force at his command.

These movements of the French refer to the earlier sweeping movements mentioned on p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Honble. George Lamb (1784-1834), fourth son of Peniston, first Viscount Melbourne. He was a lawyer, but employed his time more in literature and politics than in his own profession,

own, as he wisely intends to pursue his profession. Ly. Isabella Fitzgerald<sup>1</sup> is married to Chabot, the son of Jarnac, a bad marriage, which Ly. L. Conolly with her usual good-nature is endeavouring to reconcile the family to. Tierney and Sr. Francis Burdett had some sharp words together in the H. of Commons,<sup>2</sup> but the latter made a submission, else Tierney's *towering* passion would have ended in a duel between them.

General Wellesley writes on 13th of June from Abrantes and promises a junction in a few days with Cuesta ; and entreats in the meantime that no action may be hazarded. There are symptoms of retreat in Victor's army, and some of his troops have passed the Tagus. The English still want shoes. Jovellanos has very kindly released Capmany from the drudgery of the *Gazette*, and employed him in enquiries and researches about the Cortes.

18th June, Cadiz.—Went off early in day to Pto. Sta. Maria, partly with the intention of changing the air, and partly with a view perhaps of proceeding again to Lisbon by the way of Seville, for there is no chance of sailing from Cadiz. Admirals Purvis and Berkeley have quarrelled, and ships do not go from their respective stations ; and Ld. Wellesley's arrival grows doubtful and even his returned ships may not take us or may not go back to England.

19th, Puerto Santa Maria.—I had letters from Rodenas and Ferras, Ld. Hd. one from Jovellanos. The army of La Carolina is resuming its old positions. Victor returning across the Tagus, and Cuesta in pursuit of his rearguard. The Conde de Noroña had an action with the French at Puente de Sampayo immediately on his arrival

<sup>1</sup> Lady Isabella Charlotte Fitzgerald, fourth daughter of William Robert, second Duke of Leinster. She married Major-General Louis Guillaume de Rohan Chabot, Viscomte de Chabot, and died in 1868.

<sup>2</sup> On Curwen's Reform Bill, May 26.



in Galicia, in which he repulsed them four times and finally gained the victory.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards at Seville are very much dissatisfied with Sir A. Wellesley, whom they accuse of not advancing and of not allowing Cuesta to advance. He first complained of want of shoes, and now he grounds his delay upon want of money. He was still at Abrantes. Sebastiani has moved to Consuegra.

Ferras accounts for the smallness of Blake's army at Alcañiz because he had left a strong garrison at Tortosa; he thought by this time his numbers would be doubled. On the 7th his head-quarters were still at Samper. Strange to say the English King has refused to accept of the 4000 merinos, which at Frere's instigation the Junta had offered him. Poor creatures, they have already sailed. B. Frere is to remain as secty. to the embassy with Lord Wellesley. Ly. Wellesley does not for the moment come out.

20th.—The accts. from Jovellanos and Jackson from Seville are too excellent almost to admit of belief; if true in the smallest degree, Spain may yet be saved. An *extraordinary Gazette* from Tarragona has arrived giving a minute and circumstantial account of a great *defeat* sustained by the French commanded by *Napoleon!* in person on the Danube on the 22nd and 23rd of May.<sup>2</sup> It is said that this is corroborated by private letters from Paris, and by a bulletin in which they admit their loss to amount to 3000 men.

Victor is bona-fide retreating, and Cuesta is in full

<sup>1</sup> It was the reduction of this force of insurgents and regulars in the south of Galicia which was occupying Ney when he heard of Soult's departure from the provinces. Alone he was unable to make any impression on these Spaniards safely ensconced behind the Oitaben, and he finally retired to Lugo. The Conde de Noroña had been given command of the force which had done so well at Vigo and Santiago; 2500 men only were regular troops.

<sup>2</sup> The battle of Aspern, where Napoleon was repulsed and driven back to the island of Lobau.

pursuit ; the last accts. from Cuesta were dated Miajadas ; Eguia at Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, and actions had taken place between the S. light troops and 5000 French stationed at Ruena and La Coimbre [?]. Some random accts. of the English army. Venegas has advanced to Manzanares, and recovered the positions so scandalously abandoned by Urbina. The road being *libre* from Seville to Badajoz, we have resolved not to loiter on this coast, but to proceed to Lisbon and there get a passage home.

23<sup>rd</sup> June, Xeres.—Letters from Jovellanos and Ferras, by which it appears that the French have abandoned Truxillo, leaving magazines of corn and flour behind them. Cuesta is at that city, his advanced guard at Jaraicejo. There have been skirmishes with the French rearguard, but of no importance. Nothing of the English. Blake still at Belchite on the 12th. Head-quarters of Venegas at Valdepeñas. Jovellanos is alarmed at the probable junction of Victor and Sebastiani. 12th bulletin of French army acknowledges losses, but no very accurate official particulars have yet been received.

Mr. Gordon is very well pleased with the advantages which the Junta have accorded to Xeres, viz. the establishment of an *aduana*,<sup>1</sup> which shall render them independent of Cadiz ; of the trade direct with America ; and permission to make a canal from Guadalquiver through its territory to the Bay of Cadiz, which when completed will enable them to have a dock above Puerto Real to ship their goods without being exposed to delay from the bar of Sta. Maria, which is oftentimes impassable for several days together. Cadiz will suffer if the scheme is ever realised.

24<sup>th</sup> June.—At Seville we found the city gates blocked up by batteries, and great precautions of course were necessary to wind our way through the embrasures, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Custom house.

Took up our abode in the Dueñas; <sup>1</sup> our rooms are insufferably hot, the house is filled, Mde. Castelflorido, her husband, and the Marqués Ariza. Jovellanos, Ferras, &c., in eve.

25th June, Seville.—Jovellanos, Ferras. Sad news of Blake's defeat on 18th at Belchite after repulse from Saragossa.<sup>2</sup>

27th.—Blake's *poste* very affecting; seems to have been cruelly betrayed and abandoned by the Valencians. An intrigue of the Grandees suspected.

On the 26th there was a very interesting discussion in the Junta upon the business of the Cortes, whether the representation should be of the whole nation, or from the three classes the *bravo militar*, *clerigo*, *pueblo*; the leaning was in favor of the latter. Several members entered with their vote a protest of reservation, to object in case they thought the proportion of deputies from those classes too great.

Poor Blake has written a touching letter to the Junta, which I have not yet prevailed upon myself to read, for the calamity has truly affected me. He gives no details. The Section of War took the deposition of the courier, who declares that the action only lasted one hour, beginning at 6 and ending at 7; that the dispersion was complete, and that the general and his staff were

<sup>1</sup> The Marquesa de Ariza's house.

<sup>2</sup> Blake after collecting his reinforcements advanced from Alcañiz on Zaragoza, but was attacked at María by Suchet, who profited by the faulty dispositions of the Spanish commander, and drove him from the field. Blake retreated in good order to Belchite, where he again drew up his forces to oppose the enemy on the following day. As far as can be ascertained an accidental explosion of Spanish powder-wagons was the primary cause of the disgraceful *saute qui peut* which followed. The Spanish army, already shaken by the events of the previous day, thought they had been treacherously attacked in the rear and fled in the utmost confusion. Their actual loss was not great, but the army simply scattered all over the country, and it was months before it was reformed.

left *entirely* alone. The Valencian reinforcements had reached him in part, for O'Donoju, the col. of the regt. of Olivenza was killed.<sup>1</sup> From various circumstances it seems evident that he was sacrificed and betrayed scandalously by a party of officers in his own army. Caro,<sup>2</sup> the brother of Romana, who is the popular head of the rabble of Valencia, excited underhand a tumult in the city to prevent his going with the succour ordered for Blake. Lazan is suspected of conniving at the treachery, and to be one of the intriguing Grandees who intend to endeavour to overturn the Govt. He has evaded the orders of the Junta who recalled him lately. The plot is deep, if the conjectures are well founded. Lazan wanted the Capt.-Generalship of Aragon; Caro has long been trying to be confirmed as such in Valencia; Villafranca by intrigue obtained that of Murcia; and Montijo has struggled for that of Granada, which, however, in the attempt to gain, he has entirely lost, and got himself arrested and confined to Badajoz.

Bauza<sup>3</sup> with great dexterity has contrived to make his escape from Madrid with his family and all his most valuable papers, and to conceal the rest so that the French can have no access to them—his materials for a map of the province of Spain bordering on the Pyrenees, Malespina's voyage, the drawings and various materials for S. America, &c. Laborde,<sup>4</sup> who had been employed upon the *Voyage Pittoresque d'Espagne*, persecuted him. The French

<sup>1</sup> Arteché quoting Toreno says that Colonel Juan O'Donojú was taken prisoner.

<sup>2</sup> General José Caro, La Romana's youngest brother, Governor of Valencia. He had in the province and with the local Junta immense influence, which was always employed to oppose the authority of the Central Junta at Seville and to thwart their actions.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Alexandre Louis Joseph, Comte de Laborde (1773-1842), who accompanied Lucien Bonaparte on his mission to Spain as aide-de-camp, and remained there to obtain materials for his work, which was published in 1808.

officers are very corrupt and money will procure any testimony. For five guineas he got a certificate from a mulatto colonel to declare he was 60 years of age. He describes the people of Madrid and of every place which he passed through as equally hostile to the French as this. He says, what they all do, that the French have no power over any part of Spain but just where their armies are in possession.

Cuesta has received his famous pontoons from Badajoz; but they have sent him only 18 boats, whereas 22 is the complement, consequently he undergoes great difficulty and delay in passing his troops.<sup>1</sup> The enemy seem to have evacuated their positions on the opposite shore of the river, so he has no obstacle to encounter in crossing the river but the embarrassments which arise from want of boats. From a letter just received by Quintana from Venegas' army it seems that Sebastiani has been greatly reinforced; if from Victor's army the news is good, but if from Aragon or elsewhere it is alarming.<sup>2</sup> King Pepe has taken the command; probably he did not like to trust himself in Madrid, stripped of troops, alone amongst his faithful vassals. Venegas, in consequence of this information is falling back upon Despeña Perros.

I spoke to Campo Sagrado upon this sad disaster which has befallen Blake, adding how much it was to be wished that he might receive every consolation which could be afforded him from the Govt. He spoke with the utmost

<sup>1</sup> Cuesta had advanced to Almaraz, when Victor withdrew his troops north of the Tagus to Talavera. He repaired the pontoon bridge there, which had been destroyed by the French. Victor had intended to hold the line of the Tagus, but sheer want of provisions drove him to retire behind the Alberche.

<sup>2</sup> The reinforcements did consist of troops lent by Sebastiani to Victor, and of part of Joseph's own force at Madrid. Venegas had to beat a hurried retreat, and was not caught, though his rash advance merited such a fate. Joseph pursued him as far south as El Moral.



feeling, and said the charge of writing had been entrusted to him by the Junta, and that his friends might be satisfied that everything should be done to mitigate his anguish of mind and prove that he still retained their confidence. I hinted that in order to acquit him to the public, the blame ought to be thrown where it was deserved, for to conceal the treachery of those who had betrayed him was in fact sharing it in part. Veri,<sup>1</sup> who was by, joined most heartily in this; Campo Sagrado acquiesced equally warmly, but it was evident that he was not allowed to act upon that subject as he wished. Veri gave me a copy of poor Blake's *poste*; it is very affecting, and evidently written under a feeling of the utmost despondency. He declined all future command even if the Junta would entrust any to a man of such a *mala estrella*; he will serve his country as a mere soldier, declines the *encomienda*, and only requests a moderate pension for his family merely for their maintenance. He gives no details of the action, but from the ambiguity of some of the expressions he glances at treachery in those about him.

The D. of Infantado has determined upon publishing an acct. of his whole conduct. His opinion agst. the abdication of Ferdinand is very strong, and would have cleared him from many aspersions had he been judicious enough to have made it public at the time, instead of entrusting it to Cevallos, who to make his own case more *saliente*,<sup>2</sup> concealed Infantado's. The D. of Albuquerque in a pet has thrown up his command, which, considering that he is in face of the enemy, is scandalous. He is discontented with Cuesta, and angry with the Junta for not giving him a separate supreme

<sup>1</sup> Don Tomas de Veri, member of the Central Junta for the Balearic Isles.

<sup>2</sup> Remarkable.

command. Jovellanos is displeased with Frere, who never ceases to urge the Junta to make him C.-in-Chief. This is a part of the grand plot of the Grandees. Ld. Hd. dined with Infantado. Before we set off Jovellanos and Infantado were with us.

*30th June, Fuente de Cantos.*—We are lodged here in the house of the Conde de Casa Chaves, a member of the Junta of Badajoz. The females of this family, as did the others of the town, fled into the Sierra whilst the French were in the neighbourhood. It does not appear that any French reached this place. A small party went to Zafra, but on finding the inhabitants were disposed to make resistance, they withdrew. The *Condesa* of this house is a relation of Venegas; she seems a mild, well-behaved person. Her husband is very unpleasant, and treats her with the utmost harshness; she submits to the lowest household drudgery whilst he takes his siesta and with his Order at his button struts like a person of importance.

*1st July.*—Our host and many persons of substance are proprietors of the *merinos*. The Marquis of Enseñares from Zafra came over in consequence of hearing that we were likely to go there; by some strange jumble they conceived Ld. Hd. was a great purchaser of wool, and they set off their stock of that commodity for the best advantage. 1500 French came to this place (Los Santos). They only remained two hours in consequence of the approach of Echevarria's advanced guards. They committed great ravages at Almendralejo. At Merida they have sacked the town, only one house is untouched; they pretend to say they only destroy where the proprietors fly, and that at Caceres where the inhabitants remained they left everything uninjured.

*2nd July.*—Left Los Santos at 3 o'clock. Saw on

left the town and old tower and walls of Feria ; very picturesquely situated. A party of French went up to the town and demanded rations, but the people retired to the old tower and worked an old cannon, which played so briskly that they forced them to retire. Reached Sta. Marta about 7 o'clock. The French to the number of 500 were quartered here for 22 days, beginning from 21st April. The women and young men fled, and many houses were quite deserted. The French cut down the olives for their encampment, and took off the doors and windows from the houses for their tents, which when they withdrew they burnt. The young men who left the village joined with other peasants, and kept up a constant skirmishing with the advanced posts of the French. Our curate's house was not destroyed, his mother and another woman remained ; she lodged two colonels, one who said he was a near relation of Napoleon's. One of them on going away expressed his satisfaction at the reception he had met with and the uniform attention he had received ; and to prove his gratitude he begged to leave a certificate of approbation, desiring it might be shown to any friend who might afterwards come to her house. The poor woman readily accepted of his offer, and accordingly received from him the following certificate, which is literally copied in orthography, &c. :—

' Malheureux Espagnols, votre ignorance et votre fanatisme font tout votre malheur. Si vous étiez plus alacres vous series peutêtre plus justes, moin *ferosse* plus *sivilisées*, et par consequent plus heureux et plus estimables.'

Till Mr. Allen translated the meaning of the words, the people were fully persuaded they possessed a high compliment in their favour.

3rd July, Sta. Marta.—We only lay down for a few hours and proceeded on our journey early. The *alcalde*

told us that in consequence of the great alarm and fright produced by the arrival of the French at Sta. Marta, much sickness had ensued, hemorrhages, and the death of most of the young sucking children whose mothers had fled in great trepidation on foot amongst the mountains. At Los Santos Ld. Hd. received a letter from the person who is to lodge us at Badajoz, to know exactly at what hour we should arrive, in order to receive him in a manner suitable to his rank. This is terribly disagreeable, and entails great *ennui* for me. At Sta. Marta the Junta of Badajoz sent us out a guard of honor on horseback to escort us. Saw to the left Nogales, where a body of peasantry amounting to 5 or 6,000 repulsed the French who went to demand rations. Upon the road before Albuera we met Proudman, the messenger, who was on his way from Sr. A. Wellesley to Seville with dispatches. Wellesley left Abrantes on 26th, and was to leave Castello Branco yesterday, 2nd July, and according to his report was to march 10 days onwards. About a league from Badajoz, two members deputed from ye Junta came in a coach and six, escorted by a troop of Dragoons, to meet Ld. Hd. They got out in the middle of the high road, and made him a set speech, which when concluded they invited us to go into the coach, an honor I of course declined, but Ld. Hd. was resigned to his fate and went with them. A vast crowd was assembled in and about the town to greet our arrival, and we got out of the carriage amidst innumerable *vivas* at the house of the late Conde de Torre Fresno, which had been prepared for our reception. In the eve. we had a *refresco*, and all classes and descriptions of persons came: the Capt.-General d'Arcé, the *Inquisidor* Riesgo, whom we knew at Valladolid and who is the president of this Junta. Fire-works and music on a stage erected opposite to our windows, on which the portrait of

Ferdinand VII was exhibited occasionally amidst the applauses.

4th July, Badajoz.—I had a severe cold which served as a pretext to keep me away from the clamorous festivities which Ld. Hd. was compelled to undergo; there was a dinner consisting of 30 persons, and noisy toasts full of patriotism and compliments. John was better, and we dined in my room together. Late in eve. I went in the saloon, and was pestered with civilities, fireworks, drums, &c. All these honors were owing to our friend Garay, who, from a mistaken notion of doing what was civil, overpowered us by all these troublesome attentions.

I hear that the Junta of Badajoz are dissatisfied with the Central Junta, and in order to see their downfall are very eager for the Cortes. Ld. Hd. obtained promises to see the Conde de Montijo, who is strictly confined under a strong guard on acct. of the accusations agt. him by the Junta of Granada for having excited a tumult in that town.<sup>1</sup> He is a clever man, quick, eloquent, and designing, and has got himself many partizans even at Badajoz for he represents himself as an object of persecution, and indeed the Junta have been inconsiderate in sending him to the center of his own country to a hostile Junta. The Capt.-General, d'Arce, told me of some atrocities of the French; one committed most cruelly *par gaieté de cœur*. At Brozas they dressed an old man of seventy in women's clothes, and compelled him to dance till he dropped; then stabbed him with their bayonets, and afterwards burned his body. This Junta intends to make a collection of all such horrors which can be authenticated, and publish them. They have also established a Commission to look into the abuses committed during the residence of the French in the towns which

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 321.



they have now abandoned, for it seems that many worthless inhabitants purchased the goods and valuable effects of his more unfortunate neighbour.

*5th July.*—We left Badajoz at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 6. I was terrified at one of the honours destined for us, a *salve* from the balconies (?); accordingly I set off at full gallop. Ld. Hd. was obliged to the last to hear their civilities, and came in the carriage with the two deputies who were appointed to receive Ld. Hd. as far as the river Cayo, the limit of the kingdom. We got to Elvas at 8, and lodged in the house of Mr. Fletcher.

*6th July, Elvas.*—Left Elvas at 6. . . . The Governor of Badajoz forwarded by a postillion a letter from Don Francisco, who mentions having heard from Blake and Maldonado. The discomfiture of the former seems to be still a mystery. In the former actions his troops appeared full of confidence and enthusiasm, and the enemy expected to make their way out of Aragon, when in an instant, without even discharging their pieces and only two rounds from the enemy, Blake was deserted by his whole army, and whether this desertion was owing to treachery or to panic is still unknown. He is gone to Tarragona with Maldonado, and has left Lazan at Tortosa, and Roca at Morella to collect the fugitives. Cuesta's advanced posts had reached within a league of Talavera, but on finding the enemy in force, and understanding that King Joseph was advancing from La Mancha to Toledo at the head of a considerable reinforcement, he meant to send back the main body of his army to recross the Tagus on ye 29th, securing the bridges, and leaving his advanced guard on the other side of the river, and there to wait for the arrival of the English.

*8th July, Evora.*—We were most kindly received and lodged by the Archbishop in his palace, which is very

large, and contains some handsome, lofty, well-furnished rooms. The Archbishop<sup>1</sup> is a very remarkable man for his learning and piety. He is 86 years of age; he was originally a Franciscan friar, but from his great learning and excellent qualities was selected by Pombal as the fittest person to be the preceptor of the elder brother of the P. Regent,<sup>2</sup> a young man about whom the greatest hopes were entertained, but who unfortunately (it is said) for the glory and welfare of Portugal, was cut off in his prime at 25. He is a venerable figure, but so old, that he reminded me of the body of John II which is preserved in the coffin at Batalha.

Evora was one of the towns which in consequence of the resistance made in Spain against the French, followed that example, and in July 1808 rose and formed a sort of Junta.<sup>3</sup> Junot, in order to intimidate and prevent the spirit of resistance from spreading, detached Gen. Loison with a strong force of 10,000 troops upon the pretext of marching to relieve Dupont in Andalusia from Lisbon, but in fact to chastise and suppress these provincial Govts. Loison was lodged in this palace, and on first seeing the Archb. he spoke very roughly, and told him three times over that his life was forfeited for having issued a decree agst. the D. of Abrantes (Junot); however he became calmer, and gave *his word of honor* to the Archbishop that his palace should be respected and nothing plundered in the general sack which was to be made of the town. However, notwithstanding this sacred promise, he himself accompanied by some officers and soldiers forced open a private door, and broke into a

<sup>1</sup> D. Fray Manuel de Cenáculo Villas Boas.

<sup>2</sup> Dom José, eldest son of Queen María I. He married his aunt Da. María Benedictina, and died in 1786. His next brother, Dom João, was appointed Regent after his mother had finally lost her senses in 1799.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 256.

cabinet of medals and antiquities, &c., and plundered the collection of all the gold and silver medals, of which he had a very valuable series, leaving the copper and bronze untouched. Not satisfied with this, he rifled the drawers and coffers in which were deposited some trinkets and golden crucifixes, &c. These of course were taken, but the wood-work torn and cast away; heaps of MSS. were destroyed, and the shreds and remains are now left in a heap as a curious vestige of the rage and mischief of the French. A priest, the Grand Vicaire, assured Ld. Hd. that Loison *himself* stole from a table whilst the Archbishop was sleeping his episcopal ring, and saw him (Loison) put it into his pocket. There was regular battle between the Portuguese and some Spaniards who had come to their assistance and the French without the walls of the town, and Loison then gave it up to massacre and pillage. 800 of the inhabitants were killed, 57 secular priests, and 10 monks.

After dinner we went to the library, which is built by the Archbishop, and the collection, which is valuable and extensive, is made entirely by him; he probably designs to annex it as a bequest to the Archbishopric. Beside the collection of medals and coins of which the French plundered him, and of rare manuscripts which they destroyed, he has some very pretty fragments of ancient statues, which were found in digging both here and at Beja (he was formerly Bishop of Beja), also some curious inscriptions, &c.

9th July.—We dined at an early hour with the Archbishop; he had appeared much affected at the sight of the portrait of his pupil, and I was anxious, without absolutely asking, to know some particulars respecting the character and death of that Prince. Accordingly we found him very willing to dwell upon the subject, and also about the character of Pombal. To that minister he owed his

appoint. of preceptor to the young prince, and his see of Beja. He spoke highly of his talents as a statesman, and of the charms of his conversation as a gentleman or man of the world. On the accession of the present Queen, the Archbishop was dismissed from his employment about the Prince, and Pombal was disgraced,<sup>1</sup> but the Prince continued to correspond regularly with him. He praises highly his talents, disposition, and acquirements; is satisfied that had he lived this country would have been in a very diff. situation. He was married to his aunt, a person of very extraordinary abilities; she is now living and has accompanied the Royal family to the *Brésils*. The Archbishop represents the present Princess of *Brésil*,<sup>2</sup> the daughter of Maria Luisa, as a woman of very wonderful knowledge and learning.

In one of the saloons of the palace there are some curious old pictures representing the birth and life of Christ; they are the works of a Greek painter, who is said to have been brought into Portugal by Isabella, an Aragonese Princess, when she came to marry King Diniz nearly 600 years ago. The drawing and composition is very good; the present Archbishop has had them cleaned and refreshed, but great care was taken not to destroy the original design in any way.<sup>3</sup>

*Sctubal, 12th July.*—Capt. Smith gave us some disgusting instances of the bad govert. of the Regency, who disgrace themselves by as much bribery and connivance at peculation as any of the old Governts. He also told us that the cause of Gen. Wellesley's delay was his suspicion

<sup>1</sup> Maria I and her husband Pedro III were entirely governed by her mother Da. Marianna Vittoria, widow of King José, who hated the Minister Pombal, and obtained his dismissal from office.

<sup>2</sup> Da. Carlotta Joaquina, eldest daughter of Charles IV of Spain and Queen Maria Luisa. She was born in 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Several pictures are said to be by Gran Vasco. They were preserved from destruction by the Archbishop.

of the Portuguese Govt., and that he did not like to advance leaving them behind him without an English force at Lisbon; accordingly a camp to a considerable amount is now collected in that city.

13th July.—Reached Belem, where we found Mr. Villiers' carriage waiting, and from thence we went to his house and dined with Ld. John Fitzroy.

From Jovellanos, 8th July. Romana is recalled, but has permission to name his successor!<sup>1</sup> What feebleness in ye Govt! Jovellanos and — very much discontented with their colleagues in regard to the Asturias, and other things. Jovellanos thinks for the sake of *decoro* and his own feelings he shall ask leave to go to the baths. No progress about the affair of the Cortes. Great efforts are making to collect an army for Blake. An army of rescue is forming between Xenil and Guadalquiver, and that in consequence of the number of public papers, addresses, etc., the *Gazette* is in future to be published twice a week. Wellesley and Beresford have quarrelled about the patronage of the Portugese army. Major Berkeley writes to his father, the Admiral, that the difference is very striking in their comforts since they have entered Spain, [better] than when they were supplied by their own commissariat in Portugal; they have wine and excellent bread and all supplies in abundance, and yet they are

<sup>1</sup> La Romana was recalled from Galicia by the Junta under the pretext of his appointment to a vacant deputyship from Valencia. He was succeeded by the Duque del Parque.

Captain Parker to Lord Holland: 'Ferrol, Aug. 18, 1809. We had the Marquis of Romana nearly a month at Coruña and found him remarkably pleasant. I have enclosed the drawing of a monument which he has in the handsomest manner caused to be erected over the remains of Sir John Moore, which had been removed to a more appropriate place of interment, and deposited with military honours. The Marquis marched about a fortnight ago towards Villa Franca, where he will, I believe, leave the army and proceed to Seville, having I understand, been recalled by the Central Junta, as he meditated an attack on St. Andero with a division of the army.'



marching through the *worst* part of the worst and most uncultivated province of Spain.

17th.—We are to sail in the *Lively*, commanded by Capt. McKinley.

19th.—Our accommodation was excellent, and what was equally important, Capt. McKinley was one of the most obliging and kind-hearted men I ever met with.

On the 10th of August got into St. Helens and landed in a most boisterous gale and high sea at Portsmouth. Remained the whole day, set off the following, and slept at —, and on 12th reached Holland House.

*Nov 1809*

*The second voyage to Spain  
not successful. The cause of  
this is the change of the wind  
to the West.*

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

(See p. 225, etc.)

### LORD PAGET TO LORD HOLLAND

No. 1

*Private*

Astorga, Nov. 24th, 1808.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am very sorry to be obliged to assure you that I think there is no chance whatever of your being enabled to remain in Spain. It is but too true that Blake's army has been beaten and totally dispersed. He is said to be at Leon without troops, where Romana also was yesterday. Letters have been written by their desire to Sr. D. Baird to state the fact pretty much as it is, and to engage him to provide for his own safety. The French have had their cavalry dancing all over the country. They have been at Valladolid with 1200 of them and two pieces of artillery, and are said to have had the same number at Mayorga. They have withdrawn them from the latter place and had, on the 22nd, concentrated 14,000 men at Rio Seco. Sr. J. M. is no doubt by this time on his march to Ciudad Rodrigo, as in his last letter written, I think, on the 21st, he states his intention of retiring from Salamanca the moment that the French move from Valladolid, and that they have already done this, I have no doubt. He considered then all hope of junction as nearly at an end, and directed Sir D. B. to retire for embarkation.

In consequence the army has begun its retreat to the position of Villafranca. The Light Brigade of Infantry stay

here as a rearguard, and I also shall remain. The cavalry will continue to move forwards.

We are, alas! in the most critical and the most melancholy of all situations. I do not mean in respect to the danger in the act of retreating. I have no apprehension on that head. But it is most melancholy to be sent to assist in the defence of a country, and to be obliged to abandon it without the power of making an effort, and this is really the case. The following is the state of the Spanish armies. Blake's is totally vanished. The Estremadurians were beat at Burgos and dispersed. In a letter from Graham, which I have read, who was with Castaños's army, he says that it does not amount to more than 20,000 men, and that that of Palafox's is about 10,000; that both are ill-equipped, half-naked, and not in a state to keep the field, and I am sorry to say that I hear of no reserves, no enthusiasm in the people. In fact there positively does not exist any Spanish corps with which any part of the British army can form a junction. Sr. J. M. will retreat upon Lisbon, as will, no doubt, Hope if he can; but as he cannot yet have joined Moore, having made a very circuitous march by Madrid, I shd. not be at all surprised if he were to be put in the situation of being obliged to retire upon Gibraltar. We shall fall back upon Vigo, as the only chance of saving the horses, by waiting in Bayona or even transporting them to the islands until transports arrive for them; but always, however, liable to be overpressed and to be obliged to destroy them and to save the men. You will remember what I stated as likely to happen; I am not therefore surprised, but sadly grieved. All I can now hope for, is that the infantry may be enabled to remain a sufficient time at Villafranca to allow the cavalry to come up, that we may then have our opportunity (and that we may not fail in it) of showing ourselves. I am aware that this can do no good to the general cause, but I am, I own, childish enough to feel ashamed of going off quietly. The British army has been put into the most cruel situation. Ministers must have been totally deceived with respect to the situation of this country, the state of its army, and the disposition of the people. I am aware that I am writing to a Spaniard, but I really think that he will not now have much to say for his *protégés*.

What I have said respecting our retreat to Vigo is in the *strictest confidence*, because it is of much importance

that the enemy shd. not be aware of it, as he has a shorter road to it than we can go on acct. of stores and all the various *impedimenta* of an army. This is a secret, however, which like most others will no doubt soon be generally known.

I have not been enabled to obtain any information respecting Sir G. Webster, or Lauderdale's son.

The following is my *speculation*. I am not in possession of many *facts*. The French are over-running the Asturias *tout à leur aise*, and may very possibly try to push a light corps along the sea coast. They will leave a sufficient force to keep in check but not to beat Castañõs and Palafox, whilst they are pushing forwards a strong corps to prevent our junction, which having effected, it will separate and follow each of us, but particularly Moore. Madrid will soon be in their hands; there is nothing whatever to stop them. They may possibly push a corps by Monforte and Orense to try to keep us out of Vigo if apprised of our intentions, and our situation is such that we cannot march straight to our point of embarkation from the difficulty of moving the artillery, the stores, and ammunition by the short route. I think that any four of the lines of this letter read to Mr. Ward will send him off by the 1st packet, and I hope that the whole will engage you and Lady Holland (to whom I beg my best compliments) to repair forthwith to Holland House and there wait until the patriotic Spaniards are *en masse* for the expulsion of Joseph and his suite.

Ever, my dear Lord,  
Very faithfully yours,

PAGET.

P.S.—No letters for you or Mr. Allen.

*Patroles* has been within 14 leagues of Madrid. Not yet at Benavente. Let them stop only one week and we will join Moore, give them a good licking. *We* will catch *Joseph*, and then retire into Andalusia and wait for a little more *Spanish* patriotism.

No. 2

Astorga, Nov. 28th.

MY DEAR LORD,—I wrote a short note to you this morn. by the messenger sent by Sir J. Moore, since which I have been

favoured by your kind letter and Ly. H.'s kind note of the 25th. I am much in hopes that the *little panic* which was felt here is subsiding, and that things may still be done as they ought to be, for I confess to you that I have been most wretched at what was likely to be decided upon.

I do not quite agree with you in yr. reasoning respecting the improbability of the enemy trying to penetrate thro' the Asturias. He may do so. There is not a respectable corps to stop him, and I do not believe that La Romana is inclined to detach anything from Leon to look behind him. I now feel confident that we shall at all events attempt a junction with Moore, nor have I the least doubt of succeeding in it. This will at once cover your movement by Vigo and Tuy into Portugal, but it will not tend to lessen the probability of a corps pushing on to Ferrol, &c., thro' the Asturias, particularly if Romana makes the movement of which he talks, namely that of following our corps towards Salamanca. I own I wd. rather wish him to get into the rear of that corps which is getting towards Oviedo, and then if your Galicians would make a movement on his front, the Marquis might make a *joli coup*.

Many thanks for your letter of intelligence; some of it was new to me. Such, for instance, as the arrival of Bonaparte at Vitoria. It confirms me in the idea that he is pouring a very large force upon Castaños. I wish that army may be able to stand the shock. I own I doubt it. I know not what may be the spirit of the people to the southward, but believe me, there is very little enthusiasm this way, and I confess to you that I have but a poor opinion of the Spanish *Quartier-Général*. With respect to the British army, I suspect that the orders given have been so extremely cautious, or rather that our Ministers have recommended such extreme caution, that we shall only engage seriously when we cannot help it, but then I do really believe we shall perform wonders. The cavalry is suffering a good deal upon the march, not in condition, but in the feet and legs of the horses. My regiment has been sadly harassed, and owing to the stupidity, or something worse, of some of the gentlemen who were sent back to stop the advance of baggage and stores, even laid hands upon the cavalry which has been twice stopped and even sent back, and twice obliged to make forced marches to recover lost ground.



If anything particular should occur I will send a line to you to Vigo as well as to Coruña. With best compts. to Ly. H. and party.

Believe me,

My dear Lord,

Very faithfully yours,

PAGET.

P.S.—Most happy am I to tell you that our advance is decided upon. And I am now as anxious to conceal this intention as I was the former less satisfactory one, for if we are quiet, I am not without hopes of making some little *coup* upon the march. I shall probably move on the 3rd; the *gros* corps on the 4th or 5th.

No. 3

Sahagun, Dec. 23rd, 1808.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am in a violent rage with you. You are the most prejudiced man alive. You talk to a parcel of people snug upon the sea coast and who, knowing your enthusiasm for the Spanish cause, flatter *your misconceptions* of the state of this country, and from the language of such people you form your judgment of the dispositions of the Spanish nation. *'Tis one not worth saving.* Such ignorance, such deceit, such apathy, such pusillanimity, such cruelty, was never both united. There is not one army that has fought at all. There is not one general who has exerted himself, there is not one province that has made any sacrifice whatever. There is but one town in all Spain that has shown an atom of energy. We are treated like enemies. The houses are shut against us. The resources of the country are withheld from us; we are roving about the country in search of Quixotic adventures to save our own honor, whilst there is not a Spaniard who does not skulk and shrink within himself at the very name of Frenchman. I am with an army the finest in the world for its numbers, enthusiastic, equal to every exertion, burning to engage. I have been one of the most strenuous advisers to advance and to take our chance. But why have I done so? For my own sake, for that of my comrades in arms, for the honor of the British army, not, believe me, not in the smallest degree for the Spaniards. I have been an enthusiast for their cause;

but I, as well as all the world, at least the English world, have been grossly deceived. All I have to say upon that subject is much too long for a letter, but when we meet, I will *convince* you that you too have been deceived.

Let me turn to a subject on which I can write with more pleasure and consequently in better humour.

The British cavalry has been several times partially engaged and has each time acquitted itself with the greatest honor. The 18th have made three little *coups*, in one of which Charles Stewart was engaged and did famously. In the latter (it is with the intensest satisfaction I relate it to you for Lady Holland's information) Captain Jones and Sir Godfrey Webster at the head of 30 men attacked 100 of the enemy, killed 20 and took 5 prisoners. 'Twas a most gallant affair.

I must now (as you are a great soldier) detail to you a *coup* which fell to my share. Being 4 leagues from hence with the 10th and 15th Hussars and some artillery, I learnt that General-of-Brigade the Marquis de Debelle with 7 or 800 cavalry was in this town. I ordered the 10th with the guns to march on one side of the river and to make every demonstration to engage them to quit the town; and I marched at 1 A.M. with about 400 of the 15th, picking up a Capt. and 12 of the 7th in my way, in order to get round the town by day-break. At half past 4 my advanced guard fell in with a *patrole* of the enemy, charged it and made 5 prisoners, but the rest escaping, and fearing they might be in time to prevent my plan I was obliged to push on. I arrived exactly in time. They had formed without the town, and upon perceiving us made off. I had a great deal of manœuvring to come up with and cut them off from their point of retreat. At length having accomplished my object, I formed and immediately attacked. They fired their pistols and received us firmly. We broke thro' them and the result was 2 lt.-cols., 1 capt., 10 lieuts., 170 men, 125 horses, some mules and baggage taken. Several killed, 19 wounded. I had two officers and 22 men wounded. Had I not in consequence of the *patrole* been obliged to hasten my march, by which I was forced to attack before the arrival of the 10th, I think I should have had most of them. By every testimony of prisoners they were 750. I cannot speak too highly in praise of those engaged. The attack was most regular and beautiful. The pursuit very wild. I scolded them well for it, and they answered by 3 cheers and begging I would accept from

them the two finest horses taken. This is of course for your private ear. But of what avail are such things, if those for whom we came to fight will not fight for themselves. But I stop myself and having begun my letter in anger I will close in good humour, sincerely congratulating Lady Holland upon the gallantry of her son,

Open your eyes, my dear Lord,  
 And believe me,  
 Very faithfully yours,  
 PAGET.

We march to-night to attack Soult and shall beat him.  
 We are all delighted.  
 Sincerely so.  
*Mais à quoi bon ?*

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## APPENDIX B

### SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD HOLLAND

No. 1

Villa da Cerves, April 6, 1809.

MY LORD,—I have to lament that your Lordship's only reached me this day, as I may have appeared negligent of a correspondence which I would cultivate as a great honour and the source of much gratification. I wish it had been in my power to render your journey less inconvenient, and I shall ever regret that circumstances prevented me from receiving yr. Lordship at Oporto. I am afraid to indulge my feelings at the commendation of yr. Lordship for the resolution I embraced to continue in Spain at a moment of despondency, for I must not suffer myself to estimate the service beyond its value.

I would have been a more useful friend to the great cause, which exacts as a duty and stimulates to ambition every personal sacrifice, but my means wd. have been inadequate to my desires. Whilst I, however, bear any part of this contest, you may be assured of hearing whatever may be worthy of your notice as matter of fact whether propitious or adverse.

Notwithstanding the appearance of an immediate junction Soult persevered in his order to attack Portugal, relying on the intention of the English to embark from Lisbon whenever a French force appeared in the country, as his intercepted dispatch acquainted us. He left in Galicia another corps of the army, but the Imperial Guards and all the light cavalry of the army returned to France from their cantonments in Valladolid, Astorga, &c., and the last column was met at Burgos on the 12th of March. Genl. Lapisse collected on the Tormes about 8000 men to cover Segovia and Leon, and combine with Soult whenever communication was practicable. After several enterprises to pass the Minho, Soult was defeated in that plan, and was finally compelled to make a movement against Chaves, into which place a col. of militia with 1200 troops and near 3000 troops threw themselves contrary to Genl. Silveira's order, and surrendered by capitulation the next day. The Marquis of Romana, finding the route along the frontier of Galicia open, took advantage of this moment to break from a connection which had been imperiously forced on him and which from the disposition of the Portuguese became every day more painful and menacing. He moved forward, left a post at Puebla de Sanabria, and on the 13th of March was at Ponferrada marching without interruption towards the Asturias, where a considerable force would submit to his orders. The Marquis's own force did not exceed 9000 armed and 7000 unarmed men. Soult pressed on from Chaves on the 14th of March, the day after its surrender, and advanced agst. Braga, where the people put Genl. Bernardino Freire and his two aides-de-camp to death on the suspicion of treason and, I fear, on the assurance of imbecility both as to capacity and personal fortitude. The French pressed on. The troops without a leader fled, and the people, bold only in crime, emigrated *en masse* from this city. Gen. Silveira at the head of a vast number of militia, populace, and about 3000 regulars, taking advantage of a feeble garrison, invested Chaves and possessed himself of the place with about 1000 persons, of which probably there were 500 soldiers. The rest infirm, and followers of the army. Soult arrived before Porto on the 25th. The populace, previously alarmed, had proceeded to wreak their vengeance on about 20 persons confined in the prisons and some others, who puerile malice and no public offences doomed. On the 27th the city was summoned and

the summons rejected. The Bishop had left the town the day before. On the 29th, the French columns advanced, forced the batteries which had wasted their ammunition in idle cannonades that gave the enemy confidence, and occupied the city with very little loss to themselves, but much to the Portuguese, who crowded the bridge and were forced over into the river. The French hearing that the Bishop had not long departed from the Villa Nova with the public treasure, pursued, but could not overtake him.

Such is the report of the capture of this city that I have been able to collect from persons worthy of credit, but you must imagine the extent of the catastrophe by remembering the character of the city and keeping in mind that until the moment of danger there was the most insolent confidence and lawless restraint on all persons and property. Its pains and its penalties are rather indeed now a subject for satisfaction than pity, since a French taskmaster alone could *dominer* to subdue a spirit of turbulence and cruelty which prevailed without the trace of one noble sentiment or a public or private virtue.

That Soult can continue at Oporto appears impossible. He has not above 12,000. Silveira at the head of an immense multitude environs his posts, and with the multitude within the city will oblige a severity of duty that would not be long supported, whilst the British troops and the Portuguese advance from Lisbon and alarm him more seriously. The division in Galicia can scarcely aid him without abandoning the sea ports and yielding Galicia to Romana. The division from Salamanca has advanced, probably with that intention, but after a parade before Ciudad Rodrigo where my army killed him several men, from thence its general bore on St. Felices. On my return from Coria, where I had gone to take the command of 2500 Portuguese and as many Spaniards, but which Cuesta's retreat prevented from assembling, I found the Agueda swollen by the rains, and therefore I resolved to take the very passage the enemy had over it. On the 1st I attacked him, carried the village, and in a sharp action of several hours killed and wounded him above 100 men, without any loss to mention on our side. I do not therefore think that he will endeavour to force his way when he finds that every step is disputed, where the country everywhere becomes more unfavourable for his progress, and where above 8000 troops *could* and, I hope,



would oppose him, for there can be no further pretext for inaction in the Portuguese army.

Considering, therefore, all these circumstances, and that the Austrian war is in full activity, I must hope, nay believe, that Soult has no alternative but capitulation or a very difficult retreat, probably to Zamora. Of this I am *assured* that in Portugal there are the means to annihilate the projects, if not the corps, of Soult, and of pressing the Salamanca division back on Valladolid. But not to abuse power we must use time, and if this principle be adopted your Lordship may yet visit Madrid this summer.

British interests deserved our efforts, but those who have had opportunity to know the Spaniards and investigate their worth, must feel a more generous concern in their welfare.

I have existed but by their fidelity now for three months, and I have not found one instance to justify suspicion of their disloyalty to my service, but on the contrary a thousand for admiration of their patriotism, spirit of independence, zeal, and natural courage.

I am now waiting for some instructions from Lisbon and I should suppose greater force to command than 600 men, but I must not depreciate my 600, for their conduct has been exemplary in the field, to my astonishment. I am loth to leave Spain even for a moment, and very very reluctant to cross the Duero from private considerations, but I shall not hesitate to pass there if my presence can be more useful than in this qr. We all have much to do, and, I hope, shall do it cheerily and merrily to the joy of old England.

I beg my best respects to Lady Holland and I remain

Your Lordship's

Most obedt. servt.,

ROBT. WILSON.

No. 2

Thomar, April 20, 1809.

MY LORD,—The French column which so suddenly moved from the province of Salamanca by most rapid marches advanced on Alcantara, which city defended by 2000 peasants offered for five hours some resistance. Unfortunately I could not overtake the enemy with my inf., or, weak and

unsupported as I was, we should have shattered him considerably. With the cavalry I made prisoners, but no serious impression.

I had flattered myself that a corps of 2500 men, which I had entreated might be moved forward from Salude Nova, would have checked the enemy until I could get up, and by a mutual attack he must have perished, for he was in the *cul de sac*, encumbered with a large convoy of ammunition, and conscious of his perilous situation very much alarmed. But instead of hearing that the troops advanced from Salude Nova I found that as the enemy appeared the commander had hoisted the white flag, retired to Abrantes, whilst men, women, and children left desolate every hamlet, village, and intervening town on the east of the *Zezeze*.

Fortune and cowardice thus relieved the enemy, but the hazards to which he exposed himself by passing along the frontier of a kingdom and thro' a country that his rage for enormities scared to desperate hostility, abandoning a point where he neared Portugal and Sout in his forlorn situation, proved the urgency to Victor of his succour, and a letter from General Kellermann to Sout confirms that the orders for Lapisse's division to march to Estremadura were given in consequence of the battle of Medellin.

I was ordered by Marshal Beresford to repair instantly to him, and so soon as I had seen the enemy pass Alcantara, and I had placed a garrison there, I repaired here, where I find General Beresford employed in an Herculean labour, but he will partially succeed. Altogether, he cannot to any solid degree, unless there is a general reform in the state, and even then much time is required for the extinction of old habits and the exercise of a new education. It is, however, always well to begin, and I hope success will crown the effort, for Portugal has certainly great military resources applicable to the interests of England.

Sout has now remained undisturbed at Oporto since his capture, rioting in spoil, but I believe daily becoming more uneasy as to his situation.

He has been obliged to extend his forces—5000 men preserve Tuy, Orense, and Braga, as many are on this side of the Duero, and the same force between Penafiel and Oporto, in which city he leaves but a very feeble garrison by day and scarcely any at night. At Zamora, Kellermann writes that there are 1500 inf. and 400 horse belonging to his corps, but

Silveira with 8000 troops will actively, I hope, keep that succour in check, and indeed the peasantry of the Tras os Montes are more than equal to that service.

Ney has quarrelled with Soult, because Soult would not postpone his march into Portugal until Galicia was restored to order, and the capture of Vigo, with the general insurrection in Galicia and Romana's security whilst he intercepts all communication, as verified by Gen. Kellermann from Valladolid, proves the insufficiency of the enemy's forces in that qr. to achieve their enterprises or maintain themselves.

Genl. Kellermann in his letter to Soult moreover says that he watches at Valladolid with a considerable cavalry the Asturians and Romana and the people of Leon, who would have the inclination to rise if they dared, but that the Austrian war has recalled all the household troops of every description to France and that he is silent as to any force destined to replace them.

At Salamanca there is scarcely 500 men capable to bear arms, and I feel that fortune has been rather unkind in withdrawing me at a moment that I could have achieved what I had so long proposed, but I hope we shall be vigorous in our operations agst. Soult and then march into Spain; for the march alone would assure safety to the Peninsula and especially if we move boldly up the Tagus. But I am somewhat disposed to believe that there is no very great cordiality of operation in the two staffs at this moment.

Sir A. Wellesley is momentarily expected out with an army, and I should suppose orders from home would even stimulate his zeal and ambition, for if we do our duty, victory is certain and immediate, in which case I hope to see yr. Lordship still at Madrid. With great esteem and respect,

I remain,

Your Lordship's

Most obedt. Servt.,

ROBT. WILSON.

No. 3

Zarza Major, June 20, 1809.

MY LORD,—It is very long since I had the opportunity to write, and indeed I did expect to leave the Peninsula, as I was for a time removed from the Legion and the chance of

servicing in Spain, but a more agreeable arrangement having finally been made, I now find myself here with my Legion and attached exclusively to the British army.

Marshal Beresford and the Portuguese troops are ordered to the north of Portugal and are to keep in check Soult and Ney, who made a movement that indicated an approach to the *Tras os Montes* whilst some other corps menaced Bragança, but in fact with the intention solely of diverting our operations from Victor.

The delay of the British army, is now, I believe, terminated, and the 1st division will reach this place on the 2nd, with the intention of moving on Plasencia and Madrid if the enemy check between Talavera de Reyna and the capital. But it is supposed that Victor will leave Madrid on his left, and in all cases I expect a stern chase. It is however a most serious object to prevent the enemy from collecting his forces installed on the Ebro, and I sincerely lament our return to the Tagus for the recommencement of our operations.

Sir A. Wellesley has certainly been most eager to advance, but I have heard that he only received his orders very lately, for the Govt. was afraid of a new adventure. The Galician retreat has had many a mischievous effect. It has calumniated a gallant, generous, and friendly nation; it has erected imaginary impediments to success; it has seriously discouraged the British army, and founded a spirit of licentiousness and rapine that excites the most painful slur and which will require the energy of Sir A. Wellesley to repress.

The Austrian successes have excited, however, great enthusiasm, and I hope that our march will be one continued and unchequered series of triumph, to console for so many years of disaster. The victory of Essling must have a propitious effect on the French army, because the foreigners composing it will now find that there is another power in Europe anxious to secure and capable to protect them, and the local effect must be great. Assuredly the evacuation of the Tyrol and the retrograde movement of Bonaparte and the Vice-King of Italy whilst revolt engages the chiefs of the Confederation and Holland, now would be a glorious moment to raise the true banner of public liberty and by the sacrifice of Galicia restore the monarchy of Poland. It would be a blow that condemned Russia to precarious European existence and consolidated the Austrian preponderance. I am however diverting into political speculations that your

Lordship does not require from me, and therefore, with the promise of continuing to communicate whatever may be really interesting with regard to our movements north of the Tagus,

I remain with great sincerity and truth,  
Your obedt. and humble servt.,

ROBT. WILSON.

I suppose that the British army will be 28,000 effective infy. with arty., exclusive of cavalry, on the *onset*, but the average for the campaign, not reckoning accidents in the field, 26,000 altogether. Portugal may send beyond the northern frontier about 8000 men, but with great ill will on the part of officers and the nation at large, but not of the *soldiers*.

### APPENDIX C

(See p. 289)

#### HENRY LUTTRELL TO LADY HOLLAND

Cadiz, March 1, 1809.

DEAR LADY HOLLAND,—It was my intention to have written to you yesterday but I arrived here with so violent a cold, thanks to the Levant wind which has affected most people here in the same manner, as totally to disqualify me both for occupation and amusement. Tho' not much better this morning, I write at all hazards, lest you should suppose me unmindful of my promise. The insurrection here wore, at one time, a most serious aspect. A mob very soon, if not controuled, changes its object. Disappointed in executing their vengeance on Villel, the insurgents turned their fury against the wretched man whom they murdered from personal, not political, hatred. Their next motion was to let loose the contents of the gaols, and to plunder the houses of the rich merchants. The first of these exploits they had very nearly effected, and if, in this critical juncture, the volunteers and the priests had not united in bodily and ghostly energies against them, a scene extremely



like what was acted in London in 1780 would inevitably have followed. Major Doyle, whose curiosity led him to mix with all the insurgents, tells me that they were to the last degree ferocious, and bent upon blood. The men were sharpening their knives upon the stones, and a number of women of the lower classes adding all they could by outcries and gestures to the spirit of mischief and murder among the men. Villel had a most narrow escape. Doyle, who witnessed what passed in front of his house, gave up his life for lost. The man, he says, behaved with a great deal of firmness, and protested most strongly against the disclosure of his official dispatches. He seems to be very unpopular here. No puritan magistrate in the days of Cromwell ever made a more rigid and vexatious inquisition into the irregularities, and even the harmless recreations, of private life than he seems to have done, laying to the account of the dress and dancing and intrigue of Cadiz all that has happened unfavorable to the Spanish cause. It is strange how extremes meet. That a zealous Catholic should think and act so like a zealous Presbyterian is amusing enough. But it will not do. Spain requires, at this crisis of her fate, men, not monks. Something no doubt has been achieved, and much, I know, is expected from the strong spirit of superstition, or religion if you will, in this country, but I believe it will wholly fail, when most relied upon. At no time do I feel stronger apprehensions for the final issue of the momentous contest now pending, than when I reflect how mainly the hopes of Spain repose on this insecure and treacherous foundation. Should you have at any time ten minutes leisure, it would be charitable to employ them in giving me some account of what is passing in Seville, a place which I shall remember with pleasure chiefly on account of your and Lord Holland's kind attentions. Pray convey to him my best regards, and believe me, dear Lady Holland,

Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

HENRY LUTTRELL.

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## APPENDIX D

(See p. 336, &c.)

ACCOUNT BY CAPTAIN BURGH OF THE PURSUIT OF SOULT,  
FORWARDED TO LORD HOLLAND BY COLONEL REYNELL

Convento de Tujo, 20 miles N. of Oporto,  
21st May, 1809.

OUR Campaign in the N. of Portugal terminated on the 18th, when we fairly saw the Enemy out of the Country; since that day the Troops have been drawing towards Victor, who, we understand is approaching Lisbon.

The Enemy retreated all night after the battle of the 12th on the road to Amarante, and the German Legion pursued them the next morning. The remainder of the army unfortunately halted that day. When the French got as far as Penafiel they heard of Marshal Beresford's approach to Amarante, and after spiking all their Cannon and blowing up the Tumbrils they retreated by Guimaraens and Braga.

On the 15th our army was at Braga; the Enemy left it only the day before. On the 16th we got up with their rear Guard consisting of about 3000 men who were strongly posted on a hill in front of the village of Salamonde; the Guards were in advance and were ordered forward to the attack supported by artillery, cavalry, and the German Legion. Sir Arthur had previously sent two Comps. over the hills to turn the Enemy's left; these Companies lost their way, and two others were sent which occasioned some delay, and it was past 6 o'clock before the attack commenced. The Guards advanced in Sections along the road in face of the Enemy's position. This manœuvre astonished them, and after receiving the first discharge of Musquetry they ran down the Ravines in the greatest disorder. The darkness favor'd their Escape; if we had had half an hour more daylight not a man could have got off, as the Portuguese had broken down the Bridge in their Rear. Numbers were killed by the Peasantry and drown'd in attempting to cross the River, 400 Horses and droves of their Bullocks were taken, and the only piece of Cannon they had left. They have not now any wheel'd carriage. A great deal of Plunder had been taken by our Lt. Infantry and Dragoons. On the morning of the 16th,

20 Drags. took 50 French Prisoners at Agreja Nova, and found on them a quantity of Coin.

Considering the long march of near 30 Miles from Braga through very heavy rain (which has continued without cessation since the 13th) upon the worst possible roads, the advance of the army only march'd one league on the 17th, to Receines. No Artillery could come up that day, as it was first necessary to repair the Bridge.

Next day we had a most unpleasant march to Montalegre, the road was full of dead Bodies of the French murder'd by the Peasants; their army is most sickly and consequently many stragglers who seldom escape the rage of the Peasantry. We passed also about 100 Horses and Mules that were hamstrung by the Enemy. This act of Cruelty cannot be easily accounted for.

Arriving at Montalegre we found that the Enemy had just left a village a few miles which was then in flames; all the towns the French pass'd thro' after they left Braga were destroyed by them, and nothing now remaining except the bare walls. The inhabitants all fled to the Mountains on their approach.

The Portuguese Genl. Silveira, with between 3 and 4,000, had been in that Neighbourhood for some days without offering any resistance. On our arrival at Montalegre after hard pressing to put his army in motion after the Enemy, he wish'd to have some of our Dragoons, but Sir Arthur positively refus'd, having determin'd not to pursue the Enemy thro' the Mountains of Galicia, as they were disencumber'd of all kind of Baggage to impede their flight.

Beresford has march'd from Chaves to Monterey, and with Silveira will hang on the Enemy's flank and rear. They have already lost one fourth of their army with all their artillery, &c., with the loss on our side of about 200.

You are nearer the scene of Victor's manœuvres and better acquainted with them than we are. The army is in motion (Tilson's force is already arrived at Oporto) and there will be a grand *assemblément* at Coimbra in 5 or 6 days I believe a rapid movement will be made to crush Victor.

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## APPENDIX E

*(See p. 334)*

## LORD MACDUFF TO LORD HOLLAND

No. 1

Monasterio; Sunday, 14th May, 1809.

MY DEAR LORD,—Some time since, having mentioned my determination of visiting the armies, you expressed a wish of hearing from me. I have been here since Tuesday last, and have been employed in witnessing the discipline of the several corps along the road and around this place. The whole division in this neighbourhood were taken out by the genl. yesterday and to-day to manœuvre, and formed into attacking and attacked parties. The genl. took great pains in explaining, and they seemed, on the whole, to conduct themselves like soldiers. For some days past we have been pretty certain that the enemy were going to move, by withdrawing their posts; ours were pushed forward and strengthened. Yesterday the furthest in advance were near Merida, to-morrow the head-quarters is intended to move to Llerena. The troops in the rear are ordered up; Henestrosa, who commands the first division, to proceed on, and the Duke Albuquerque to take the post of Fuente de Cantos. The further movements of the army must depend on that of the enemy, and the conjectures of what is their object; whether this movement of theirs proceeds from a fear that the English mean to cooperate with this army against them, or whether they mean with the whole or a part to unite with the other French corps to act against the English, is to be ascertained.

On the march of Genl. Wellesley and of Soult, of the probability of bringing him to action alone, you will be better informed than we are here. There seems no doubt, however, that the French are in motion everywhere, and that they intend to act with numbers against the English; and there is reason to believe also that circumstances will force them to act in this country with two or three corps at most. This will, of course, give the different parts not occupied by them an opportunity to rise. But self-preservation is the first object, and as the French have, from the best accounts, from a hundred

to a hundred and twenty thousand men, they can certainly act first against the English offensively and take care of their remaining forces, if they adopt this resolution.

I examined a deserter last night, a German and soldier of ours in the Hanoverian Legion, who was taken at Benavente ; he escaped two days ago, and robbed his master of much silver, jewels, and a horse and a mule. His master was young Cabarrus ; they had robbed him before, he says, and it was but fair to retaliate. He says that the French told him that he would soon see his countrymen, the English. Their whole army consists of five and twenty thousand men. The garrison of Merida is of fifteen hundred with fortifications. Medellin they had also begun to fortify. He gives much the same account as the Spaniards of the last battle, but with the exception that they lost few men.

Among the officers here I cannot but take notice of Genl. O'Donoghue (*sic*), who is fortunately the chief person about Cuesta ; he is by far the best-informed military man I have met with in Spain, indeed in any country.

The force of the whole army is considered at thirty thousand. But I believe they have near twenty thousand infantry pretty well disciplined, and six thousand cavalry. The aggregate number twenty-three thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. But they are very active in getting the people on with their exercise, and some of the corps are well clothed.

Pray present my best respects to Lady Holland, and

Believe me always,

My dear Lord,

Faithfully,

MACDUFF.

No. 2

Monasterio, Monday, 15th May.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have only time to add a few lines to what I wrote you last night. The whole plan of the march of the army is changed—from the information received of the French genl., Cuesta seems determined to follow them as fast as possible. We hear that they have taken the direction of Alcantara ; Genl. Victor in the van, with the artillery, carts, &c. On the 12th, a part of them were near Alcantara ; four hundred men have been left at Merida, fortified in a convent, with four



pieces of cannon. Yesterday our advance must have been there. It has been ordered to proceed on Monasterio also, with the first division of cavalry. Troops are marching to strengthen them. Merida, if not taken at first, is ordered to be blockaded. The *cuartel general* is to be to-morrow at Medina de las torres : the main body of the army in the towns near. The whole army is to advance on the great road.

The French must sacrifice also a great part of their artillery, which is at Truxillo.

I shall proceed before and try to overtake Henestrosa. I wish Genl. Mackenzie, who is at Abrantes, and Genl. Mayne at Alcantara, may have got timely information of the movements of the French.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

Faithfully,

MACDUFF.

No. 3

Head-quarters, Venta de Almaraz,

June 28th; 1809.

MY DEAR LORD,—Since I received your letter from Cadiz, little or nothing passed worthy of notice, till our march in pursuit of Victor's army. I was perfectly certain this would take place that I did not judge it necessary to give you a detailed account of positions which I conceived any hour might be changed. We have been here four days; the bridge of pontoons being too small, it was obliged to be turned into a flying bridge. The passing of the troops was stopped one day from information that the French were concentrating, but it was only to their further retreat.

His army is composed of five divisions of infantry and two of cavalry, besides the rear-guard and the reserve. The whole amounting to near thirty-eight thousand men. One division of infantry and two thousand cavalry have pass'd the Tagus at the Arzobispo. On the 26th, in the evening, the French began their retreat from Oropesa, and formed behind Calera. The 27th, the vanguard of cavalry from the Arzobispo entered Oropesa, commanded by the Prince Anglona, the Duke of Albuquerque being ill. The French halted at Gamonal,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues from thence. The 5th division of infantry was to enter Calera on the 27th, in the evening.

Victor's force is in full retreat, so is Sebastiani's. The

vanguard of Venegas, was on the 22nd at Villarta. We do not know whether Victor means to join near Toledo, or continue his retreat. The vanguard of this army is now in the rear of the 5th division of infantry and 2nd of cavalry, besides another division of infantry sent to strengthen them. It passed the river on the 27th, made a reconnaissance and occupied the position opposite here to cover the passing of the army yesterday. We contrived to get made a foot bridge near the old bridge of Almaraz, which wants one arch; on this the whole infantry of the army passed yesterday. The cavalry, for the most part, has also passed; but the artillery, carts, &c., will take some time on a bridge which can only contain eight men and horses at a time—20 minutes in passing and repassing. This morning the vanguard proceeded forward, and we expect the Genl. to follow every hour.

You will be surprised to hear that in such a retreat that our army took neither provisions nor baggage, but the fault was not the General's. That the French might be induced to keep their position, all the attacks by the vanguard on Merida, &c., were disapproved, and strict orders were given that the army not only should avoid fighting but not provoke the enemy. I was with the vanguard in the several attacks made on Merida, and near it, and was convinced that, from the manner of the French, they intended to retreat, and thought right to give my opinion to Genl. Cuesta, who exactly thought the same. But the French, as usual, before they retreat, made three great reconnaissances, which induced most people to believe that they intended to attack before the English came. The division near Medellin was augmented to 12,000 men, and the opinions of most were that the General ought to hazard nothing before the arrival of the English. The General gave orders to the Medellin force to follow the enemy and attack them. The same to the vanguard at Calmonte, the 1st division of cavalry at Almendralejo. All the divisions at Villafranca and Aceuchal and all the villages where troops were quartered, to move on as fast as possible to support one another. We found that the reconnaissances near Merida and Medellin were only to carry off the 300 men in the convent, and that the French had been taking measures for some time before for their retreat. The General followed; came to Merida the first day, Miajadas the 2nd, and Truxillo the 3rd—21 leagues, when to his great disappointment he found the orders given had been delayed a whole day, and the troops

were all together, with the exception of the vanguard which was in presence of the French rear. They follow'd them to the Puerto of Miravete, and in the night the French retired across the river, destroyed the bridge, and were found next morning in front of our present position with five batteries. At Miravete the French advanced a body of infantry to relieve their rear-guard of cavalry, which gave them the advantage in this country where cavalry cannot act. The van of course unsupported could not attack them. The General hearing these things, after one day's halt at Truxillo, came to the Casas of Miravete, reconnoitred the enemy, and altho' of opinion that a passage might be forc'd, delay'd. The next day occupied in observing the batteries, which constantly kept firing. The night the French retreated the General came immediately from the Casas of Miravete to this place, which is an inn close to the road, expecting to be able to pass in one night, when again, to our disappointment, the pontoons, 14 in number, were only found half sufficient. After many experiments and consultations the mode I have explained was adopted. In short you will find that a concurrence of circumstances have happened to foil and disappoint our worthy old Genl. Of the English we have no certain accounts of their march. They are to come by Plasencia. But if the French continue their retreat, and we our pursuit in the same manner, they will not see an enemy for a long time. We expect they left Abrantes the 23rd, so that on the 3rd of next month they may reach Plasencia. They are always tardy and late. I shall not close my letter till I see the General, from whom I may hear something new.

I remain, my dear Lord,  
Very faithfully yours,  
MACDUFF.

Since writing in the morning, information has come that José Napoleon arrived at Toledo on the 23rd, and left it the 24th with the division of Leval, and went to Mora. What this means is yet to be learnt; whether they intend to attack Venegas, or continue their retreat. The troops in advance have retired from Oropesa. The party of guerrillas near Calera killed ten Frenchmen, took three, and one escaped. Thus none joined the rear of the enemy, and also return'd and burnt the town. Bassecourt, hearing this, retired, and so did the division of cavalry. No news of the English, which is

astonishing. We understand too that a division of Victor's army was near Plasencia, and pass'd by it the 21st, and, we imagine, is now at Talavera. They have broken down the bridge at Talavera. Genl. Cuesta seems now a little unconvinced about pushing on, from the very extraordinary motions of the enemy. It is reported also here that Ney and Soult have invaded Portugal, which is extraordinary. No news yet of the English. I trust they do not mean to give us the slip. I trust you will be able to read this scrawl. We have nothing here to eat, to write on, or to sleep on, and the pen I write with I have had this fortnight in use.

The force of Victor, *on the 1st of May*, from a return I have seen was 29 thousand fit for duty, and ten thousand sick.

No. 4

Venta de Almaraz; June 29th, 1809.

MY DEAR LORD,—Since I wrote you yesterday we have received accounts that José Napl. returned to Toledo on the 26th, and was advancing towards Talavera with his whole force. It became necessary to think seriously of our situation, as this army was placed in the most disadvantageous position, with no regular bridge, and half the cannon, baggage, &c., on this side. Letters also from Wellesley, that he intended to begin his march on the 27th, and requesting Genl. Cuesta to hazard nothing till he arrived. He intended to be at Zarza on the 2nd or 3rd, and not to halt till he arrived at Plasencia. The intentions of the French being too evident that they intended to attack us, and the Genl. not having given over his desire of pursuing, Genl. Whittingham, Roche, and myself went to him and represented the extreme danger and the importance of keeping that army entire till the arrival of the English. That if any accident happened they would not advance, that the campaign would be lost, as on the fate of this army everything depended, and that it was better to forego the precarious chance of some advantage in pursuing the enemy than hazard its existence in such a critical time and against such numbers. Whittingham spoke to him very properly, and he listened with much attention, and answered us with great sincerity and satisfaction. Genl. O'Donoghue, a most worthy man and of great talents, persuaded him, after talking the whole subject over, to give immediate directions that the advance parties should retire, and that the whole troops should repossess the road and take up our position and wait for events

and for the English. The divisions of Portago, Bassecourt, with the cavalry under the Prince of Anglona are to re-pass at the Arzobispo. The remainder of the army at the bridge here. Fortunately the pontoons arrived (I mean the remainder of them) to-day. With the orders which have been given and the directions for the defence of the Arzobispo and the batteries leaving, I trust, if it is the intention of the enemy to attack us, that the army will re-pass without loss. We shall be, for the present, in security, which is the great object, and by drawing on the enemy, will give us a better chance to strike a decisive blow when the English come up. I cannot conclude without observing that Genl. Cuesta, who is represented as sullen to all his officers, and particularly to foreigners, has, in this critical situation, acted with the greatest candour and deference to the opinions of others. Indeed, during the whole time I have been with him, he has behaved to me, on all occasions, rather as an equal and friend, than as one who is only here from curiosity. On all occasions open, friendly, and kind.

Last night the advanced guerrillas were two miles from the village of Calera, the French two thousand horse two miles further, and behind them four regts. of infantry. Brigadier Zayas with the advance guard was to-day at Calzada; the whole will retire, I hope, to-night.

We are obliged to Whittingham, not only for the good Spanish he speaks, but for the manner he expressed himself.

At twelve o'clock last night the positions of the advanced corps were as follows:—

Puente de Arzobispo. — Major-Genl. Bassecourt: 6000 infantry, 500 cavalry, 8 pieces cann.

Azután.—Marquis Portago, Lt.-General: 5000 infantry.

Alcola del Tajo.—Prince of Anglona, Brigr.-General: 1500 cavalry, 200 lt. infantry, 6 pieces cann.

Advanced posts to Oropesa, and near to Calera.

Br. Zayas (the vanguard of the enemy).—Calzada: 1948 cavalry, 2113 infantry, 6 pieces cann.

Marquis de Zayas, Major Genl.—Naval Moral: 4268 infantry, 2 pieces cann.

Main body between Naval Moral and Puente de Almaraz.

Whittingham informs us that most of the French officers spoke at Oropesa of their marching back to France. But one of the genls. said that they intended to fight a great battle, and then it would be seen what they would do afterwards.

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## APPENDIX F

(See p. 216, &amp;c.)

LETTERS FROM SIR CHARLES VAUGHAN TO LORD AND  
LADY HOLLAND

## No. I

Coruña; Sunday; August 14th; 1808.

DEAR LORD HOLLAND,—No event of importance has occurred since the date of my last. The rumours of this place you will collect from the *Diarios*, which accompany this letter. It has been reported that the army of Estremadura, which consists of 24 thousand infantry and about 9 thousand cavalry under General Galluzzo, had cut in pieces a detachment from Junot of 7 thousand French troops, near Evora in Portugal. Two days have passed without any confirmation of this report, which was brought in a Portuguese vessel to Coruña, and also in a letter from Salamanca. The French forces were, it is said, attempting to make their way to Burgos. Perhaps it may turn out that the garrison of Elvas has been checked in some movement to join Junot upon the Tagus. We have been amused also with another report of the escape of Ferdinand to Madrid, and of the Duke de Infantado to the army of Cuesta. The last is still in some measure credited, and was at first circulated in so authentic a manner that I undertook to be the bearer of some communication between him and Stuart. The approaching assembly of the Cortes of the North at Lugo, made it appear advisable to sound the dispositions of the Duke de Infantado and to engage him to co-operate heartily in the defence of his country; and at the same time we might have put an end to the dissention that has arisen between Cuesta and Blake and the growing dislike of the Junta of Coruña to the former. Cuesta is a zealous patriot, but he has been an imprudent officer. He brought on the battle of Rio Seco. He was at the head of a small division of cavalry and about 10 thousand Castilian peasants, and formed the advanced part of Blake's army. The latter had taken a strong position and had no intention of engaging the French, when Cuesta advanced and brought on the action of Rio Seco, and the troops under Blake, consisting of the garrisons of Galicia, in vain hastened

to his support. The Castilian peasants were dispersed, Cuesta retreated with his cavalry towards Ciudad Rodrigo, separating himself from Blake, and the latter retreated to Manzanal midway between Astorga and Ponferrada. Blake is now advancing a second time, and by the last accounts his army of 23 thousand infantry, regular regiments filled up with new levies, was at Astorga. From what I hear this army is in great want of cavalry, and but ill supplied with artillery. The mules and small oxen, which are the draft cattle of the country, are not equal to the removal of parks of artillery in a mountainous district.

The mountains of the Asturias are defended by 18 thousand peasants under the Generals Miranda and Ponti.

The French have retreated from Madrid upon Burgos (their outposts extend to Palencia), where they are entrenching themselves. They are said to have abandoned a considerable quantity of ammunition upon quitting the Buen Retiro. We hear nothing here of their numbers, but in a *Diario* you will see some attempt to calculate the original force and its losses.

The patriot army of Estremadura under General Galluzzo, said to consist of 24 thousand infantry, and cavalry that has increased from 4000 (the original number) to 9000, has been of great service, tho' with the exception of the affair of Evora (should it prove true) they have not been engaged with the enemy. By taking up a position at Almaraz, upon the Tagus, which you will find in the map north in a direct line of Truxillo, they interrupted the communication between Madrid and Lisbon and kept open the district between Blake and Castaños.

Since the defeat of Dupont, a letter has appeared in the *Santiago Gazette* from General Castaños to General O'Farril. He makes O'Farril responsible for the people of Madrid, and it is written in rather a ludicrous as well as threatening manner; but if it is to be believed, it tells us that he has under his command 120 thousand men, in which he includes the armies of Estremadura and other provinces of the South, an immense park of artillery, and moreover he declares that he has in his possession 27 thousand French prisoners, amongst whom he numbers 12 generals and 7000 cavalry. Castaños is marching with all the forces of the South towards Madrid.

Valencia, as we have long since heard, was attacked in the latter end of the month of June by Moncey. I yesterday saw a private letter from that city, which states that *sixty*

pieces of cannon are mounted upon the walls, and that the only entrance into the city is by the Puerta del Mar, on account of the ditches dug round the walls. A French battery upon the Torre Santa Catalina nearly destroyed the Convento del Socorro. The French bombarded the town in vain and retreated by way of Albacete. The letter says nothing of subsequent actions. The son of Captain-General Caro commanded. I mention the particulars, judging from my own feelings about Valencia that they may be interesting to you and Lady H.

It would be too much to expect perfect unanimity during this success of the patriots. So many provincial govts., with their armies under distinct commanders, must have many difficulties to overcome before they can legislate for the whole Peninsula. The first attempt to establish a Cortes originates in Galicia. They have persuaded the Junta of Leon to meet them at Lugo in this province, and they do not appear to have any doubt but that the Junta of the Asturias will also join them. As soon as they assemble at Lugo it is their intention to invite Estremadura, the Castiles, and the Southern provinces to co-operate in forming a Cortes. The outline of this plan is simple and rational, but you, who know how wedded the Spaniards are to precedent and how variously the provinces used to be represented, will foresee much discussion and division about the numbers of deputies to be sent from each province. Galicia has already procured the assent of Leon to seven deputies. The Junta sitting at Coruña asked for eleven. You know how insignificant the influence of Galicia used to be in a Cortes. The 20th of this month has been appointed the day for the assembly at Lugo of the deputies of Leon and this provinces. Orders have long since been dispatched for houses to be prepared for them, but I cannot venture to hope that they will meet for many weeks.

The people of Coruña dislike the departure of their Junta, and it is thought that they may assemble to prevent it. The Junta here is composed of seven persons. The most intelligent man amongst them is the Bishop of Orense, whose letters about the French have appeared in the English newspapers. His countenance does not betray that religious gloom sometimes visible in the Spanish priest, but has in it a good deal of fun and more cunning. I have been at one of their meetings and everything was very *regulár*. At a table

in a long room sat their secretary, and opposite to him the members of the Junta under a portrait of the King Ferdinand, over which there was a large crimson canopy. They work very hard, but I am afraid that they will become idle as the cause advances, and daily show a greater disposition to jobbing. Don Freire, their deputy to London, was a lieutenant in the Navy, and they have given him a ship for the success of his negotiation. Nothing can be more creditable to the Spanish character than the conduct of the people of this district during their revolution. The only person killed was the Capt.-General of Ferrol, Filanghieri, who disgusted them by his coldness and indisposition to their cause. Soon after the arrival of the prisoners from England, there was a popular tumult in which the French houses were assaulted ; but it ended only in the arrest of the Consul and some individuals who are now on board a hulk in the harbour. A sadler of the place, who has a good deal of the Andalusian in his person and character, is the *Capitan del Pueblo*. He has shown that he has more influence over them than any other person, being a clever, daring fellow, and the Junta very wisely have put a silver badge upon his arm, and thereby obtained a control over him. He presented me with his card, styling himself, 'Sinforiano Lopez, *Defensor de la Patria*.'

The kindest feeling towards the English prevails everywhere. The Government have made an excellent choice in Stuart. In the harbour we have the *Tonnant*, Admiral de Courcy, and the *Defiance*, Capt. Hotham, both officers of the most amiable and conciliatory manners. I am happy to say that we have no drunken riots, or anything which can disturb the harmony between the two nations.

I understand that Galicia has received a million of dollars from England, and Leon and the Asturias half a million each. Blake has earnestly entreated the English Government to send him two thousand cavalry. I wish that it may be done promptly. Cuesta's separation from him is unfortunate. I must entreat you not to suppose from anything that I may have said about the differences between these generals, or the difficulties in forming a Cortes, that anything, *has yet*, or *seems* ever *likely* to occur that can have a fatal influence on the general welfare of the nation. Depend upon it that the cause of the patriots is in the hands of the people ; it borrows no fancied importance from any illustrious leaders, and woe be to those who shall be weak enough to expose to them their

quarrels and dissensions. It is natural that the priesthood should have greater influence over the people than the *noblesse*. I hope that in the formation of the Cortes they may not predominate. The Archbishop of Santiago de Compostella is suspected of being very unfriendly to the Junta of Galicia. He remains near the shrine of his Saint and is too wise to be troublesome. It is curious to know that the Spaniards here have not yet seen the correspondence between the French and the Pope. It should be translated and sent out to them immediately.

Stuart has given me a room in his house, which is called *el palacio* from being certainly the best house in Coruña. Mr. Walpole is with Stuart, rather as a friend than a secretary.

We have a comedy in a small temporary theatre, a fire having consumed a very good one. The *bolero* and *fandango* are tolerably well danced, but they succeed better in the dance called the *farongo*, which is new to me. The *tertulias* after the play are sometimes in wretched garrets, sometimes in very decent houses. But I have not yet formed an high opinion of the *Gallego* nobility. Spain is more interesting to me and more dear to me than ever. It was my intention to have set out for Blake's army this week, but the approaching assembly of the Cortes tempts me to defer it, and to visit Santiago on my road to Lugo. If the Cortes do not meet, I shall set out for Blake and the Asturias. Mr. Arguelles gave me two letters for the Asturias, and if the deputies should assemble from the province at Lugo I shall be well off for introductions.

I have extended this letter to an unusual length, and send you very little to satisfy your curiosity about Spain. I wish that I could deal less in reports and speak more from actual observation.

Present my kindest remembrances to Lady Holland and believe me to be

Yr. obliged and Faithful Servt.,

CHAS. R. VAUGHAN.

P.S.—Colonel Doyle and Capts. Kennedy and Cawel, who came over with the Spanish prisoners, have been promoted by the Spaniards, the first to the rank of brigadier-general in their service, and the latter to lt.-colonelcies. They are not attached to any divisions of the army. Capt.



Kennedy remains at Coruña, and Doyle and the other officers are with Blake. I hope they will not make the latter give battle to the French.

## No. 2

Lugo, Galicia, Sept. 1st, 1808.

DEAR LORD HOLLAND,—I arrived here with Stuart on the 29th ult., the day appointed for the assembly of the Juntas of Old Castile, Leon, Galicia, and the Asturias at this place. For reasons at present unknown, the Asturias have not kept their promise. Six deputies assembled from each of the other provinces, and amongst those of Leon, I found your friend Valdes. I gave him your letter, and I was much pleased with his manner of receiving it.

Stuart has this moment received an official document from the assembly of the deputies, announcing their immediate departure from Lugo, to join a general assembly of deputies from every Junta in Spain at Ocaña. They state that probably a royal *sitio* will afterwards be agreed upon as the place of meeting; and I conclude that they allude to Aranjuez, which you know is within two leagues of Ocaña. From what I can learn, there is a difficulty in assembling at Madrid, on account of the Council of Castile, which has lost the confidence of many of the Northern provinces by having continued in the capital while it was in possession of Bonaparte.

The assembly of Ocaña is to be composed of two members deputed from each Junta. Valdes is amongst those of Leon; and it is officially announced that the Junta of Valencia has deputed the Conde de Contamina and the Prince Pio; and that of Murcia, Florida Blanca, and the Viscount del Villar. Although the assembly at Lugo mention only the names of deputies from Valencia and Murcia besides those of their own body, yet the general tenor of their communication indicates that an assembly of deputies from every Junta in Spain, at some central place, is now *universally* agreed upon.

The people of the Asturias seem to be less capable of laying aside their provincial prejudices than any other Spaniards. The English Government has, I think, been too lavish of supplies to that province. It ought to be remembered that nothing passes those mountains that once finds its way into them, and that arms and ammunition which must have

been intended for the service of Spain in general have been exclusively appropriated by the Asturias to themselves.

The settlement of the future Govert. of this country is of course a topic of conversation, and a favourite scheme is the Regency of the Princess of the Brazils. The names universally mentioned to form part of a Council of Regency are those of Florida Blanca, the Duke de Infantado, Jovellanos, and Saavedra.

I wish that I could confirm the report I sent you of General Cuesta being ready to rejoin Blake. I fear their quarrel is more violent than ever, and I shall not be surprised to hear that Cuesta fell a sacrifice to his obstinate refusal to restore the cavalry to Blake's army.

The evacuation of Aragon is confirmed, and there are no other military movements worth noticing. It is supposed that an attempt is about to be made to cut off the retreat of the French.

On my way to Lugo I staid two days at Santiago. The wealthy priests of that shrine were very civil to us. Stuart and his party were received with enthusiasm by the people and lodged and fed at the expense of the municipality.

It is my present intention to proceed with the deputies to Ocaña in the suite of my good friend Stuart, unless any particular circumstance should arise to render such a scheme impracticable.

General Broderick arrived here to-day on his way to Blake's army. Scarcely a vessel arrives from England without a military or a civil mission.

With best and kindest remembrances to Lady Holland,

I am,

Yr. much obliged and faithful Servt.,

CHAS. R. VAUGHAN.

As I have left Coruña I have no newspapers to send you, and as the Junta has left it they have lost some sources of intelligence.

No. 3

Madrid, Sept. 17th, 1808.

DEAR LADY H.,—Your note, dated Hinckley, overtook me at Valladolid. I thank you for your letter to Mrs. Hunter, and I have no doubt but that I shall profit by it before I leave Spain. Your commissions shall be executed with all due dispatch.

My last letter to Lord H. from Lugo, will have informed you of my intention of accompanying my friend Stuart to Madrid, on his way to the Central Junta now forming at Ocaña. Many deputies are already arrived there, but the place for their future deliberations is not finally agreed upon. Aranjuez or the Pardo near Madrid are talked of.

It is impossible to describe to you the manner in which the people in every town thro' which we have passed have expressed their opinion of the English. We have been feasted by the upper classes of society, and we have been literally hugged and carried in the arms of the mob. It is singular that in every class and in every district, the same anxious wish has been repeatedly expressed that the Royal family of England should give a wife to Ferdinand VII. The outrage of seizing their frigates is now considered as the miraculous interposition of Providence, which placed in the hands of the English a treasure which would certainly have fallen into the hands of the French, and which treasure is now given back to them by the English when the nation is most in need of it. The revolution seems to have changed the Spanish character in many respects. They are incessant talkers. In every town thro' which you pass the people collect together anxiously enquiring the news, and the post no sooner arrives than the *Gazette* is read aloud to the multitude by some fellow mounted upon a chair. We have had no reason to complain of bad police on our journey, tho' as usual we have heard from time to time that in some distant district we must expect to meet with robbers. Agricultural and commerce wear as little appearance of war as you can well imagine.

At Segovia we passed thro' what may be called the left wing of the Spanish army, advancing against the French stationed upon the Ebro. We found there General Cuesta and about 8 thousand infantry, principally battalions of newly raised peasantry. Eight hundred of his cavalry were at St. Ildefonso and, according to the officers, the horses were sadly out of condition. The whole of his cavalry is said to amount to 15 hundred.

Yesterday I saw a part of Reding's corps file off through Madrid for Soria, to join the centre of the Spanish army. Twelve thousand men had arrived some days since in the environs of that place, and the forces of Castaños amounting to 30 thousand men continue daily to collect upon that point.

The right wing of this army will be composed of 18 thousand

effective men under Palafox, who is already on his march upon the Ebro.

The French have a few hundred cavalry in Burgos and the rest of their force is in cantonments upon the Ebro, to facilitate the supplying them with provisions. It is understood that they have not a single magazine. Their most advanced post upon the Ebro is Milagro.

Blake is at Reinosa in the mountains of Montaña, ready to fall upon the flank or rear of the French in co-operation with the corps advancing from the South.

These military movements I am sorry to say have been much impeded by the provincial Juntas. The Junta of Seville refused to advance any supplies to Castaños if he quitted Andalusia, but they were more peremptory with him about not quitting Madrid. Under these circumstances General Doyle drew for as many thousand dollars as would put him in motion, and since that the Junta have altered their conduct and have been very liberal. Galicia also does not like its army being carried so far from the frontier of their own province.

All these circumstances prove to you the necessity of immediately forming one central Government. The deputies have been appointed from their respective Juntas, but their meeting does not appear to me to be so certain or so simple a business as one should at first suppose. I have before told you of the quarrel between Cuesta and Blake. The latter has been made Captain-General of Galicia, and the command of the army of that province has been given to him, and which army consists of the regular troops of the several garrisons of Ferrol, Coruña, &c., &c. Cuesta, who is Captain-General of Castile and Leon, had only an army of peasantry and a respectable body of cavalry, acting with the forces from Galicia, which were at first under the command of Filanghieri, who resigned and was afterwards murdered by his soldiers. Upon this event happening, Cuesta as an old general expected to be appointed his successor, but to his great mortification Blake, an officer of very inferior rank, was appointed to the command of the forces of Galicia by the Junta at Coruña, and immediately after the battle of Rio Seco, Cuesta separated himself from him with the levies of Leon and Castile. From this moment there has been great difference of opinion between the provinces under the control of Cuesta and Galicia. As soon as we had passed the frontier of the latter kingdom we heard of nothing but Cuesta and his great merits, as far

as this city, where he does not seem to be a favourite. He is, I understand, a man of great pride, harsh manners, cool and determined courage, and tho' considerably advanced in age, strong and active. His quarrel with Blake has just given rise to a circumstance which, if true, will impede for some time the meeting of the Central Government. It was yesterday reported on the authority of a letter from a cousin of Don Antonio Valdes (the friend of Ld. Holland) that Cuesta had arrested Valdes on his way to Ocaña at Tordesillas, and carried him to the tower of Segovia. The Duke de Infantado and the best informed people of Madrid believe the report, inasmuch as Cuesta threatened so to do upon hearing that Valdes, as President of the Junta at Leon, had joined the assembly of deputies at Lugo in Galicia. Valdes was not far behind us on our way to this city; we passed him on the frontier of Galicia and at Segovia. Stuart had a long interview with Cuesta on the 14th when he talked with the utmost frankness and spared nobody, but said nothing of his intention of arresting Valdes. We shall soon have the confirmation of this news.

We have heard much complaint upon our road about the formation of Juntas; sometimes because the members were not natives of the province for which they were named. The assembly at Lugo also has given great offence in Leon, Castile, and even Madrid by a pompous kind of treaty that they made upon assembling together. For my part I see nothing offensive in it but the form. It was right that they should declare on what grounds they met, but a formal treaty as between three powers was an odd form for a Declaration.

I have had the pleasure of being in company with the Duke de Infantado and General Castaños. They both look worn with fatigue, and the latter is become so old in looks since I saw him at Algesiras in 1802 that I should not have known him again.

General Doyle is just returned from Saragossa and speaks of the defence of that place as being the most singular event that has happened. The Portuguese and French deserters and prisoners make the loss of the French amount to 8 thousand killed, and only 2 thousand wounded. Palafox is said to be very like Sir Sidney Smith in person and manner.

I have sent Ld. Holland a very curious and interesting pamphlet by Cevallos, and another, *The Justification of the Council of Castile*. I hope that they will arrive as soon as this letter. Admiral de Courcy at Coruña will forward them



to Admiral Young at Plymouth, and thence they are to be forwarded according to their address. I send you two or three Madrid *Gazettes* also.

It is wished that the army of Romana should debark at Santona near Santander, where Blake can cover the landing.

Throughout Spain there is a singular anxiety about the arrival of a detachment of English cavalry to act with Blake or the other armies upon the Ebro. A mistake of the Junta of Coruña induced every one to believe that such a detachment was on the way to Galicia, and it has been a hard work wherever we have been to explain away this mistake. Certainly applications for cavalry have been made to the British Govert. I believe first thro' Sir T. Dyer. Perhaps the time that has elapsed would not justify any complaints against the British Government for delay, if they have the intention of sending it. I do not know how far it might be advisable to meet the wishes of the Spaniards on this subject, or what difficulties we may have to encounter in finding an English general to act under a Spanish one. But this I know, that the Spaniards are in great want of cavalry and that their operations must be confined owing to that circumstance. It is said that they have a large body of horse in Estremadura, but that General Galluzzo will not move from before Elvas till he has had the honor of its surrendering to him. Elvas must fall to the first British officer who can secure the safety of the French.

Believe me to be with the highest respect and esteem,

Your much obliged and obedient Servt.,

C. R. V.

We are lodged at Madrid in the House of the *Inquisitor General*. The brutality and dirty pilfering of the French in every place thro' which we passed is astonishing. Particularly Valladolid and Rio Seco.

No. 3

Aranjuez, Sept. 28th, 1808.

DEAR LORD H.,—Your letter of the 12th of September and one without a date, inclosing a letter to the Duke de Infantado, both reached me last night, by couriers from Gijon and Coruña. The arrival of the Duke at this *sitio* upon business with the Junta, gave me an opportunity of putting

your letter into his hands this day, and to-morrow I shall carry your letters to Count Florida Blanca and Jovellanos. I am much obliged to you for the kind manner in which you have chosen to recommend me to them. I have had several opportunities of being in company with the Duke de Infantado. You know how attractive his manners are, and the revolution has made him one of the most interesting characters in Madrid. I hope to profit by your introduction and to become better known to him. He tells me that he has received your book and speaks of it, as every other Spaniard does who is acquainted with it, in terms that you would think it vile flattery in me to repeat. The Spanish also of your letters is highly thought of.

I despair of seeing much of the Count Florida Blanca and Jovellanos. The first has severe duties to fulfil for a man of his great age as the President of the Central Junta, at present scarcely formed, and the latter, I am told, is much broken by his long imprisonment and must devote also the greater part of his day to public business.

The Junta are assembled in the palace here, from 9 to 11 and from 7 to 9 in the evening. The *siesta* and visits occupy the few hours that they remain at home. But I shall have much to thank you for, if your letters should procure me only one interview with two such interesting characters.

The Central Junta met in due form, as I told you in my last, on the 25th inst. I enclose you a list of the members, with such observations upon them as I have been able to collect from conversation with different people. You will be surprised like myself not to find Saavedra amongst them. The truth is that the Junta of Seville was formed by the mob, who looked at their work and did not like it, until some one proposed to give respectability to the whole by placing at the head of it Saavedra. This provincial Junta is not abolished by the establishment of the Central one, at least at present, and the people who are accustomed to obey it acting under the name of Saavedra, would run riot if they found it abandoned to the *mauvais sujets* that they originally placed there. The absence of Saavedra is thus accounted for to me by natives of Seville. I am afraid that the hasty formation of many of the provincial Juntas may be felt in the Central one. In some parts of Spain the Juntas were named by a Captain-General, in others selected in haste by a mob from the persons surrounding them, and in very few were the deputies the choice of the people. It is natural, therefore, that complaints should

be heard against many persons sent to the Central Junta, sometimes for incapacity, sometimes want of character, and at others that they are not *natives* of the province that they represent. There has been likewise great liberality in admitting a larger proportion of members from one kingdom than another, which is not yet talked of as a grievance, tho' deputies have been sent back, as two from Cadiz and the same number from a Junta at Carthagena. I agree with you in your opinion that the popular assembly should be numerous, but I cannot find a Spaniard who does not think that the number of deputies in the Central Junta is already too large.

The members are as follows—those marked \* were present on the 25th :—

## SEVILLE.

El Señor administrador, el Arzobispo de Laodicea.\* He is appointed to officiate as Bishop at Seville by the Archbishop of Toledo and Seville. A good man, very timid and warmly attached to his Patron. Perhaps I ought to add that the Archbishop of Toledo, &c., is a Bourbon, who was not acknowledged by the Court of Spain until the Prince of the Peace married his sister, when he was made an Archbishop, and subsequently a younger sister was proposed as a second wife for Ferdinand VII. The Princess of the Peace now goes by the name of Countess of Chinchon.

El Conde de Tilly,\* the other deputy, is a noted gambler, who was at the head of the populace at Seville, May 26th. A man of some wit, but very slender capacity. It is said that he cannot go to Madrid on account of a criminal process against him for stealing jewellery.

## GRANADA.

Sr. Dn. Rodrigo Riquelme,\* a man of great talent and very likely to become a leader in the National Junta. A lawyer : bad heart, and suspected of dishonest intentions.

El Canonigo Luis Gineo Funes,\* an ecclesiastic who is not likely to take an active part in any business.

- CORDOVA. Marqués de la Puebla,\* a plain, *good sort of man*.  
Dn. Juan de Diez Rabe.\*
- JAEN. Dn. Sebastian Jocano.\*  
Dn. Francisco de Paula Castanedo.\*
- ESTREMADURA. El Intendente Dn. Martin Garay,\* a man of great talents, an high sense of honor, very likely to become a leader in the Junta, but deficient in discernment, and not unlikely to be misled by Riquelme.  
El Tesorero Felix Ovalle,\* a man of excellent understanding, great acquired knowledge but ill-digested. Not likely to take an active part in public life. Subservient to his colleague Garay.
- ASTURIAS. Sr. Dn. Gaspar Jovellanos.\* It would be impertinent to sketch his character, but it may be proper to add that the Spaniards believe that he will not develop his talents or take a lead, lest he should be suspected of being ambitious of holding altogether the reins of Government.  
El Conde de Campo Sagrado.\*
- LEON. El Señor Don Antonio Valdes. The Spaniards speak of his *esprit de corps*. Daniel, elected in his room by Cuesta, is not received.  
El Visconde de Quintanilla.
- CASTILLA LA VIEJA. El Sr. Dn. Lorenzo Bonifaz Quintano.\* I believe that he is the author of a sort of newspaper, and must not be mistaken for your friend.  
Dn. Francisco Xavier Caro.
- VALENCIA. El Conde de Contamina.\*  
El Principe Pio. Two quiet members unless they touch upon nobility. The latter is friendly to the Council of Castile.
- MURCIA. El Conde Florida Blanca.\*  
Marqués del Villar,\* good natural talents, without acquirements.

- CATALONIA. Marqués de Villel.\*  
Baron de Sabazona,\* a good man, of considerable knowledge of books.
- TOLEDO. El vicario Dn. Pedro Ribero.\*  
El abogado Dn. José Manuel Garcia de la Torre,\* a lawyer of an intriguing disposition and mischievous temper.
- ARAGON. Dn. Francisco Palafox,\* brother of the general.  
Sr. Dn. Lorenzo Calvo,\* said to be very clever and very cunning.
- MALLORCA Y ISLAS BALEARES. Dn. Tomas de Veri,\* an officer in the militia of his island. A man of letters, timid, and unlikely that he will take an active part.  
Marqués de Togoséz.\*
- GALICIA. Conde de Gimonde, an honest patriot of plain understanding.  
Sr. Avalue, who was a cypher in the Junta of Coruña.

Biscay, Navarre, and Madrid are wanting. Deputies are arrived at the army of Palafox from Navarre out of whom they are to be chosen, and the Count de Altamira is said to be one of those named for Madrid. I cannot account for other provinces wanting.

You will smile at the flippant manner in which I have attempted the characters of these worthy legislators. But it will serve to give you some idea of what is thought of them by the Spaniards. I do not speak of any of them from personal knowledge of them or acquaintance with them.

I understand that their first meetings were devoted to arranging the form of choosing a President, the duration of that office, &c., and dividing themselves into committees for the dispatch of business.

Florida Blanca, it is supposed, will continue President for two terms, and then that the President will be chosen by lot. Marqués del Villar is appointed to be their organ of communication with the British Envoy. They have been pressed upon the subject of military arrangements since the arrival of Ld. W. Bentinck, who is empowered to treat about the movements of our army and they talk of appointing immediately a Council of War.



The state of parties seems to be this. The Council of Castile and the people of Madrid talk of a Regency. The Central Junta declare that they shall exercise the power of the Sovereign and they have proposed to the Council of Castile an oath of allegiance, at which they begin to revolt. You know the constitutional powers of this Council :—that all edicts of the King, to have effect, must be promulgated by the Council of Castile ; that they have the right to remonstrate with the Crown and to refuse to publish its edicts ; and that in the absence of the Cortes they are the barrier between the power of the Crown and the people. You also know that these 30 Councillors are appointed by the King and exist only during his pleasure, wherefore little practical good has been derived by the people from this constitutional check upon the Crown. Inasmuch as the acts of the Court have of late years been more than usually disgraceful, it was necessary that the Council of Castile should be composed of persons not likely to revolt at *any* proposal from the King's Minister. It is said, therefore, that the present members of that Council are persons unworthy of their trust and creatures of the Prince of the Peace. However little they may merit such harsh language, it is certain that the people of the provinces detest them, for having issued the edicts of the King Father on his resumption of his crown at Bayonne and of the Bonapartes, with the same tame submission as those of Ferdinand. The host of writers, and others employed by them at Madrid, give them there a strong party in their favor, and those noblemen whose views are inclined to the Regency think well of them. The Junta, however, are alive to the feelings of the people, and they have assembled at a distance from the Council of Castile ; but I apprehend that they will issue their edicts thro' this constitutional organ, tho' the people consider it as impure. If so, we must expect a good deal of discussion. The edict of the Junta will not pass without observation, and the people exercising the power of the Crown would not surely destroy the only check upon that power which is to be restored to their King by removing Counsellors who give them advice.

Had the Duke de Infantado been a man of talent and ambition he must have been at the head of the Government. A council of Regency has been a favorite idea amongst the people, but it never will be so with the Junta. The Duke, should such a Council be formed, must be a leading character in it. He is popular ; he has been the friend and fellow-

sufferer with Ferdinand, has been once named by him Regent. I allude to the period when the King Charles IV disinherited Ferdinand, and the latter appointed the Duke Regent, in the event of his being prevented ascending the throne on the death of his father. It was the commission to the Duke that was the cause of the arrest at the Escorial. I cannot help thinking that the Council of Castile have the ear of the D. de I., and that they wish to put him forward. But on his part we hear of nothing but joining the armies. The Central Junta are sometimes, I observe, spoken of with contempt; and I know not whether to attribute it to the bad characters of some members, or to a jealousy of the growing influence of the people. It is something represented as ridiculous the people exercising the power of the Crown, and the slowness of their proceedings is complained of. I do not think that the nobility of this country have much claim upon the people. They were slow to take up arms and they would have formed the *levée* of Bonaparte, as they had formed that of the Prince of the Peace, had not the just indignation and noble efforts of the most virtuous people in the world driven them to defend their country.

But however it is yet too early to speak of the characters of the several orders in this country. The enemy is still at their gate, and I am sorry to say that much time has been lost in appointing a chief of their armies. It would be well if they could do without one. But such men as Cuesta should be controlled.

Since my last, Blake seems to have made a good movement. He advanced from Reinosa to Frias, and the French outposts were in consequence of it obliged to fall back upon Pancorvo. In the meantime Blake pushed a division of 5000 men to Bilbao, and the French garrison of that place consisting of 12 hundred men escaped only by 3 hours. The Spaniards put to death 70 Frenchmen they found there, and were in pursuit and likely to cut off the retreat of the twelve hundred. This movement of Blake's has put in motion the Asturias, who have received about half a million sterling from England without one soldier passing their mountains. In the Montaña 4000 men have got arms, and about double that number in Biscay.

Blake at present has his left at Ona, centre at Frias, and the right extends to Orduña. His head-quarters are at Trapaderno and he has not the least apprehension of the

French daring to attack his position. He cannot descend into the plains of Alava for want of cavalry.

Sept. 29th, 1808.

I have just heard that the Central Junta have resolved to appoint Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, who is already in London, their Minister at the British Court and to recall immediately all other deputies.

It is said that the cavalry of Estremadura and a regiment from Granada are ordered by forced marches to join the army assembling in front of the French. I rather suspect that everything is arranged for our army joining the Spanish forces upon the frontier.

No. 4

Aranjuez, Oct. 14th, 1808.

DEAR LORD H.,—The Junta are still at Aranjuez, and their adjourning to Madrid is postponed to some distant day. They named the Ministers of State last night. They are as follows: *Cevallos*, Foreign Affairs; *Hermida*, Home Department or *Secretario de la Gracia y Justicia*; *Cornel*, War Department; *Escaño*, Minister of Marine; *Saavedra*, the Department of the *Hacienda* or Finance. The deputy *Garay* is named Secretary of the Junta, permanently.

I hear that the deputies have resolved that Florida Blanca is to remain their President with a salary of 25 thousand dollars per ann.; that he is to reside at Madrid in the palace; to have the title of Highness, and to be escorted by guards when he appears in public. They have voted the inviolability of their persons and they are to wear the costume of Counsellors of State, with the addition of a rich crimson velvet mantle on gala days; moreover, every deputy is to have an annual salary of 5 thousand dollars.

To-day, the Birthday of Ferdinand VII, the Junta, after chapel, held a Court in the palace. I am just returned from making my bow to them. The President surrounded by the deputies received a few people who are at the *sitio*, and the ceremony was merely advancing, making a bow, and immediately retiring. I accompanied Stuart, who is the only Minister who has taken any notice of them. The *chargés d'affaires* of Austria and America, and the Russian Ambassador, Count Strogonoff, are the only ones remaining at Madrid of the Diplomatic corps.

I hear that orders have arrived at Lisbon for 20,000 of our troops to advance immediately into Spain, and that they are to be joined by 10,000 under Baird expected at Coruña. The Marquis de Romana has experienced bad weather off the coast of Spain, and I do not hear that he is yet arrived. I saw his brother this morning, who left him at Gottenburg.

My next letter will be dated from Palafox's headquarters. I leave Aranjuez to-night, and set out to-morrow evening with Colonel Doyle and Mr. Cavendish for Saragossa. Thence I mean to advance with Palafox towards the French and return shortly to Madrid by way of the centre of the Spanish army. All that I know of their positions at present is that they are advancing. Since the alarm of the French reinforcements, the utmost activity has prevailed in drawing together troops from all quarters. By the way, the French have *not* received their reinforcements, but by an intercepted letter they are promised them by the 20th Nov.

The Junta will lose no time in appointing Ambassadors to the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg. The Council of Castile is very submissive, and the Junta is popular at Madrid.

I cannot thank you too often for your letter to Jovellanos. He is one of the most modest men in his manners, and of the most amiable disposition I have yet seen. It is impossible to see anything of Florida Blanca, and indeed it is very seldom that I have an opportunity of speaking to Jovellanos. He has never seen your book.

Count Tilly gave us a dinner the other day. I presume that it was in celebration of his person being declared inviolable. All the deputies are now arrived. Cuesta and Valdes are before the Junta.

The quarrel with Cuesta is the only unpleasant circumstance that has yet occurred. Otherwise the most perfect harmony and unison now prevails in all classes of the Govert. and of the people.

Remember me kindly to Lady H. and Mr. A. I do not send you the *Semanario*, as Stuart informs me that he received a packet for you from Quintana of them, and forwarded it, as well as a pamphlet by Capmany, *dedicated to you*. The *Semanario* is very much sought after.

P.S.—The Bishop of Orense is appointed *Inquisitor General*. You will observe that not one of the Ministers has been taken from the Junta.

Since writing the above I learn that Romana's forces have landed at Santander. The French have abandoned the line of the Ebro and their force is divided between Bilbao and the posts of Olite, Estella, and Pampeluna.

## No. 5

Saragossa, Nov. 8th, 1808.

I have just heard of your embarking on board the *Amazon* frigate for Spain, and I expect that this letter will find you at Coruña. I regret that I did not read your intention of setting out immediately in your enquiries about roads. I ought to have told you of the great difficulty of procuring money for bills upon England; Coruña is a better place for discounting bills than Madrid, and I would recommend you to negociate your business with M. Barrié, a most respectable merchant, who has been unfortunately persecuted on account of his French origin. He has correspondents in all parts of the world, and may be very useful to you. There cannot be a worse man of business at Coruña than the English Vice-Consul, Magniac. I hope that you have not any French servant in your suite, as he will certainly be discovered and occasion you great uneasiness. Coruña is a bad place to move from with carriages, as I remember that there was but one miserable *tiro* of mules in the place. If Ferrol and the surrounding district has been swept of mules to carry the baggage of the English army, you would do well to send in to Leon, the country of *margatos* (*sic*), and purchase *tiros*, which you would dispose of afterwards to advantage at Madrid. You need have no fear of the road over the Galician mountains; it is excellent. I cannot give you any information respecting inns, as I travelled post to Astorga, and thence to Madrid rapidly with relays of mules. Before you receive this letter you will know as much of Coruña as myself. The *Gallego noblesse* are not very well lodged, nor are their *tertulias* the most brilliant. If Mr. Allen is with you tell him that he will find a very good library in the *Consulado*.

I am just returned from the army of Aragon on the frontier of Navarre and the headquarters of the Central Army at Tudela. I accompanied Doyle and Palafox. In Exea 12 leagues from Saragossa and in Sadava 4 leagues beyond Exea, we found a division of 4960 effective men, of which number about 500 cavalry, under the command of General St. Marc,



a native of Flanders with the vivacity of a Frenchman, and who has the reputation of being an excellent executive officer. The state of the division did him credit. His men well clothed, particularly the Valencian regts., owing to the exertions of the Junta of Valencia. At Sos, 6 leagues from Sadava, and a very strong position in the mountains, we found a small detachment of infantry. General O'Neil who commands the army of Aragon in the absence of Palafox had established headquarters at Sanguesa, 2 leagues from Sos. His division, according to the returns on the 1st of Nov., amounted to 9368 effective men, of whom about 200 cavalry armed with lances. The advanced posts of this division at Aybar and Lumbier. In Sanguesa were stationed the men most in need of cloathing, and I was sorry to see many soldiers of advanced guards turned out to their general almost naked. But enthusiasm and a spirit of obedience prevailed everywhere notwithstanding the most severe wants. The divisions of St. Marc and O'Neil have since been reinforced by 4000 Murcians infantry and 120 cavalry, well clothed and organized. The position of these divisions ought by this time to be as follows: *O'Neil* at Sanguesa, Aybar, and Lumbier. *Gen. Villaba* at Sos, Caseda, and Gallifiensó. *Gen. St. Marc* at Sadava. It is the intention to move up to Exea 2000 infantry from Saragossa and 2000 new levies with 100 dragoons from Calatayud, leaving in Saragossa about 2000 men to do the garrison duty and guard 1500 French prisoners. Thus the whole effective force of what may be called the army of Aragon, which forms the right of the Spanish line, amounts to 24,548 men, of which number the cavalry are about 1500. It must be remembered that about 6000 men under the Marqués de Lazan, the brother of Palafox, marched from Aragon to the relief of Catalonia, soon after the siege of Saragossa. There will be no difficulty in adding 30,000 recruits to this army whenever musquets can be found for them. Eight thousand English musquets are daily expected here from Tortosa, which will immediately give as many soldiers to the army, and the people of this province are the best formed for soldiers that I have met with. The utmost effort is made here to cloath, to arm, and to organize a force. In the midst of the siege the gunpowder failed and the inhabitants immediately set about making it. They have now established a manufactory of it in the city which produces from 10 to 12 *anobas* pr. day. The earth in the neighbourhood

furnishes saltpetre ; the sulphur is drawn from Terruel and other places, and the charcoal is made from the stalks of the hemp which grows to an immense size. Several hundred monks are daily employed in a large church making cart-ridges. Since the siege, extensive works have been constructed for the defence of the city, and they have established magazines for cloathing their armies, and I hope that very shortly they will have completed uniforms for the troops already in the field. The active spirit of the chief pervades every department and is well seconded by the people.

At Tudela, the headquarters of the Central Army, there are about 10,000 men under Gen. Castaños. On the left his line extends to Nalda where he has 2000 ; at Ansejo 1000 ; at Calahorra, 6000 ; at Alfaro and Corella 13,000. The whole force about 29,000 men, of whom abt. 4000 cavalry. The Estremadura army has been ordered to Burgos to support the right of Blake, who has had a severe engagement with the French, and been obliged to retire to Valmaseda, where his letter was dated on the 3rd of Novr. The French General Lasalle has moved towards Burgos to check the Estremadura forces. Six thousand of Castaños' division still remain at Madrid. The army of Castaños is well cloathed, but want shoes ; and tolerably well appointed. He mingles his levies with his regulars. It has been proved again and again that armed masses of peasantry cannot resist in the field a regular force such as the French. The Battles of Cabezon, Rio Seco, and all the engagements in Aragon before the siege of Saragossa are proofs of it. But behind walls and in towns peasantry are quite as formidable as regular troops.

The French have received during the month of October and the first week of November a reinforcement of 24,681 infantry of the line, 3500 cavalry, 3662 light infantry. I have seen the regular returns, and many of the regts. are Dutch and others of the Confederation of the Rhine. Bonaparte was at Bayonne with Savary on the 3rd of this month, with about a thousand inftry. and a proportion of *gendarmes*.

The deputies from the Spanish Junta held a Council of War while we were at Tudela, and it was agreed to make a combined attack upon Caporrosa. The French in Navarre, to the amount of about 28,000 men, are at Pampeluna, and thence extend to Estella, Falces and Peralta, Tafalla, Olita, and Caparrosa. Delay has taken place again in the movements of Castaños, and suspicions gain ground with those

who would be active that he is under the influence of two people upon his staff, who were formerly aides-de-camp of the Prince of the Peace and allowed each of the military departments under their control to go to ruin. Their names are Navarro and St. Pierre. It is impossible to know with what justice their patriotism is suspected, but at the head-quarters at Tudela I heard much of their talents.

Nov. 9th.

I have just heard that the enemy are in movement in Navarre; and we expect an attack upon the central and right wing. The attacks of the enemy at Logroño on the 25th of Oct., and the same day at Lerin, on the 29th at Calahorra, and the 24th at Sanguesa, look to me very like what the military people call attacks of reconnaissance and having ascertained the position of the Spaniards and their force, I shall not be surprised at an irruption into Aragon, dividing Castañón from the Aragon army and beating both in detail before the English arrive.

What would I not sacrifice, my dear Lord, for the satisfaction of seeing you the Ambassador in Spain. Your regard for the Spaniards is well known in this country. You are the only foreigner of distinction who has made himself acquainted with their literature, and I so often hear your name mentioned with pleasure where I least expect it that I cannot but feel grieved that you are not the organ of my own Government in this country. It would not be right to canvass the character of the person who is sent to Madrid, but I must observe, that I never heard one individual in Spain ever mention his name.

I have witnessed the conduct of Stuart from living in the house with him, and in my opinion it has been very judicious. He is very diligent, and there is a frankness in his manners which pleases the Spaniards and he does not, like my countrymen in general, shun their society. Hitherto there has been no lack of missionaries in Spain: major-generals and their staffs with every army, not one of whom has ever known enough of the language to obtain the confidence of those with whom they have been placed. This does not apply to Doyle, who is really beloved by the Spaniards, and I do not believe that Palafox receives a private note without submitting it to his perusal.

Nov. 10th.

Buonaparte at Vitoria on the 5th. The French seem to meditate an attack upon Castaños. They appear to be collecting a force to pass the Ebro at Logroño and Lodosa. The army of this province are ordered to descend the Aragon river, destroying all the bridges, and to support the center.

I shall probably in the course of the next month shake you by the hand at Coruña on my way to England. Kindest remembrances to Lady H. and Mr. A.





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*a.*, signifies afterwards; *r.*, referred to; *des.*, description of; figures in italics, notes.

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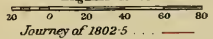


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