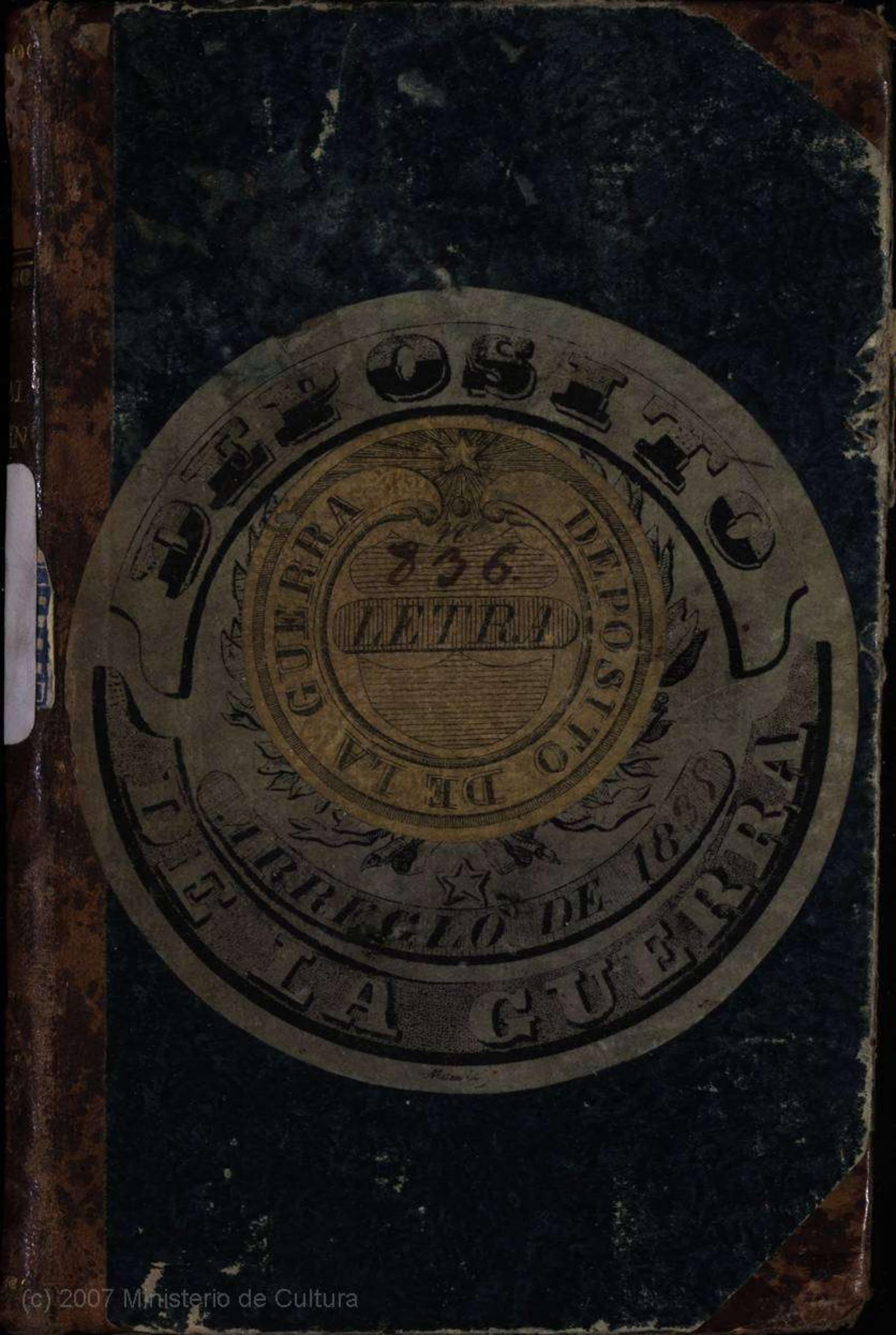

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY,
AND OF
THE STATE
AND
SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE
OF
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,
DURING
THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE YEARS
1808 & 1809.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

By the Rev. JAMES WILMOT ORMSBY, A. M.
CHAPLAIN ON THE STAFF, &c.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

THE greater part of the following Letters, especially those contained in the first volume, were originally written in confidential correspondence with my friends; and the difficulty of collecting them, since my return, has occasioned the lateness of their publication. The fact, however, is principally stated to account for the introduction of much matter, which may not appear to come pro-

perly within the title of the work. After the Convention of Cintra, the military operations in Portugal consisted merely of a march through the country; and from the ease and security with which it was performed, it resembled rather a tour than a campaign. Many opportunities were consequently afforded of acquiring some useful and agreeable knowledge; and this, it is humbly hoped, will plead my apology for the descriptions of places, and remarks on manners, which, though they might be gratifying to private friendship, may not be thought worthy of being submitted to the public. But if they

approve my sentiments, the irregularity of the shape in which they are presented will, I trust, be pardoned.

In describing the battles of Roleia and Vimiera, which occurred a few days previous to my landing in Portugal, I have availed myself of the official accounts; subsequent information having satisfied me that their accuracy might be relied on, and that no difference of opinion existed as to any thing material. The arguments on the Convention I have stated with fidelity, and can confidently appeal to the army for the truth of my assertions.

To recount the disastrous events in Spain, and particularly the causes which led to them, was neither an easy nor a grateful task; but, with truth and impartiality for my guides, I have declared the result of my own observations, and of those of the many experienced and competent persons who have conversed with me on the subject. They will be found to vary in many instances from the impressions which have been already made relative to that campaign, as the rule of "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice," has been rigidly adhered to. In speaking of the character and abilities of the prin-

cipal actors in those momentous scenes, I have been able to observe an unbiassed independence; for of them all I can assert, that they were and are to me, " *nec beneficio, nec injuriâ cogniti.*"

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

LETTER I.

Embarkation. Prayers on Board. Death of the Mate. Dupont. Sir Arthur Wellesley. Mondego. Figueira - - - - page 1

LETTER II.

Berlingas. Maceira Bay. Army disembarks. Vimiera. Battle of Roleia. Battle of Vimiera. Sir Harry Burrard. Sir Hew Dalrymple. Armistice. French Hospital. Portuguese Peasants. Encampment - - - - - 13

LETTER III.

Ramalhal. Torres Vedras. Armistice condemned. Popularity of Sir Arthur Wellesley. Trousifalla. Agreeable Family. Mafra. Convent - 35

LETTER IV.

Cintra. Inn. Beauty of the surrounding Scenery. Convent of Cork. Convent of St. Jeronimo. Moorish Bath. Valley of Collares. Palace. Anecdote of Alfonso the Fourth. Convention. Penha Verde. Departure from Cintra - 50

LETTER V.

Forts on the Tagus. Character of the Portuguese. Lisbon. Hotels. French Sentry. Anger at the Convention. French Plunder. English Commissioners. Arguments on the Convention 76

LETTER VI.

Lisbon. Account of its Origin. Streets. Aqueduct. Churches. Squares. Pombal. Public Walk - - - - - - - 97

LETTER VII.

Quelus. Palace. Sickness in the Camp. Embarkation of the French. Garrison at Elvas. French Army. Spanish Prisoners. Rage of the Populace. Junot's Plunder. Laziness of the People. Beggars. Divine Service. Hospitals. Burial Ground. Images - - - 114

LETTER VIII.

Mode of Living. State of Society. Dress. Public Places. Dogs. Assassination. Belem Monastery. Kellerman - - - - 135

LETTER IX.

Portuguese Troops. Regency. Change of Sentiments on the Convention. Illuminations. Functions. Recal of Sir Hew Dalrymple. Command of Sir Harry Burrard. Sir John Moore to proceed to Spain. Dislocation of the Army. Intelligence from Oporto. Jealousy of the Portuguese - - - - - - 156

LETTER X.

Spanish Servant. Sacavem. Villafranca. Azamboja. Old Priest. Santarem. Disembargador. Provedor das Lizirias. Wantonness of the French. Good Conduct of our Troops - - 174

LETTER XI.

Gollagoa. Agreeable Family. Bed Room. Punheté. Crucifix stolen. Abrantes. Junot. Ammunition - - - - - - 190

LETTER XII.

Cross the Tagus. Charming Family. Garvao. Niza. Villa Velha. Sernades. Castello Blanco. Bishop. Chaplain. Remarks on General Blake's Defeat. Re-organization of the Portuguese Army - - - - - - 201

LETTER XIII.

Atalaia. Capinha. Intelligent Host. Covilha. Convent of Franciscans. Story of Florinda. Cloth Factory. Heavy Rains - - 213

LETTER XIV.

Romantic Road. Guarda. Bishop's Palace. Corps of Guides. Villa Formosa. Miscellaneous Remarks - - - - - - 225

LETTERS

FROM

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

Written in the Years 1808 & 1809.

LETTER I.

At Sea, 23rd August, 1808.

YOUR last words were, "Write to me constantly;" and you seemed to doubt, with justice, the performance of my promise. But now that I am so many leagues from home, and have so remote and precarious a prospect of return, what at other times was mere kindness and civility, becomes at once a duty and a delight. Emotions crowd upon me, to which I have hitherto been a stranger; selfishness perhaps predominates; and the

result may be, that you will condemn my punctuality more than you once did my silence.

To begin, then, with all that has occurred of interesting upon the voyage, know, that I embarked with the last of the army*, at Spithead, on the 27th ult. In the evening the fleet dropped down to St. Helens; and the wind being foul for the next three days, we remained at anchor. On the 31st, we sailed with an easterly wind at eight in the morning; at twelve we lay to, and I read prayers on deck to as attentive an audience as I ever had witnessed. In the evening the wind became westerly, and for two days we beat off St. Albans Head. Many of the transports ran foul of one another, and car-

* For return of the army employed to serve on the expedition to Spain and Portugal, see Appendix, No. 1.

ried away their bowsprits. Ours, the Chilton, with part of the seventy-ninth regiment, escaped from injury, being an uncommonly good sailer, and the master and hands particularly careful. On the 4th, orders were issued through the fleet, in case of separation, to assemble in Vigo Bay. On the 7th, we beat off Plymouth all the day, and I read prayers again on deck. On the 9th, it blew a gale; and all the passengers, but one officer and myself, were sick. In the afternoon a soldier was washed overboard; and though he could not swim, the ship under weigh, and the sea tremendously high, he was saved by the activity of the captain and crew. With that promptness of humanity which sailors feel, a boat was let down, and ropes were thrown to him, at the moment that his strength was nearly exhausted, and that he had risen apparently for the last

time. The horrors of his impending fate impaired his intellects for a day.

We had the satisfaction to clear the Channel, and pass Ushant in the night. On the 11th, in the formidable Bay of Biscay, the weather was so fine, and the sea so smooth, that the soldiers and their wives danced to a late hour upon deck. In the morning we found that our mate, who had for some time been afflicted with a pleurisy, had breathed his last. At three in the afternoon I read the funeral service over the body, which was cased in canvas, and, by a weight fastened upon the knees, precipitated into the deep. There was something, I thought, in this watery grave more awful than interment. It probably arose from association of ideas: on shore, we have many to caress and console us; but here, from our little community, an individual could but ill be spared, and the

loss came home to every man's bosom. In the covering of the corpse I perceived that a part of the face was sewed in with the canvas, and on inquiry learned that it was a custom at sea originating in the following circumstance:—A sailor was supposed to be dead; they were preparing him for burial, when, by accident, the needle pierced him in the nose: he instantly revived, and, to avoid the recurrence of such a mistake, they have ever since passed the needle through the nostrils, as the ultimate criterion of life or death.

We proceeded but slowly till the 16th, when we lay our course all the day. At 9 A.M. a telegraphic signal was made by the Commodore to one of the sloops of war, to say that General Sir Harry Burrard would leave his ship, the Audacious, and proceed in the Brazen sloop, before the fleet. By

observation at 12, we were twenty-six miles to the northward of Cape Ortegal. On the 17th, in the morning, we were off Vigo Bay. We remained there till 4 P.M., when we had orders from the Captain Agent to steer for Oporto. We reached St. Johns, seven leagues from Oporto, at 10 A.M. the next day, skirting along a coast which had for many miles been beautiful.

We observed some very fine buildings, and wished in vain to have a closer inspection of them. The town is surrounded by vineyards; and, being the first object on which the eye could dwell with pleasure since we left England, it conveyed a charm, which only those can conceive who have been similarly situated. We lay to till 3 P.M., when the signal for sailing was hoisted, and we were at a loss to account for the delay both here and at Vigo. Soon

after we got under weigh, an officer and Portuguese gentleman hailed us from a shore-boat under press of sail. They had letters for Sir John Moore, and many baskets of fruit for Captain Gosslin, the Commodore. They allowed us to partake of it; and we supplied ourselves for two days with melons, oranges, and grapes. Judge, what a treat. The two first were not of a superior quality, and were much too ripe; but the last excelled the choicest that I had ever eaten. These gentlemen informed us that Dupont's army was defeated; that of seventeen thousand, but nine hundred had escaped; that the General was sent a prisoner to England; that the French were evacuating Spain wherever they could accomplish it; that Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose troops had landed at Figueira, was within two days' march of Lisbon; that the enemy had advanced to

meet him; and that an engagement had taken place, in which Sir Arthur had a considerable advantage. You may conceive what welcome visitors they were.

On the morning of the 20th we were off Mondego Bay, and saw to the southward a large fleet, which proved to be Sir Arthur Wellesley's transports. At 4 P.M. the signal was made by the Commodore to anchor; there was a dead calm, and all the ships were towed in. We lay at anchor during the night, and early in the morning preparations were made for landing. Numerous boats came alongside with fruit, of which we got abundance in exchange for our empty bottles; and the soldiers as much as they could consume, for their old clothes, the rags which they rejected. The people inquired particularly for bread, and gratefully accepted biscuit. On the 22d, at seven

in the morning, the signal was made for disembarkation. It was not necessary to repeat it for me: immediately I hailed a shore-boat; and great was my delight in being carried down the rapid current of Mondego, and at Figueira once more treading upon the firm ground.

The town is small, and in a ruinous condition, but sweetly situated on the left bank of the river. Behind it is a chain of hills gracefully rising one above the other, and covered with vineyards, which are fenced, or rather fortified, by aloes. There are here three small squares, and two churches unworthy of description. There is not any thing peculiar in the dress of the men. The women, hot as it was, were enveloped in large cloth cloaks, and had cotton handkerchiefs tied round the head and under the chin. From the quantity of clothes they

wear, one might suppose that they adopted the advice of the fool to a Duke of Venice in cold weather, to put on all his wardrobe. This was their market-day, and there was not any kind of meat for sale: of peaches, grapes, and melons, there was abundance, which the poor were devouring in the streets with the avidity of hunger. They had a small salted fish resembling the pilchard; but little bread, and that of a greenish colour, neither nutritious nor palatable. They make a weak, well-flavoured, red wine, which they sold to us at a shilling per quart, being about six times more than its ordinary price.

While I amused myself in wandering about the streets, an unexpected order had arrived for the troops to re-embark, nearly one half of them having landed; and when I returned to the beach, I found that I was

the only Englishman on shore. No time was to be lost in regaining the fleet: the natives understood my embarrassment, and regulated their demands accordingly. Imposition I would not submit to, much as I was pressed; and on explaining my situation to the Commandant of the town, he ordered a boat to attend me for a reasonable charge. The boats are shaped like canoes, and the men stand as they row. My troubles were not yet over: we had about a league to go, and every mile they threatened to return, unless I gave them somewhat in addition to the agreement. This was originally two dollars, which their insolent extortion raised to six. On arriving at the transport, I was weak enough to give them three.

And now, as I conceive myself entering upon a fresh expedition, you will probably agree with me in thinking it a most

fit occasion to conclude this detail. My next cannot be more dull, and must be more interesting, as we approach the scene of action.—In place of the usual formalities, take, once for all, this wish, May you deserve to be happy!

LETTER II.

Vimiera, 27th August, 1808.

As might naturally be expected, I found the troops, on my return to the transport, impatient and dissatisfied. The sea is an incongenial element to them. On board, they are miserable and helpless: they were overjoyed at the order to land; for, in their minds, disembarkation, battle, and success, are one; so that not only are their sufferings renewed, but even in this country they apprehend there will not be a laurel left for them to wear. Were it not a Quixotic undertaking to reason with a soldier, it would have been easy to convince them that they had exchanged the certainty of a harassing march for the probability of a quick passage; that they would have been exposed for

five days to a scorching sun, when, on the other hand, they had every prospect of being re-landed in a much shorter time near to the scene of active operations. To this argument there could be but one objection, and that unhappily existed: the winds were in a philosophic mood, more calm than the mildest of our tempers. We had the mortification, during the day of the 23d, to be almost stationary; but the breeze sprung up at night, and we were off the Berlingas at 2 P.M. on the 24th. These rocky islands are situated near Cape Fiserao, are six in number, and as grotesque in form as can well be imagined.

About four leagues to the southward we anchored off Maceira Bay, the place of our destination, at 6 P.M.; and then approved the wisdom which had remanded us on board. The surf was so high on the 25th, that it

was impossible to land; and our anxiety was not a little increased, by hearing that Sir Arthur Wellesley had given battle to and defeated the enemy, on the 21st, at Vimiera; and that Junot had the next day proposed terms of capitulation, which were taken by Colonel Murray, the Quarter-Master General, to Sir Charles Cotton, off the Tagus. We also learned that Sir Harry Burrard had joined the army a short time after the action commenced, but that he did not assume the command, Sir Arthur having made the previous dispositions, and consequently being most capable of carrying them into effect. The next day Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, and took the command in chief. Early on the 26th most of the troops disembarked, though the surf continued to be formidable. The anchorage was here so bad, that, had there been much more wind, we could not have

remained at our moorings; as it was, many of the vessels cut their cables, one of which, having French prisoners on board, ran foul of us, and carried away her bowsprit. I was conveyed in a horse-boat, not without some danger and much inconvenience. The beach was covered with seamen, who, as the boats approached, struggled through the surf, buffeted the waves, and carried us on their shoulders in safety to the shore. I would have rewarded my brave fellow, but, before I had time, he had replunged into the ocean; nor could I learn, that, for this essential service, there was any other remuneration but that which their own hearts afforded. Notwithstanding their exertions, many boats were swamped and valuable lives were lost.

Through a country of variegated and novel charms, I walked to Vimiera, about

three miles. The valleys were vineyards; the hills, cork or fir groves. But admiration of the surrounding scenery did not engage me much nor long: the tainted odour of the atmosphere soon told me that the scene of action was not far distant; and the first object of my solicitude was to learn the glorious occurrences of the 17th and 21st instants.

It appears then, that, on the 15th, operations commenced by our attacking the picquets of the enemy at Brilos. We drove them three miles from their position, and, in the ardour of pursuit, had nearly fallen into a snare. Our force consisted but of four companies of the sixtieth and ninety-fifth rifle corps; and when they were seen to have pushed on so far, they were attacked by a superior force, with a view to cut them off from the detachment which was advancing to their support; and it was not without dif-

ficulty that General Spencer effected their retreat to the village from which the enemy had before been driven, as reinforcements were rapidly pouring down on both our flanks. Our loss in this affair was inconsiderable as to men, there being about twenty wounded and missing; but we had the misfortune to have one officer killed, and another, Captain Pakenham, wounded.

On the morning of the 17th, arrangements were made to attack General Laborde in his position at Roleia, where he had about six thousand men, five hundred of whom were cavalry, and six pieces of artillery. Roleia is situated on an eminence, and has a plain in its front at the termination of a valley, with hills on either side; and, by occupying the eminence, the plain, and the hills, the enemy covered all the passes into the mountains in his rear. By an impetuous attack, he was

soon driven from these posts into the mountains, but, from our want of cavalry, with immaterial loss. He then assumed a formidable position; and it was not till after a most desperate resistance, and on both sides the fall of many a hero, that the passes were forced by our intrepid troops. On the summit were extensive plains, and the enemy, in retreating, three times rallied, attacked us, and were repulsed. It is much to be lamented that we were not in a condition to pursue them effectually, and bring them to battle in the plains; but from the weakness of our cavalry, and from the infantry being obliged to climb through narrow and almost perpendicular passes, in many of them by single file, it was not practicable to gain the heights with a sufficient force in time: every thing was done, that skill and gallantry could accomplish. During the whole of the action,

from the nature of the position, the enemy had a considerably greater force employed than ours. Had we been able to surmount these obstacles, and renew the engagement, the annihilation of his army was inevitable; but so it was, that he retired in good order in the direction of Torres Vedras, having sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and leaving behind three out of his six pieces of cannon. When the circumstances of our attack are considered, the strength of the positions we had to force, and the necessarily inferior number of our troops engaged, we may justly congratulate ourselves on the event of the day, and admit with pride that the thanks * of Sir Arthur Wellesley to his troops were justly merited.

As I do not profess to give you a minute

* For the thanks, and returns of killed and wounded, see Appendix, Nos. 2 and 3.

detail of the movements of the army, you must be content to learn that they marched to Lourinha on the 18th, to Vimiera on the 19th, where they halted on the 20th, and were joined by Brigadier-General Anstruther's brigade, consisting of 2,400 men, who had landed at Maceira the evening before.

Sir Arthur had taken a very fine position, but intended to march towards Mafra on the morning of the 21st, and thereby to turn the enemy's position at Torres Vedras. From this he was prevented by Sir Harry Burrard, who had arrived at Maceira Bay late on the 20th; and after a conference between them, the latter considering his dependance on the ships for supply, and the consequent danger of leaving them at too great a distance, together with his want of cavalry, the condition of his artillery, carriage-horses, and mules, and the formidable nature of the country he

had to move through, determined that the army should not advance, but wait for the complete disembarkation and junction of Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade of 1750 men, which was then effecting, and for the reinforcement of Sir John Moore, which might be expected in a few days. Sir Harry remained on board the Brazen to conclude his dispatches. During the night of the 20th and morning of the 21st, the enemy were seen by our patroles to make some movements which indicated attack, and Sir Arthur made the necessary preparations to receive them.

The village of Vimiera stands in a valley. At the back and to the westward and northward of it is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road that leads from

Lourinha and the northward to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, with eight pieces of artillery, were posted on this mountain, Major-General Hill's brigade being on the right, and Major-General Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a hill, commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward, and commanding all the ground in its neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which Brigadier-General Fane was posted with his riflemen and the 50th regiment, and Brigadier-General Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of six and half of nine-pounders which had been sent there in the preceding night. The ground over which the road from Lourinha passes commanded the left of this latter height, and had only been occu-

pied by a picquet, as the camp had been taken up but for one night, and there was no water in the neighbourhood. The cavalry and reserve of artillery were in the valley between the hills on which the infantry stood, flanking and supporting Brigadier-General Fane's advanced guard. The enemy were first seen about eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard and the left of our position. To these heights Major-General Ferguson immediately moved, across the ravine, with four brigades and six pieces of cannon, and formed there with his right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and his left upon the other ravine, which separates those heights from the range that terminates at the landing-place at Maceira.

The enemy's attack began, in several columns, upon the whole of the troops on the height to the southward and eastward of the town; and notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, they advanced close to the 50th regiment on the left, by whose bayonets they were checked and repulsed. They were at the same time engaged with the second battalion 43rd, the 92nd, and second battalion 52nd; and were attacked in flank by Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, and cannonaded by the artillery on those heights. After a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, which suffered considerably from the superiority in

numbers of cavalry opposed to them. The infantry was not permitted to pursue, as more important service was likely to be required from them soon; it being evident that the principal effort of the enemy would still be made upon the left.

Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments. They charged, and the enemy gave way. They continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82nd, one of the corps of Brigadier-General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, formed a part of the first line by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-

Generals Bowes and Ackland's brigades; whilst Brigadier-General Crauford's brigade and the Portuguese troops *, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded. The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover part of his artillery, by attacking the 71st and 82nd regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about and fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground; and they thus obliged him again to retire with great loss.

* About sixteen hundred.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed under the command of the Duke D'Abrantes (General Junot) in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-five ammunition waggons with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and twenty thousand rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer has been wounded (Berniere) and taken prisoner; another, supposed to be General Thebault, the chief of the staff, has been found dead on the field of battle; and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken *.

* For thanks to the army, see Appendix, No. 4.—For return of ordnance and ammunition taken, see

The action lasted about four hours; and immediately after the repulse and dispersion of the enemy, Sir Arthur Wellesley rode up to Sir Harry Burrard, and proposed that the right should advance to gain possession of Torres Vedras, and that he with the left should pursue the enemy, who was retreating precipitately. Sir Harry replied, that a great deal had been already done, and that he thought it unadvisable to move off the ground. This proposition was soon renewed, in consequence of a message from Major-General Ferguson urging the advantages of advance; but Sir Harry remained inflexible, and thus terminated the business of the day.

Early in the forenoon of the 22nd, Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived at Maceira; and proceeding forthwith to Vimiera, assumed

No. 5.—For return of killed, wounded, and missing, see No. 6.

the command in chief of the army. The day was employed in burying the dead, and conveying the wounded to the beach to be embarked in the transports. In the afternoon an alarm was spread, that the enemy were advancing to renew the attack; and with alacrity our position was taken up as on the day before, and every necessary preparation made for battle. It proved, however, to be a message of peace, being a body of cavalry with a flag of truce; and General Kellerman appeared in camp about half an hour after the alarm had been given. A conference immediately took place between the Generals Dalrymple, Burrard, Wellesley, and Kellerman; and the result was a suspension* of arms, not to be violated on either side without forty-eight hours' previous notice,

* For copy of the armistice, see Appendix, Nos. 7 and 8.

for the purpose of negotiating a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army. If this can be accomplished on honourable terms—and no other would they presume to propose to a victorious army—the first object of the expedition will have been attained with uncommon celerity, and may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.

Having ascertained these most important concerns in a military view, the still small voice of humanity led me to the hospitals in Vimiera, where the wounded French, to the number of about four hundred, lay. A novice in such scenes, the sight affected me deeply. They were principally young men, and delicate; rendered still more so, doubtless, by their sufferings. They wore their long, white, linen coats and trowsers, which serve the double purpose of cool clothing on

such occasions, and saving their regimentals on march and in action. Many operations had been performed, and the surgeons said that few of them could survive. To one I addressed myself, and lamented the horrors of war; commiserating his pain, though an enemy, in the immortal words of Terence. He replied, with a mixture of pride and indignation, that he gloried in his wounds, and that war was the greatest happiness of life. To such a disputant I had nothing to rejoin, but to wish his recovery, and that he might be doomed to bear the miseries of peace, and the inconveniencies of two legs, two arms, and the natural features of his face, for the remainder of his days.

On my return to the encampment—by which you are to understand the hills on which the army halted, with no canopy but the heavens—less interesting objects attracted

my attention, and I perceived that the principal peculiarity in the dress of the natives was an uncommonly large slouched hat, which answered all the purposes of an umbrella; most of them wore boots of ill-tanned leather; they had bags on their shoulders to receive alms or plunder, and a long pole in their hands, pointed at the end, which serves to goad their oxen. The gentry, of whom a few were passing, rode on mules, and were attended, according to their rank, by one or more men on foot. Having arrived at the ground where my friends of the 79th were, I was invited to partake a hut they had formed of fir branches. Here we lay comfortably for some hours; but about twelve at night most violent torrents of rain fell, in which we remained steeping till four in the morning, the hour of general parade. None of us had a change of clothes, and

though we were literally wet to the skin, and had slept so long in water, I did not learn that any one took cold. At six we marched, and for what followed I refer you to my next.

LETTER III.

Chillieros.

To a romantic eye delighting in the wildness of nature, the country we proceeded through this day was interesting in the extreme. The hills were flung in graceful and picturesque confusion; at the base covered with cork trees, and on the sides and summits with fir. It wanted water only to be completely beautiful: but this deficiency was not long felt, for in the afternoon torrents of rain, similar to those of the preceding night, fell for such a continuance, that I withdrew my objection, and could not but, in despite of taste, exclaim, "Too much of water hast thou had." However, I had the good fortune to shelter myself in an unfurnished house, taken up for an

hospital, near the head-quarters at Ramalhal, and slept luxuriously in my boat-cloak on the boards.—We remained here for the two next days, and I was amused by the appearance of a numerous Portuguese family, who turned out, probably in their best style, to view the camp. They were the first of apparent consequence I had seen. The women were most gaudily dressed, with an abundance and variety of ill-assorted ribbons: they sat in a car like a brewer's dray, under a canopy of boughs, which had a pretty effect: the men rode on mules, richly caparisoned; and it would be difficult to say, whether they were most pleased with us, or we astonished at them.

On the 30th, we were under orders to march at twelve, which were countermanded after the arrival of a French aid-du-camp. In the middle of this night a soldier came

into the hospital, wounded, and stripped of his clothes, as he said, by a party of the natives; but on examination of the wound, the surgeons were satisfied he had inflicted it himself, being of the order of Malingerers. The contests between the peasants and our men were violent about the price of provisions; and having been often referred to as an umpire, I am persuaded there was more disposition in the former to impose than in the latter to defraud. Much confusion necessarily arose from the ignorance of coins.

On the 31st, we marched at ten to Torres Vedras, through a country not materially differing from that already described; and here I got a most comfortable quarter, in a clean, commodious house, in which, if there were any want, it was compensated by the civility of the inhabitants. After a bad

breakfast and hot march, dinner was one of my first concerns; and I provided my hostess with a lean turkey, to cook as she pleased. In four hours it appeared, having been stewed for that time with rice, onions, tomatas, and bacon, into a soup or potage, which epicurism might have envied. For this turkey I paid a dollar yesterday at Ramalhal; and the man who sold it me followed the army, and asked me three for one this evening. The unthinking railed at his imposition, forgetful of the increased consumption, and the relative value which every article must bear.

Torres Vedras, the Turres Veteres of the Romans, was formerly surrounded by a wall, and had three gates, of which it is difficult at present to trace the situation. The Sisandro, so celebrated in poetry, and which was the line of demarcation to the two

armies, runs to the north of the town, under five bridges, which have nothing peculiar to recommend them. The ruins of a Roman aqueduct, and a fountain called Los Canos, are the only relics of ancient architecture to be met with here: the former is overhung by venerable oaks, which, with the hills rising in the rear and spreading for an immense extent, form a most grand and delightful landscape. There are three convents, the principal of which, belonging to the Dominicans, is occupied by our army as an hospital; and the church, which is sufficiently splendid, is converted by our commissaries into a store; but every precaution is observed to prevent injury to the altars and ornaments.—Various reports are circulating throughout the army relative to their future operations. Some speak of the proposed surrender of Junot on disadvan-

tageous terms; others, of his trifling with us by negotiation, to gain time for occupying the forts on the other side of the Tagus; a measure which would expose us to the hardships of a campaign in the rainy season, harass and exhaust our troops, and leave them but a faint prospect of ultimate success. But the subject which most interests, and nearly engrosses conversation, is the conduct of Sir Harry Burrard in preventing Sir Arthur Wellesley from pursuing his advantages on the 21st, and crowning the glorious victory he had obtained by advancing to this town, and thus placing himself between the enemy and Lisbon. They say, that he was in a perfect condition to accomplish this gallant undertaking; that the enemy was routed and in complete disorder; that his left, which had borne the brunt of the action, was able and anxious to

follow up their success; and that the right, consisting of four untouched brigades, commanded by Major-General Hill, must have had possession of Torres Vedras before the French could reach it. This is the general sentiment of the army; and such is their confidence in the abilities and valour of Sir Arthur, that the mere knowledge of these movements having been his wish and request, is sufficient to convince them of their prudence and practicability. Without presuming to pass an opinion upon this question, I cannot but think that the mere impression of "Teucro Duce" would have inspired them with more than ordinary exertion, and empowered them to accomplish what cooler judgments might have called impossible. Indeed, his popularity* is

* See the Address of the Field Officers, Appendix, No. 9.

at so high a pitch, from his active solicitude for the welfare of his troops, his soldier-like disregard of himself, and the experience of his repeated and uninterrupted success, that there is not any thing he could order them to undertake which they would not cheerfully attempt to execute. On the other hand, there are those who vindicate the Fabian conduct of Sir Harry Burrard, upon the same grounds which influenced his determination on the evening of the 20th—distance from victuallers, strength of country, want of cavalry, and of conveyance for artillery;—and the unprejudiced admit, that, entertaining such apprehensions, his resistance to the wishes and opinions of a General flushed with conquest, and eager to improve it, was a decisive argument of that manly firmness and independent mind which ought to characterise the commander of a

great army. In discussing the point with a highly gifted and dispassionate friend, he said, that the one was actuated by sober judgment and common calculation, the other by extraordinary talents, animated and invigorated by success; and that while he admired and respected the resolution of the former, he envied and approved the intentions of the latter.—What value should be attached to the opinion of a French officer, it may be difficult to pronounce; but I heard one declare this day, that if we had two Sir Arthur Wellesleys in the army, there would neither have been armistice nor convention.

On the 2d of September we proceeded on our march towards Lisbon, and at about four miles from Torres Vedras halted for an hour at the small village of Trousifalla. Here I was most hospitably received, and

invited to remain, by an agreeable and well-bred family, consisting of an old couple, a son, and two accomplished daughters. They spoke French fluently, and performed exquisitely on the guitar. On inquiring from these young ladies, how the French officers, who were quartered there, had behaved, and whether they had not left their hearts behind them, the youngest and prettiest answered with a sigh, "Helas! Monsieur, les François peuvent bien faire l'amour, mais ils ne peuvent pas aimer." In justice to the French, and kindness to this inexperienced girl, I assured her, that her remark was equally applicable to the majority of men in all ages and countries, and that a greater service could not be rendered to her sex than to impress it as a golden maxim upon their minds. I went on with warmth; How would it unmask hypocrisy, and shelter innocence!

What perjuries, what cruelties would it prevent; what tears, what pangs, what reproaches would it save! And if it had no other good effect, what multitudes of Satan's libraries of novels and romances would it consign to cold oblivion and merited contempt!—I cannot describe the astonishment of my fair pupils at this burst of eloquence. When somewhat recovered, they protested that they never would neglect my advice and observations; and there was such apparent sincerity in their manner, that I do believe they will religiously keep their promise,—till the next agreeable young officer is quartered in their house.

I left them, not without regret, and overtook the army near the heights of Mafra, from which they were obliged to measure back their way three miles, the enemy not having evacuated his position there, as was

expected and arranged. I passed the night, which was fortunately fair, in an extensive vineyard.—On the morning of the 3d we proceeded, through the strongest and bleakest country we had yet seen, over narrow paved roads and very steep acclivities, to Mafra. There is here a stupendously large edifice, comprising a church, a royal palace, and monastery; and the first thing which strikes the beholder, is the bad selection of the site, close by the high road; and that it is much more indebted for its effect to magnificence of extent than to beauty of architecture. It is of that spurious kind of Doric which is said to prevail in most of the public edifices in Portugal, retaining every gloomy and massive effect of the true Doric order, without its magnificence of design and proportion. The two ponderous towers at each end of the building, added to the excessive

depth of the window-frames, and the unpleasant dingy-red colour of the whole, destroy the impression which an edifice of such gigantic dimensions must otherwise have made on the mind of the spectator. It is built in the form of a quadrangle, and measures from east to west seven hundred and sixty feet, and from north to south six hundred and seventy. The library is three hundred and eighty-one palmos long, and forty-three broad: it is said to have contained above forty thousand volumes before the French arrived; but they have carried off the most valuable works, and the most ancient and precious manuscripts. Not having much time to devote to the inspection of this immense pile, including apartments to the number of eight hundred and fifty-six, I requested to be shewn what was most curious, and my attention was directed to

two very large tables of black marble at the principal altar, which are so highly polished, that before they were sent here, they served as mirrors for John the Fifth, the founder of the edifice. The pillars in the church are grand, and produce, as you enter, a sublime effect. There are in different places fifty-eight statues of Carrara marble, many of which possess considerable merit. On the summit of the building, the entire of which is vaulted, there is a platform of flags, on which one may walk, and command a prospect without bounds. In the rear there are gardens, which have been latterly neglected, but had formerly to boast a choice collection of exotics from Asia, Africa, and America; and for a wide extent to the north-east is a royal chase, containing, as I was informed, but do not believe, ten thousand acres, inclosed by a wall. For the

amusement of boar-hunting, the Prince Regent frequently visited the palace, and a spacious tract of land was appropriated to the barbarous pastime of a rational being, and the inhuman torture of harmless wild beasts.

Having satisfied my curiosity here, I joined the heroes of Maida, the 20th regiment, at Chillieros, in a lovely fruit garden, overhanging a well-wooded and well-watered glen; and being not a little fatigued, I shall conclude, poetically, by acquainting you, that an umbrageous quince invites me to repose.

LETTER IV.

Cintra, Sept. 3.

THE next afternoon I set out to walk to Cintra, which was represented to be eight miles distant from Chillieros. My companion was a long-legged man, whose slow-time kept me on the run; and though he was the most agreeable that could perhaps be any where selected, this did not beguile the tediousness of the way, as we were more than five hours upon the road. But all was compensated on our arrival at the inn, where every English, French, and Portuguese luxury were combined. The landlady proved to be an emigrant from Cork, and joined to her Irish hospitality and good-nature the assiduity and alertness of a foreigner. In a little time, we had every thing we could desire

in perfection, and had the satisfaction to sup with a number of officers, to whom these comforts were as new as to ourselves, and who agreed in admitting the value of occasional privation. Our first inquiry in the morning was, for means of conveyance to see the curiosities and beauties with which we knew the neighbourhood abounded. Burros were recommended as the only animals which could ascend the rock, the principal object of our research.

Before we proceed, I must inform you, that Cintra derives its name from a temple, which was dedicated to the Moon*, or Cin-

* Lunæ Montem, nos Sintriæ, ab oppido appellamus, efficitque promontorium illud, quod magnum sive Olisiponense appellant Geographi. (Cabo de Rocca.) In cujus summis rupibus, templum est S. D. Matri Sacrum ab indigenis maxime religione cultum, simulque cœnobium monachorum (the Penha convent), ad D. Hyeronimum vitæ institutum referentium non tam numero quam morum

thia, three hundred and eighty years before the birth of Christ. There are no traces

integritate suscipiendum. Ad radices montis in ipso promontorii cacumine, quo in oceanum præcipitatur templum olim fuit soli et lunæ sacrum. Cujus modo inter littoraleis arenas ruinæ tantum extant et cippi aliquot inscripti superstitionis antiquæ indices.

Resendi de Antiq. Lusit. l. i. p. 62, edit. Conimbr.

Resendi gives the following inscriptions on fragments of this temple:

SOLI. ET. LUNÆ.
CÆTIUS. ACIDUS. PERENNIS.
LEG. AUG. PRO. PROVINCIÆ.
LUSITANIÆ.

SOLI. ÆTERNO. LUNÆ. PRO. ÆTERNITATE.
IMPERII. ET. SALUTE. IMPER. CAI.
SEPTIMII. SEVERI. AUGUSTI. PII. ET. IMP.
CAOS. M. AURELII. ANTONINI. PII.
ET. JULIA.——AUG.——M.——CÆS.
ET. JULIÆ. AUG. MATRIS. CÆS. DRU.
SUS. VESTER. SICILIANUS. VIATONS.
AUGUSTORUM. T. Q. JULIUS. SATURNI.
ET. ANTONINUS.

Resendi further states, that a large inscription

of this temple now existing, though the memory of its site is preserved, and called Praza dos Maçoes. The Moorish remains on the Penha have been mistaken for it; but the true Promontorium Lunæ is the Cabo de Rocca, five or six miles distant from Cintra. Being mounted upon my patient creature, whom I dreaded more than I should a high-spirited horse, our attention was first attracted by a fountain near the town, on which is the following inscription:

Venditur—haud gratis tibi,
Nostra tribuitur unda. Solve preces.

A person present, who has no talent for poetry, but some turn for rhyme, versified it thus:

formerly existed, but was almost obliterated by the sea in his time; and mentions that three square columns had been found here, on one of which it was pretended a Sybilline oracle was engraven.

This water is for sale; nor flows our stream for nought:
Pay for it with your pray'rs, and it is richly bought.

On whatever side we looked, we were astonished and delighted by the succession of grand, grotesque, and beauteous objects, which alternately engaged us. The rich and profuse variety of foliage exceeded all that I had ever seen. The strong contrast between the chesnut and the cork trees is strikingly agreeable. They run along the slope of the mountains, whose summits are huge blocks of granite, piled in the most picturesque forms. The valleys are clothed with myrtle, or laid out in cultivation; where the vine, the olive, and the orange tree, vie with each other in luxuriance. The bay tree grows here to a very astonishing size, particularly in the lanes about the town of Cintra, and the orange groves

and lemon gardens, which skirt the roads, regale with their fragrance, and afford a delicious shelter from the scorching sun. At every vista some huge projection of the misshapen rock appears to have been torn from its bed, and threatens instantaneous ruin by its fall. Dispersed throughout these woods are houses, chiefly belonging to the English, and so embosomed are they, as to be scarcely visible. The principal amongst them was built by Mr. Beckford about twenty-five years since, and, sad to say, it now has the features both of youth and age. The design and workmanship are probably the most exquisite of the kind in Portugal—all the internal decorations being evidently the work of English artists and mechanics. And yet this superb residence, commanding the sublimest scenery, and possessing every charm the imagination can depict, pleased

its proprietor but for a few short years. It is now in a state of rapid dilapidation, and totally neglected, like many a human preference, which, when they originate in fancy, are but too apt to terminate in disgust.

Nearly opposite to the entrance of this demesne, we turned off the road to the Cork Convent; and in climbing up the rocky precipices, the utility of the burro was established beyond question; the way is impassable for a horse. The convent is situated near the summit of the mountain, and, with the help of some excavations for vaults, is formed by filling up the intervals of adjacent rocks with cork, and lining them internally with the same wood, to guard against the moisture, which would otherwise exude. But this is not its only title to the name; almost every article of furniture, which indeed is scanty, is composed of cork—the

tables and benches, the plates and dishes. The monks are of the most rigid order of Franciscans, and are, at present, seventeen in number. In their humble refectory, which is ten feet long, and five feet wide, they presented us with some indifferent fruit and wine, and lamented that their means supplied no better, as their rich benefactors, from whose bounty they had formerly derived the luxuries of cheese and chocolate, were no longer in the neighbourhood. They seemed to feel this principally as it disabled them from entertaining us; for themselves, there was apparently a meek submission to the will of God, which chastened every wandering thought, and cast no wistful look upon the world. They have each a separate dormitory, with one matrass, resembling more in size and shape the resting place of the dead than the living. A faint

gleam of light is admitted to them by oblique apertures in the rock. They have two or three small apartments for different holy offices; and in miniature have every thing requisite for the celebration of the service of their church. Even upon the stubborn stone, their industry has made some shadowy walks and bowers, from which the lovely vale beneath, and the immeasurable Atlantic, are to be seen; and so much has been done in the way of improvement, that the beauty of the place is almost as striking as its singularity. They shew you, as their most estimable wonder, a cave, four feet in diameter, where Honorius, who had been a confessor at court for the greater part of his life, passed sixteen years, and where he terminated his days at an advanced age. Such a mortification deserved to be canonized, and is thus simply and not in-

elegantly recorded: "Hic Honorius vitam finivit, et ideo cum Deo vitam revivit. Obit 1596." "Here Honorius ended his life, and therefore with God he renews it. He died in 1596."—The last place shewn to us was an altar, decorated with taste. On the table were some small pieces of money, of which we understood the meaning: we considered it a modest mendicancy and pious appeal, and did not disappoint the wishes of these poor supplicants. Their gratitude breathed in prayers for our prosperity.

On departing from this sweet and solemn retirement, I could not but think that I was leaving behind me more real happiness, than I should meet below; in every sense, I looked down upon the world, and was about to say, "Could you this fair mountain leave to feed, and batten on that moor"—when

my donkey stumbled, and rouzed me from my reverie.

The next object of investigation was the convent of the order of St. Jeronimo, which stands on the summit of the mountain, and is principally to be admired for the boldness of the site. The western front has a most awful and sublime appearance, as it seems to totter over a chaos of abrupt and lofty rocks, and on the least convulsion ready to precipitate and crush the village at its base. It was founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by King Emanuel; is built with a greyish granite, in an imperfect Gothic style. There is little worthy of notice in the interior, except a sacrarium of transparent alabaster, which emits sufficient light to read by from a candle placed within. On the outside, there are many vestiges of

ancient buildings. The ruins of a Moorish castle are very extensive; they are extremely irregular, and occupy two high points of rock, with a considerable valley between them. The views they afford are in many situations picturesque. One of the most perfect parts is a building, which has been usually called the Mosque, and which, though its dimensions are very small, in all probability was so. Over an arch at the end of it, the wall has been curiously painted, and on it is an inscription, in characters of the very ancient Arabic, with the words, *La illa Alla,* repeated four-and-twenty times in succession, which establishes the point as to the purpose of this apartment.

There is one relic of antiquity, in good preservation, in the form of a monument, which probably was a Moorish bath. Its

dimensions are fifty feet long by seventeen broad. The water in it is four feet deep, and is perennial, neither increasing nor diminishing in winter or summer. It is always pellucid, being perfectly free from sediment, though, as they state, never cleansed; and in consequence of these phenomena, it is believed to possess extraordinary virtues.

Near this, there is another singular excavation, shaped like an inverted bell, which is supposed to have been used as a magazine for corn. On all such subjects, conjecture must be vague, and may be often erroneous; but it is certain, that these heights of Cintra, with the castle of Palmela, were two of the last places held by the Moors in Portugal.

Here, too, I could descant upon the scenery and prospect, and their effect upon the imagination; I feel it an impiety to

nature to refrain; but I must not fatigue your patience, nor exhaust my powers, by any thing that borders on unnecessary repetition. We descended the mountain, and returned through the valley of Collares, which may be justly termed the golden vale of Portugal. A continuous chain of orange trees, intermixed with other fruits, almost arrests your progress for many miles. There is here, from the peculiar richness of the soil, a vineyard, differing from all others, which produces the Carcavella wine; and, as they drink it unadulterated, the flavour is exquisite. The beauty of one house and orange grove induced us to stop and solicit permission to walk about the gardens. We were presented to the proprietors, two elderly ladies, a widow and her maiden sister, who, in this paradise, were in absolute want. They had subsisted for years on the produce

of their fruit; and the loss of two successive seasons, consequent on the French inroad, and the exclusion from the English market, had reduced them from competence to penury. What can be more affecting than decent poverty which has witnessed better days? We felt most sensibly for their vicissitude, and raised their hopes by the prospect of the market being soon open for their second crops of fruit. They hailed us as comforting angels, and repaid our commiseration with blessings and acknowledgments.

On reaching Cintra, we proceeded to the palace, the irregularity of which evinces that it was erected at different periods. The architecture, however, is principally Arabic. There are some very spacious and handsome rooms, the chief of which is the hall of council, where the grandees assembled to

discuss affairs of state. Their escutcheons are sumptuously painted and gilded on the sides and cielings. We were led to the apartment where Alfonso the Sixth was confined, after having been plundered, by his brother, of his *wife* and crown, both of which he was indeed unworthy of: here he remained for six years, till he closed his wretched career. The flooring, which is of tiles, is considerably worn, particularly that corner where he was chained to sleep, a space of about six feet by four. The kitchen is very much the finest I ever beheld, being sixty feet long by thirty wide, with two cones, like the shafts of glass-houses, for chimneys, nearly in the centre, and every other convenience that culinary science could desire. The fountains are numerous and perfect, and the shower-baths admirably complete; the water issuing from various

spouts, imperceptibly small, in the cieling, sides, and floor.

There is a remarkable anecdote connected with this palace, which, if new to you, cannot fail to be interesting. Alfonso the Fourth was passionately fond of hunting; and soon after his accession to the throne, he passed a month here in that diversion. During his absence, the administration was consigned to favourites, who neglected the public interests, and attended only to their own. The nobility, indignant at such abuse, called a council, to which they invited the King. He attended, and immediately began by describing the sport he had enjoyed, regardless of the important business for which they were assembled. When he had concluded, one of the noblemen stood up, and addressed him in these words: "Sire, courts and camps were allotted for

kings, not woods and mountains. When business is sacrificed to amusement, the affairs, even of private persons, are in danger; but when pleasure engrosses the thoughts of a king, a whole nation must inevitably be consigned to ruin. Sire, we came here not to hear the adventures of the chace, which are intelligible only to grooms and falconers, but to consult the welfare of the people. Your Majesty will find sufficient employment in attending to their wants; and if you will remove the grievances with which they are oppressed, you will find them dutiful and obedient subjects: if not"—Here the King interrupted him in a rage, saying, If not—what then? "If not," replied the nobleman in a firm tone, "they will look for a better King."

His Majesty left the room with all the indignation that was naturally aroused by

such bold and rebellious language. But his anger was of short duration; and he soon returned to the assembly with a placid countenance, and addressed them thus: "I now perceive the truth of what you have just advanced. A king who will not perform the duties of his throne, cannot have affectionate subjects. Remember, that from this day you have to do, not with Alfonso the Sportsman, but with Alfonso the Fourth, King of Portugal."

His Majesty was faithful to his engagement, and became one of the best monarchs his kingdom ever saw.

To resume my narrative: Having passed the morning thus agreeably, I dined at Sir Harry Burrard's, who received me with that urbanity, for which he is conspicuous. The Convention was not much the subject of conversation; but he spoke of it with

that confidence and gratulation, which proved that he was satisfied with the part he had acted; and it was impossible to doubt from his manner, that he enjoyed the inestimable happiness of "mens conscia recti." Had any thing worth communicating transpired, I should not have felt myself at liberty to disclose it. Such is the value of a foreign correspondent. Few are intrusted, and they do not divulge. All else is rumour and conjecture. Under this head I could indite volumes; but you will prefer one interesting and incontrovertible fact, which is, that whatever may be the feelings of the principal movers in the measure of the Convention, the army entertains the most decided abhorrence of it. They condemn it in principle, and detest it in detail. It is reported, but scarcely credited, that the enemy is to be conveyed to France in

our transports, not even as prisoners of war; and are to carry with them their military stores and equipments, and their private property. But as the particulars are mysteriously concealed, and that all this may prove to be unfounded calumny, I shall not trouble you with the wisdom, generalship, and ingenuity, which are exercised upon it. Certain it is, that a Convention has been concluded, the mere existence of which is deprecated, without adverting materially to the terms. It is argued, that whatever may be the ultimate objects of the expedition, none can be paramount to the defeat of nearly twenty thousand French soldiers; that a terrible example should have been made, if it were only to animate our allies; that no consideration of the enemy's retiring to his forts, and protracting the campaign, should have prevailed against the recent experience

of what our troops can do; that they felt themselves secure of fresh victories, and were in a posture to demand unconditional surrender. So strongly are these ideas impressed upon their minds, that they will not believe their hero, Sir Arthur Wellesley, has had any share in a transaction, by which they think their character is compromised, and their glory tarnished. Observing my invariable maxim, "Audi alteram partem" —hear the other side—I shall suspend my judgment, till I have more full and authentic information.

Three days were pleasantly consumed here in looking at the various villas in the vicinity. That belonging to the Marquis of Marialva is in the best style of modern improvement; but the gardens of Penha Verde are pre-eminent in beauty and extent. Independently of their intrinsic claims to ad-

miration, they are famous for having been the property and the passion of the memorable Don John de Castro, the philosopher, the Christian, and the hero. He died in 1548, in the government of India, which he held for three years, and immortalised by his triumphs and moderation; for in his fatal illness he was obliged to supplicate the bounty of the magistrates of Goa, not having himself the means of purchasing the simplest necessaries;—his last shilling was devoted to the alleviation of the miseries of his faithful companions in the field; nor did he leave sufficient to defray the expences of his interment. It was he who brought the first orange-tree to Europe, and his country is grateful for the gift. In various parts of these gardens, there are grottoes for repose, and temples for devotion; for this truly great man was as pious as he was brave; and

there were some curious Asiatic antiquities, with inscriptions, which have been removed by Junot, or destroyed by time.

It was now necessary for me to take leave of Cintra; and I must not omit to mention, that a few minutes previous to my departure from this lovely concentration of all that Nature has of beautiful and sublime, my astonishment, not unmixed with horror, was excited, on being presented by my hostess with what is termed in Portuguese, "huma conta," and in English, a bill. Not to enumerate the respective charges for two persons, let it suffice to state, that the sum total was in the figures 18,000; and as I was not acquainted with any coin, eighteen thousand of which would not have been an enormous demand, some sudden changes were manifest in my countenance and complexion. It proved, however, on explana-

tion, that they are an imaginary coin, called the reis, 20 of which make a vintem, about three halfpence of our money; 100 a testoa, or testoon; 400 a crusado; 480 a crusado novo; and 800 a dollar; so that, though the charges were high, — for example, 1600 for each dinner at a table d'hote,—still they fell far short of what my ignorance and fears expected. As I have ever considered it an useless expenditure of time and temper to contest such demands, I submitted with cheerfulness, and even congratulated my countrywoman on the rapid fortune she was likely to accumulate. With more candour than equity she replied, that she had been ruined by the French, and must be repaid by the English; which was, in other words, to say, that the plunder, which had been practised by the former, she was determined to retaliate upon the latter. Notwithstand-

ing, we parted as friends; and in better times I should not hesitate to return to her house, without the slightest dread of imposition, and with the certainty of kind and good entertainment. Farewell! my guide and burros summon me to proceed.

LETTER V.

Lisbon, Sept. 14.

PASSING over a bleak, hilly, and uninteresting country, I reached Oeyras on the 7th, where head-quarters had been established the day before. The whole army is in cantonments in different directions, at about three leagues' distance from Lisbon; in which, and within two leagues of it, the French army is concentred. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascaes *, were occupied by British troops on the ratification of the Convention, which took place on the 30th ultimo.

Anxious to be a spectator of the busy scene of embarkation, I solicited and obtained permission to proceed to Lisbon on the 9th. And as I shall now have fre-

* For description of these Forts, see Appendix, No. 10.

quent occasion to speak of the people of the country, the following extract from an admired work, Mappa de Portugal, published about forty years since, by Padre João Bautista De Castro, may not be uninteresting. It is under the head, "Of the Character and Customs of the Portuguese;" and will enable you to form comparisons and draw conclusions.—"Courage is an inheritance from father to son, as all the annals and histories of the world testify. Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the Lusitani were the most strong and valiant of the Hispanhi. The same sentiment is repeated by Vegetius, Plutarch, Titus Livius, Valerius Maximus, and many other ancient and foreign aathors. Theirs is a virtuous courage, inspired by reason. In support of their honour, they despise every danger. Their intrepidity produces actions, which have more truth than probability, and which surpass all the

fictions of the muses. Their loyalty to their sovereigns has been remarkable. All the chronicles of the world are filled with accounts of disloyalty, with the exception of the Portuguese nation. The monarchs of the country may call themselves the kings of children, not of vassals. In proof of their loyalty, there is no danger nor difficulty to which they are not ready to expose themselves; and that no reproach on this head might attach to the nation, when some wretches were punished on the 13th of January, 1759, as traitors, the Supreme Council wisely denaturalised them, before the sentence was passed. The same faith is equally inviolable in all affairs of business.

"Their foreign conquests, from the reign of John the First to the time of John the Third, were such, that they reckoned in that period thirty-two remote tributary kingdoms.—There was no climate in which the

Portuguese arms, called Quinas*, had not been triumphant. But the genius of Portugal appears most high in the zeal and fervour with which they embraced and cultivated the Christian faith. They were the first in Europe who erected sacred temples for the worship of the true religion. It was

* The arms of Portugal are often called Quinas, from the five shields disposed in form of a cross.

Viram se as Reaes Quinas
Polo mismo Deos dados
De que hudaste esse nome
Com esse cetro rico
Levantados par ti
Não contro cinco Reys.

See *Castro de Ferreira.*

See thy royal banners wave,
See thy standards flaunt the air,
Which heaven itself for conquest gave
To him whose sceptre and whose name you bear.
Not to behold that once triumphant day,
When, proudly rear'd in Freedom's sacred cause,
Five vanquish'd kings beneath them prostrate lay,
And the fierce Moor receiv'd the conqueror's laws.

The origin of this coat-of-arms may be seen at large, in Mayor Triumfo da Monarquia Lusitana, most curiously detailed.

they that fought and expelled the Saracens many hundred years before any other kingdom of Spain could deliver itself from this vile nation. They it was, who, after having cleared their country from the foul Arab, continued to pursue him in Asia and Africa with no other motive than the propagation of the Catholic faith. To the Portuguese, all the powers of the East owe the knowledge of Evangelic truth, obedience to the chief pontiffs of the church, and the salvation of their souls. They are those, finally, who have more pride in expending on the divine worship, than all the world has to acquire gold and riches.

"Anciently the sciences did not flourish in Portugal. In the noise and din of arms, they had no leisure nor quiet for the soft arts of peace. Portugal produced Scipios, Cæsars, Alexanders, and Augustuses in valour, but was destitute of men distin-

guished in the literary world. To the time of King Denys, the sixth king of Portugal, there were no degrees of doctors, bachelors, and masters. Those who had any learning were called escolares, scholars, because they received their education out of the kingdom. The first who established public schools was King Denys, who founded the celebrated University of Coimbra, which has constantly produced the most learned men in all branches of literature. This intellectual faculty may be proved more clearly by referring to their improvements in every part of science. They made many most useful discoveries. Henrique Gavesa was the first who introduced to America the use of quicksilver to purify gold. The Portuguese were the first who ate sitting upon chairs. Bartholomew Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; and Fernando de Magelhaes,

the Straits which bear his name. The famous masters Rodrigo and Joseph, physicians to King John the Second, invented the Astrolabe, the mathematical instrument which directs the way in the most difficult navigations. The Infant, Don Henrique, invented charts at sea; and in many other rare inventions, this nation shewed their originality and industry.—The Portuguese are little inclined to the study of foreign languages.

"Elegance, splendour, and neatness, are most peculiarly attributed to the Portuguese. On public occasions they delight in exhibiting; from hence the nobles are said to be vain, presumptuous, and proud; and the critic on Gratian says, "Que serian famosos, si non fuesen fumosos"—that they would be famous, if they were not fumous. But much fume may be admitted, where

there is much fire; and as P. Feijoo remarks, all the pride of the Portuguese nobility proceeds from their being silent, elegant, and corrective of the vivacity of their spirits. The urbanity and attention, with which they treat every one, is incompatible with the arrogance that is ascribed to them. They are sincere friends to all under their patronage, and their acts of piety exceed those of all the world*."—This account proceeds to a considerable length; but the specimen will serve to shew, what models these people have in their ancestors, and what merits we may reasonably expect.

On arriving at Lisbon, I had very great difficulty in procuring an apartment at one of their noisy and nasty hotels. It was so

* On the praises of Portugal, see a whole most curious folio, entitled, Flores da Espanâ—Excellencias de Portugal—by Antonio de Sousade Macedo.

late in the evening, that I had not time to make many observations, more than that the French sentries were uncommonly strict and vigilant. They challenge with a "Qui vit"—from a distance in the dark, which proves the perfection of their auricular organs; and on approaching a square, where some of their baggage was collected, and where I presumed to stop for a second, one of them charged me with his bayonet, and said, "Allez si vous voulez, mais ne boutez lá." The rapidity of this procedure, from a fellow whom I thought a prisoner, excited my indignation not a little, which very fortunately I had the discretion to restrain. In about ten minutes after, I met a similar adventure; and recollecting, then, that I was in the lines of the enemy, and exposing myself to danger without any advantage to be derived, I thought it most prudent to re-

tire, and calmly and incuriously returned to my hotel. There, was such an assemblage of voices and languages, as Babel could scarcely have surpassed. Between the master and his waiters, there was a Greek, an Italian, a Swiss, a German, a Spaniard, and a Portugue; and as they all spoke in a very high key, and happened to choose precisely the same moment for utterance, it is evident that my calamities for the night were not concluded. At length I threw myself on their compassion, and entreated that they would take it in rotation, and speak but two at a time, as I might then be able to ascertain whether they could supply me with any and what supper. They were amused, even to laughter, at the unreasonable absurdity of this request, and evidently entertained a very mean opinion of my understanding. The master, however, being a considerate and

good-natured man, took me apart into a private room. There he explained very clearly and unsatisfactorily what he could not give me, and I found that I had reason to rejoice there was any thing he could.

My first anxiety in the morning, was to learn the particulars of the Convention; and I obtained the copy*, which is annexed, accompanied with the observation, that whether it were prudent and necessary or not, had the battle of Vimiera never been fought and won; nay, had our army merely made a demonstration to land upon the coasts of Portugal, more liberal terms could not have been conceded to the enemy. It is, as you may readily imagine, the universal topic of conversation in the coffee-houses, which are, for at least sixteen hours every

* For copy of the Convention, see Appendix, No. 11.

day, the theatre of the most turbulent and loquacious politicians I have ever seen assembled. They are indignant beyond measure; declaring that Portugal is irretrievably undone: and they speak in as high a tone, as if they had effected the liberation of their country, or could have accomplished it without our assistance.

They particularly object to the indignity offered to the Prince and their Government, by not having been made parties to the treaty, and to their interests not having been therein specifically secured. They complain, that no satisfaction is afforded them for the injuries committed upon their persons and property by every species of violence and rapine; no restitution made for the unprovoked insults upon their Government and Religion; and they demand, with fruitless vehemence, that their plunderers should be

compelled to regorge the riches they have amassed from churches, palaces, and stores, by public requisition and by private fraud. Somewhat to this effect, a strong Remonstrance* from their Commander-in-Chief, Bernardin Friere De Condrada, has been presented to Sir Hew Dalrymple; but for most, if not all their grievances, it is now too late.

That they have been plundered in the most atrocious manner, it is impossible to doubt. The French came into the country unincumbered by baggage, as is their custom; indeed, they were even destitute of necessaries; and they are carrying off more of every description than should properly belong to an army of three times their number. Since the armistice, they have had

* For copy of Remonstrance, see Appendix, No. 12.

the audacity to strip the museum and library of all that was valuable; to take from the Deposito Publico, where litigated property is lodged, 25,000*l.*; and, subsequently to the ratification, from the public magazines, for the equipment of their troops, and the discharge of debts, articles to the amount of 16,000*l.* These, however, they have reluctantly refunded, by the firmness and exertions of our commissioners, Major-General Beresford and Lord Proby. They published a proclamation, authorising all the inhabitants to claim and recover whatever had been thus taken from them; and it has produced, in many instances, the desired effect. A just and sacred value was attached to a Polyglot Bible, which Junot had purloined. He protested that it had been sent to France; but such were the doubts entertained of his veracity, and the ferment excited by the

spoliation, that he consented to pay for it 30,000 crusadoes. The entire of their fraudulence in these transactions cannot be better described than in the words of General Beresford and Lord Proby, in their statement to Sir Hew Dalrymple.

" The conduct of the French has been marked by the most shameful disregard to honour and probity, publicly evincing their intention of carrying off their plundered booty, and leaving acknowledged debts unpaid; and, finally, they have only paid what they were obliged to disgorge, and were not permitted to carry off, though the British Commissioners represented to General Kellerman, that, whatsoever the words, it could never be the spirit of any Convention, that an army should, as a military chest or otherwise, carry off public money, leaving public debts unpaid; and called upon him, for the

honour of the French army and nation, to act justly; and yet, unmindful of any tie of honour or of justice, the French army has taken away a considerable sum in the military chest, leaving its debts unpaid to a very large amount."

When such is the recorded opinion of our Commissioners, whose energies were incessant to investigate and controul this shameful pillage, strong must be the resentment of the unhappy sufferers, and great allowance should be made for the jealousy, which they very unreservedly entertain and avow against us. They certainly had but a small share in the merit of exterminating those harpies, and therefore it may be thought their murmurs are ungrateful and unjust. To obviate this, they ask, whether, in co-operating ostensibly with an ally, we feel ourselves bound to consult their inte-

rests and ascertain their wishes; or are we to act upon our own view and judgment of the case, regardless of their feelings, and ignorant of their opinions? In the present instance, we are charged with more than a dereliction of duty; for they pretend, that we have been partisans against them; that we interrupted the signal vengeance they had designed, and sanctioned the robberies of the French, to avoid the inconvenience of a prolonged campaign. They are disposed, indeed, to give us any thing but praise for "all the little good we did them." You will probably coincide with me, that their disappointment and irritation, though not absolutely unfounded, have transported them beyond the limits of truth and reason.

The advocates for the Convention argue, in reply to the various objections, that the country is rescued from further rapacity,

and restored from usurpation to its rightful owners; that this being the primary object of the expedition, so far as Portugal was concerned, it was to be obtained by any means short of the sacrifice of our honour; that even after the battle of Vimiera, the French were in the military possession of the country, and on that account had a right to claim and dictate the most advantageous terms, a right authorised by experience, and an usage consonant to practice; that had we rejected their proposals, we must of necessity have attacked them immediately, with an inferior force, in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, to the great detriment of the town; and they, by occupying the fortresses, would have compelled us to carry on operations by siege for many months, thereby exposing us to the inclemency of a winter campaign, the difficulty of sustaining an army without

depôts or stores, and the hazard of depending upon our ships for supplies, at an advanced and tempestuous season of the year.

It is further stated, that there was not any recognised Government in Portugal to become a party to the Convention; that, pending the negotiation, the Commander of the Portuguese army was invited by Sir Hew Dalrymple to offer his objections in writing, which he declined to do; and finally, and most materially, that had the campaign been prolonged, our progress to assist the Spaniards in their glorious and important struggle, the common cause of all, must be, perhaps fatally, retarded.

Every argument is separately canvassed; but it is not fair to take a partial view of the question. Much, as you may perceive, is to be said on both sides; sufficient to convince me, that, under all the circumstances

of the case, a Convention was not only wise, but necessary; and as the proposal originated with the enemy, superior in strength to us, and possessing all the fortresses in the kingdom, I am persuaded that, in the present state of Europe, no merely British motives of fame or glory, no Portuguese objects of interest or revenge, could have justified us in the rejection of it. Had we been thus influenced, and the event had proved calamitous, our pledge of disinterestedness would have been forfeited, and we should be chargeable with having deserted and betrayed that common cause, of which we have so long been the proud and honourable champions.

That there were oversights in the framing of the treaty, and inaccuracies in the construction of it, I do not pretend to deny; but this has nothing to do with the main

question of expedience; and really our nature or education must undergo a considerable improvement, before we can manage such matters with the dexterity of Frenchmen.

LETTER VI.

Lisbon, Sept. 25.

It is time to introduce you to this celebrated Capital, and acquaint you with the result of my inquiries and observations. To the honour of having founded it, there are many claimants. The most *bewildered* declare, that it owes its origin to Elisa, the son of Javan, and grandson of Noah; and they support this opinion by stating, that the lands near Lisbon, through which the Tagus flows, are called Lizirias, both names *evidently* derived from Elisa. By others, relying on the authority of Strabo, it is asserted that Ulysses was the founder, on his return from the siege of Troy; but to this it is objected, that Strabo spoke of Abdera in the mountains of Granada, and that

Ulysses never passed the Straits of Gibraltar. Many trace its origin to the Greeks, without fixing on any precise period; and in corroboration say, that they were accustomed to denominate their colonies from the productions in which the respective countries particularly excelled; that the banks of the Tagus abounded in swift genets and fruitful mares, and from this they called the town Olus-hippon. The Romans in after ages pronounced it Olisippo, which, by gradual corruption, was altered to the present Lisbon. The Portuguese antiquaries, in despair and anger, solve every difficulty by maintaining, that no one can tell the time when Lisbon first reared its head, and, for this reason, that none can say when it did not exist. This is sufficient to deter me from prosecuting the inquiry any farther. It is however certain, that so much did the town engage the ad-

miration of Julius Cæsar, that it was called by him "Felicitas Julia." Like Rome, it is built on seven hills; and it is therefore difficult to form a just estimate of its extent, without perambulation. It is computed to be four miles long, and one and a half broad; and to contain the disproportioned number of about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. This is to be accounted for by the spaciousness of the churches and convents, the celibacy of the clergy, and the size of the houses, many of which have large gardens in the rear. It has so far been benefited by the destructive earthquake* of 1755, that, in place of narrow and unwholesome lanes, the new streets erected upon

* In a Spanish pamphlet, published at Madrid soon after the earthquake, it is said to be a visitation of Providence on the Portuguese, because of their connection with the *heretic* English.

their ruins are wide, regular, and beautiful.

The houses are of the most exact uniformity; so much so, that, on the first *coup d'œil*, the side of a street has rather the appearance of a palace, than of a continuity of buildings. The furniture of the opulent is marked by utility and elegance: ingenuity is exhausted to devise means for ventilation, and very rarely is a fireplace to be seen. The hall door is always open; but within, there is one closed, at the foot of the stairs. You pull a bell, and the latch is raised by a string, which communicates with the upper apartments. The houses consist of four stories; the ground floor is used as a shop or magazine, often as a coach-house. The second floor is the most fashionable, and consequently the most expensive; there the ladies sit in balconies, under awnings of silk, and amuse

themselves sometimes by reading and working, but more generally by idle admiration of the passengers, and a mysterious intercourse of tender signals, by a convulsive movement of the fingers and fans, at which they are wonderfully expert.

With the exception of a few of the principal streets, nothing can surpass their abominable filth; nor could I describe it minutely, without exhibiting the most disgustful pictures. From this reproach, however, Buenos Ayres, so called from the pure air of its elevated situation, is in great measure exempt. This is satisfactorily accounted for, by its being the chief residence of the English; and from its cleanliness and salubrity, it is the part resorted to by invalids. Indeed, the lower town, so far from contributing to the restoration of health, I should imagine, must be pestiferous to a

stranger, if relaxing and suffocating heats, with noisome and putrescent odours, can propagate the plague.—The want of sewers and pipes is most severely felt, the water being conveyed from remote fountains, and carried about for sale in barrels on the backs of Gallician labourers — the natives being too lazy and conceited to condescend to such a task. Not that there is a deficiency of water here, few cities being more abundantly or better supplied both as to quantity and quality. For this, they are indebted to the magnificent aqueduct erected by King John the Fifth, in the year 1732, which, for beauty and solidity, may challenge most modern structures in the world. The most admirable part of it is at Alcantara, about one mile from the town, consisting of thirty-five arches, the principal of which is near three hundred

feet in height from the ground, and about one hundred and eight wide. Some of them are Gothic, and some semicircular: for this irregularity and apparent defect, the architect could doubtless have satisfactorily accounted; which I cannot. There is a corridor over the arches five feet wide, and on each side of it a footpath for passengers; and there are people constantly employed in keeping the channel, through which the water is conducted, in order. This grand and beauteous work defied the ravages of the earthquake by its strength, and escaped perhaps a more formidable assailant, the art of war, by the Convention. Had the campaign been continued, before the French evacuated the city they would have recurred to this obvious method of distressing the inhabitants and our army. But for the honour of hu-

manity, of science and of taste, the aqueduct is uninjured.

The public buildings here are numerous and splendid; the churches are pre-eminent in architecture and decoration. The principal of these in rank and riches, if not in beauty, is the Patriarchal Church. It is a very ancient edifice, said to have been originally built by Constantine the Great, and to resemble the St. Sophia of Constantinople. Its boasted treasures of sacred relics and of earthly gold are now no longer to be seen. I could not learn whether the famous nine Candelabri and the Cross had been spared. They are of silver gilt; the latter, twelve feet high, inlaid with diamonds and other costly jewels. You may form some conception of their value from this, that the workmanship alone cost more

than 30,000*l.*; and, thus estimable, they have probably been transferred to the Caisse Militaire, or to Junot's private purse.

There is not any Patriarch at present; this high dignity, next in order to the Pope, not having been filled up since the vacancy which occurred about a year since. His Eminence's income from lands, tribute of the mines, and salary from the royal treasury, exceeded 30,000*l.* a-year; the annual revenues of the church are about 120,000*l.*; and the annual disbursements, in support of the establishment, about 100,000*l.* !—Hide your diminished heads, Canterbury and York!

Thanks to the moderation of the French, and somewhat to the suddenness of their expulsion, the celebrated mosaic pictures in the church of St. Roque, or rather in its chapel of St. John the Baptist, remain in all their pristine beauty. The one over the

altar, the table of which is of lapis lazuli, represents the Baptism of our Saviour, and those at either side of it the Annunciation and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The floor is likewise of mosaic; and so rich a constellation of valuable gems is perhaps no where to be seen in Europe, as in this lapidaries' paradise. The entire is estimated at above 220,000*l.*, was executed by the most distinguished artists of Rome, and given by King John the Fifth to the Jesuits of St. Roque.

But for elegance of architecture, the Loretto, or the Italian church, is prized more highly by the "dilettanti" here than any other edifice. It certainly abounds with exquisite sculpture: in the grandeur and majesty, which should characterise such buildings, it is deficient. In these qualifications, the church of Corazon de Jesu, or Heart of Jesus, built by her present Majesty, is pre-eminent. It

has some resemblance to St. Paul's, though on a smaller scale. The walls are, on the inside, faced with marble. A stupendous dome of hewn stone, which is an admirable piece of workmanship, crowns the centre; and there is a chasteness and a sublimity throughout, which reflect the highest credit upon the architect. From this praise, however, there is a deduction in the palpable blunder of the grand front, where the massive and unmeaning columns are placed under a light entablature, and are perfectly useless both in appearance and reality. If there are not many very good pictures or splendid decorations here, there are none of those ridiculous daubs and offensive ornaments, by which so generally, in their churches, taste is outraged, and piety is shocked. But notwithstanding that money has not been lavished in this way, the build-

ing, with the convent of Franciscan nuns attached to it, is reputed to have cost near 600,000*l.* It was undertaken by the Queen, at the instance of her clergy, as a propitiatory offering to heaven; hoping to avert thereby the heavy visitation of derangement, under which she laboured; when in truth, as Darwin expresses it, the "maniacal hallucination" was on the subject of religion, and she perpetuated the malady by the means recommended for its removal.

It would be tedious to enumerate the various churches, conventual and parochial, which are to be seen in almost every street; and I shall dismiss them all by saying, that there is not one which did not to me at least repay the trouble of examination. They are open at all hours; and, enter when you may, you are sure to behold some silent worshippers prostrate before the altars, and

rapt "in mental orison," making the sign of the cross, and bowing down their heads repeatedly. In this practice, they acquit themselves from the charge of idolatry, by declaring, that it is not the image, but the God or Saint it represents, they worship: I speak of the enlightened. Leaving the decision of that point to the only competent tribunal, the mere external of such devotion was a solemn sight to me, who have never presumed to think any man, because he differed from me, a knave or fool. The opinion may be erroneous, and yet the intention may be pure; and satisfied as I feel of the orthodoxy of my own creed, I should with extreme unwillingness subscribe to the doctrine, that the mistaken must necessarily be either hypocrites or dunces.

Squares, which contribute so largely to the beauty of a city, have not much to re-

commend them here; nor should I notice them but to state, that the Pracã de Inquisicãon, or Inquisition Square, moulders into ruins; whilst the Pracã do Comercio, or Commercial Square, is in the highest preservation, and on many accounts entitled to the attention of the traveller. It is bounded on one side by the Tagus, on the other three by buildings, with spacious piazzas, where symmetry and strength are admirably combined. The custom-house, the exchange, and public library are here, and the best booksellers shops in Lisbon. In the centre, is an equestrian statue of King Joseph the First, cast whole in bronze, with exquisitely fine emblematic groups at the sides of the pedestal; both in size and beauty it is superlatively grand, and, if I am rightly informed, is not exceeded by any similar monument of this long-lost art.

A single defect was first discovered by a lady — that of the left leg being improperly placed in the stirrup; and the leather is consequently twisted. It was promoted and patronised by the Marquis of Pombal, in honour of his master: the designer and modeller was Joaquim Machado de Castro; the founder, Bartholomew de Costa; both, to the credit of the country, natives of Portugal. I must not omit to mention, that a portrait, in bronze, of Pombal, on one of the sides of the pedestal, was rudely removed by his former flatterers, when he fell from the giddy height to which he had been elevated by the bounty of the King, and by his own great genius. When he heard of this mean insult, he remarked, with the equanimity which might justly be expected from him, "I am glad of it, for

it was not like me." In its place were substituted the arms of the city.

Near the Rocio, a large square, contiguous to that of the Inquisition, is the Passeio Publico, or public walk, constructed under the auspices of Pombal, as a place of relaxation for the people, and principally as a means to soften the rigour of that restraint by which the fair sex was interdicted from the society of men. It was an amiable idea; but unless the ladies had some stronger inducement than the charms of the place, he could scarcely flatter himself with the prospect of their presence at this promenade. It is an oblong square, planted with forest trees and shrubs, intersected by many serpentine and straight walks, and enclosed by a low wall with palisades: but on either side, there is a row of houses and a street; and a

large space at the principal entrance is allotted for a weekly horse-fair; so that you may well imagine it is frequented only by the lovers of noise and dust. Indeed the few females I have seen there, so far from enjoying recreation, appeared to glide like ghosts through the melancholy grove; exercise is either avoided as an evil or dreaded as a crime, and must be considered inimical to the health both of the soul and body. How grateful for their liberty should Englishwowen be, and how deserving of it by their virtue! If I do not expatiate upon this subject, you well know that it is not for want of inclination, and must admire my forbearance.

LETTER VII.

Lisbon.

SINCE my last, I was for a week at Quelus, about eight miles off, on the hills extending between which and Lisbon, for more than three miles, the greater part of the army is encamped. Though in a very uninviting situation, there is here a royal palace, built without a plan, and in contempt of every order of architecture. Many suites of apartments have lately been decorated and furnished, by Junot's direction, in the most sumptuous manner, and in the highest style of elegance and taste. They were intended for the residence of Bonaparte, or whichever of his brothers should condescend to honour Portugal by the acceptance of her crown: and amongst other appendages of

royalty, a magnificent throne was prepared for the reception of the future monarch. Most of the rooms are painted in compartments, and, from the variety of the subjects and the merit of the execution, produce a charming effect. These are occupied by three or four of our General Officers and their Staff: and I had sufficiently commodious rooms in another part of the palace. This gave me an opportunity of traversing it completely; and I am surprised that the ample accommodation it could afford to a great number of men, has not been taken advantage of by us, as it was by the French army; and I lament it the more, because there have been heavy rains. The soil of this vicinity retains the moisture, and sickness begins to prevail alarmingly in the camp, though not, indeed, attributable to this alone. An un-

controuled excess in wine canot but be productive of the most ruinous consequences to the health of the troops. From its cheapness they can, and from its weakness they must, drink a very great quantity to effect intoxication; while, from its newness and acidity, the imbibing such a portion must be deleterious in a variety of ways. True it is, that sentries are posted on the wine-houses; but even if they did their duty towards the men, which they do not, they have no orders to exclude the women; and so obedient are they to the wishes of their husbands, and in most instances there is such a perfect conformity of taste, that from morning till night they are employed in carrying, without concealment, this mortal drug from the village to the camp. Indeed, in all the crimes and licentiousness of a soldiery, it generally happens that the ladies

are the most active agents and abettors: and it would not a little improve the conduct of an army upon foreign service, if not one of the fair sex was suffered to accompany them. Three soldiers are to be executed here for plundering a house of every thing valuable and portable, to a large amount; they entered it in the middle of the day, and deliberately rifled it in the presence of the unresisting proprietors. They prosecuted by means of an interpreter, gave the most consistent testimony, and have, since the conviction, solicited in vain the pardon of the men. The example will, I trust, strike terror into the troops, and prevent a repetition of such offences.

The two first divisions of the French army are embarked; the third is detained as a security to prevent, or rather to correct, the violation of the Convention, in carrying

off property to which they have no right. The total number to be conveyed to France is twenty-four thousand seven hundred and thirty-five men, two hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and sixteen children, and seven hundred and fifty-nine horses, including the garrisons of Almeida and Elvas. The former has been marched to Oporto, where transports were sent for them; the latter are to come here for embarkation. The 20th regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Ross, was detached to Elvas, to take the surrender of the fort, and to conduct the garrison; but to this the commander of a Spanish force, lately arrived there, objected, alleging that he considered them as his prisoners. This was an extremely delicate and difficult situation for an officer of our army to be placed in, under all the circumstances, and one by which a

man of less distinguished judgment and abilities than Colonel Ross, would have been highly embarrassed. By his temper and firmness he dissuaded and prevented the Spaniard from carrying on operations; and the matter being explained, and reinforcement sent soon after from head-quarters, no further opposition was attempted to be made.

I have seen the greater part of the French army paraded, previous to their going on board, and cannot refuse it a reluctant admiration. It consists of young, but full grown men, of muscular strength, and unincumbered by flesh. Their arms and accoutrements are somewhat different from ours, and, I am informed, on the whole, are preferable. Their firelock is about six inches longer in the barrel, and their bayonet about three shorter; adapted to their mode and

choice of distant fighting. The locks of their pieces are much better finished than ours, and the pans are so constructed, that the powder is not liable to fall out, a fatality which often occurs to ours. They wear short broad-swords, which can be seldom serviceable, and appear an incumbrance; and carry very large cartridge-boxes. The cavalry generally have helmets, and the infantry Polish caps. Their aspect is altogether martial, and though not formidable to us, it is ferocious in the extreme.

But infinitely finer, and on many accounts more gratifying, was the sight of the Spanish troops, who have been liberated from imprisonment, one of the happy fruits of the Convention. They are majestic in stature, and athletic in shape: there is a mixture of seriousness and animation in their countenances, which awakens both respect and in-

terest. When it first struck me, I exclaimed from hope and surprise, Oh, si sic omnes! for if they be so, Spain may bid defiance to her enemies. We have restored to liberty and to their country 3,500 of these men; at the request of their government, they are immediately to be sent to Catalonia, having received from us appointments, and 3,000 stand of arms, beside 90,000 dollars as a loan, to replace the horses which the French took from them, and which cannot now be recovered. Their delight and eagerness to be employed is not to be described.

During the embarkation of the French, the rage of the populace was restrained by the presence of a strong English force. It was at first intended, that part of the Portuguese troops should occupy the town. Fortunately for the public tranquillity, this idea was abandoned. Had it been persevered

in, the streets would have been deluged with blood, and we should have been reduced to the painful predicament of fighting for our enemies against our allies. As it is, when a single Frenchman is discovered, he flies for protection to the first Englishman he sees, to escape the fury of the mob. Escorts of our men are continually attending stragglers from their army; and were it not for our guards, mounted on the quays, a considerable quantity of their baggage would have been detained or destroyed.

Of the abundance that Junot had amassed, some conclusion may be drawn from this, that he required five Danish vessels, which lay in the Tagus, to carry off his personal effects; and an officer of the frigate, in which he is to sail, informed me, that they have not sufficient space for his accommodation, and are crowded beyond measure. He

takes with him no fewer than twelve carriages. The people, in whose recollection the nakedness with which he entered Lisbon is so fresh, are distracted between astonishment and anger at the luxuriant plenty with which he is departing. On every opportunity they endeavour to reduce this redundance; and what they probably consider a rightful restitution, we are under the necessity to prevent as plunder.

It must, indeed, be an uncommon crisis, which could rouse the lower orders of the natives from their lethargy. I know not, that I have yet seen any thing, which has struck me with so much surprise, as the extreme and constant idleness of the populace. The number of huge fellows stretching their lazy length upon the ground, and basking in the sun, is scarcely credible. Industry is with them too dear a purchase for any

enjoyment; and, on this principle, they prefer to be ragged and filthy, to being well-clad and clean. They subsist on very little food, having no inclination to intemperance; and, provided they have the cheap luxury of a segar, they ask but little more. With this they are constantly supplied: from morning to a late hour at night, the cry of "Que quer segaro?"—who wants segars?—rings in your ears; so much so, that one might imagine, without being tempted by the pun, that it was the only *care* they had. The venders of those fumigated drams carry with them a piece of lighted tow, to accommodate the purchaser; and the indulgence, such as it is, prevails universally. The only regard for decency they observe, is the use of a very large wrapping cloak, which protects the wretchedness of the interior from public observation; but, as worn by the

commonalty, this garment is the envelope of every abomination to which the human frame is subject.

How marked is the difference between the persons I have been describing and the beggars of Lisbon; a most curious, I had almost said a respectable, fraternity! Very few of them are offensive objects; the great majority are decently dressed. But what captivates the attention chiefly, is their courteousness to each other, and their civility to strangers. When they meet, their hats are reciprocally taken off, they address each other with the salute of Signior, and the snuff-box * is presented with as much politeness, as men in higher ranks of life are accustomed to display. In asking for alms, they confine

* Every well-bred Portugue offers you his snuff-box when he approaches to speak, and it is reckoned uncivil to refuse the offer.

themselves to a single appeal to charity the slightest indication of refusal is sufficient: they never repeat the request: and you escape at least the pain of importunity, if you do not enjoy the pleasure of beneficence. Many of them, I am informed, have been reduced to this sad necessity by the emigration of the Court, whose followers left debts of every description unpaid, even to their servants' wages.

There was one man, who occupied the portico of a coffee-house, and had the appearance of a destitute gentleman: he never solicited, but took off his cocked hat, in token of obeisance, conceiving, that a meagre aspect and modest demeanour were the best interpreters of his wants. I had the satisfaction to see him, ere long, replaced *en gentilhomme*, in a new suit of clothes, and walking gaily through the streets. He

had been a writing-master, and was driven to this last extremity, when the bounty of the English enabled him to appear again in credit, and resume his occupation. Those who saw and relieved him, cannot but be happy at the recital of this anecdote.

The spiritual care of the garrison has devolved on me; and ample occupation it affords to one person. There are five regiments here, besides the artillery, and to these I have to read prayers and preach respectively every Sunday. They are quartered in barracks, convents, and in the citadel, the ascent to which nearly incapacitates me for duty the remainder of the day. These places are so much enclosed, that there are not many of the natives, spectators of the service: they appear astonished and amused at the simplicity of it, rather than offended at the innovation; and probably entertain contempt,

not unmixed with compassion, for its inefficacy. A General Officer, for whose military talents I have the highest respect, declared his opinion to me, that divine service ought not to be performed without the concurrence of the Portuguese Government; but, in common with every person of authority in the army, to whom I spoke on the subject, I dissented from him; and am persuaded, that, however foreigners may disagree with us about our mode of worship and our faith, they must consider our devotion at the drum-head better than none, and that such a submission would have surprised and disgusted them. Indeed, it is notorious, that, in South America, the Spaniards were shocked at our army's being unprovided with chaplains, and attributed our calamities in great measure to this want. But without consulting the policy of meeting what some

may call the prejudice of a people, higher considerations evidently present themselves; and they who believe in the Providence of God, and would have his blessing and protection, must feel the propriety of imploring them at a time when they are most likely to require their immediate influence.

My principal professional employment is that of visiting the sick in the numerous hospitals, which are every day filling with patients in fever or dysentery. The former is of a most treacherous and destructive nature; men, who have an appearance of amendment in the evening, are the next morning discovered to be dead. The physicians, whose zeal is unremitting, began by administering bark, and found it unsuccessful; they have since had recourse to mercury, which answers their warmest expectations. The sick of the artillery occupy

the royal hospital of St. Joseph, which is a very spacious and well-constructed edifice, calculated to contain fifteen hundred patients. The general hospital of the army is in the Estrella convent, evacuated for this purpose by a sisterhood of nuns. Here, too there is abundant room; but a want of that complete ventilation which is so desirable. There are, besides, seven or eight regimental hospitals in and near the town; the care of them all engrosses my time, and leaves me little leisure for any other occupation. For the dispatch of business, a regular hour is appointed for my attendance at the burial ground; and not a day has elapsed, within this fortnight, that I have not had to discharge my melancholy office from three to six times. The privilege of interment here was secured to the English by treaty during the protectorate of Cromwell: the place is

enclosed by high walls, and too thickly planted with Judah trees and cypresses. But the most striking circumstance in this cemetery is the number of early victims to disease, whom baffled skill and futile hope so often banish here to die. A mind disposed to such reflections imagines that it can trace the tears of parents and of husbands almost on every tomb. Such scenes are ever awful and affecting; how exquisitely so, when we contemplate the pitiless grave of innocence and youth!

There is here a conservation, or deposit room, where bodies are brought within twenty-four hours after their decease; the law requiring, to prevent contagion, that they shall not remain longer in the houses; a precaution rendered necessary by the heat of the climate, and thus providing against the horrors of premature interment.

I sought in vain for the spot where the remains of Fielding lie. Here are innumerable urns, sacred to those who were only distinguished by their deaths; while he, whose life was devoted to pursuits of elegance and utility, has lain so many years unnoticed, with no monument, but that one, "ære perennius," which, anticipating the neglect of his survivors, he had himself erected.

Passing through the streets this day, I observed a man with a wooden box, of about a foot long, in his arms, followed by a crowd, and occasionally stopping. On inquiry, I learned that the box contained an image of the Virgin, for a sight of which he received one vintem, and for a kiss two. I stole a gratuitous glance, and could perceive no difference between it and the tawdry dolls which are exhibited for sale in the poorest of our toy-shops. But the people

approached it with veneration, and stood uncovered; indeed, so frequently is the hat taken off on similar occasions, that its principal use is to be holden in the hand, and the purchase of one appears to be an absurd extravagance. Images and paintings of our Saviour, the Virgin, and the multitudinous saints, erected upon the walls, and enclosed in a large glass lantern, with a lamp perpetually burning, arrest the attention almost every fifty yards you go. To these an obeisance is offered, an ejaculatory prayer repeated, and the sign of the cross made at proper intervals. These images are of stone or painted wood, and executed in the vilest manner imaginable.[X] To avoid giving offence to such sore superstition as is here prevalent, I generally salute even the most ridiculous, and should advise every Englishman, who resides in Lisbon, to do the same. Com-

pliance with the customs of the countries we visit, is to a certain degree commendable; that is, when it can be done with a safe conscience; and in this instance I feel innocent of idolatry, a crime of which there are not wanting those with whom I may, by this acknowledgment, incur the imputation.

LETTER VIII.

Lisbon, Oct. 10.

My last letter in some measure anticipated your inquiries as to how I passed my mornings: those of what were my amusements, and whether I lived in coffee-houses or in a military mess, shall shortly be satisfied. To the latter I shall give precedence: if not the more interesting, certainly the more important of the two. With very little variation, I breakfast and dine at home, alone; being most comfortably billeted at the house of an old and amiable ecclesiastic. The first he furnishes me *à l'Anglaise*, excepting that there is no cloth laid upon the table—a napkin here supplies its place. He wished indeed to provide me with every thing; but such liberality is not to be abused: nor is it

necessary to avail myself of it to any great degree, the allowance of rations being sufficient for appetite, if not for palate. I shall subjoin the form* of a requisition and receipt for provisions, which will explain to you all our concerns with the Commissary.

My host is of a noble family, and the principal Dean in the Patriarchal church: he has all the politeness which is natural to his birth, and all the philanthropy which might be expected from his profession. He is ever solicitous to discover and to prevent my wishes; and yet I was advised by a *sagacious* man to conceal my being a clergyman. Our interpreter is an old Scotch-woman, who subsists upon his bounty, amongst many more domestic pensioners, and has lived in Lisbon above fifty years.

* For form of requisition and receipt, see Appendix, No. 13.

The assiduity of this good lady, and her delight in serving me, I shall never forget. The only return she demands is, that I will listen to her eventful story; and though she possesses the garrulity of age in a very eminent degree, I show no symptoms of *ennui;* and she seems happy beyond description, to have a person in the house who can understand and sympathise her misfortunes.

I have made some private acquaintances, from whom I have a general invitation: this is here meant in sincerity, and accepted without scruple. They have a fixed night for the reception of company, to which every one who is once introduced may go when he pleases, and be certain of a cordial welcome. The amusements are cards, conversation, and sometimes music. The first is the favourite. They play at whist and

faro for high stakes; and the medley of very ancient and very young women, whom I have seen gambling at the same table, presented a picture disgusting in the extreme. In conversation, both sexes are affable to strangers, are intelligent and animated. But that charm is a good deal defiled by politics, at this moment the universal topic.

The dress of the men differs from ours in the form more than in the materials; and certainly no London tailor should be sent here for a consumption, as the shape of their coats would counteract every benefit he might otherwise derive. Were I to describe minutely the dress of the women, it would gratify the ill-nature and vanity of many, who appear to think all feminine attractions comprised in it. With this motive strong upon my mind, I cannot reconcile it to myself to say more than that the Portuguese

ladies are economists in water, and prodigals in clothes; and that the first impression made on me as I entered an assembly was, that they had dressed in the dark, and confounded their wardrobes. They wear more jewels, in proportion to their rank, than perhaps in any other country; being enabled to do so by their cheapness. A complete set of amethysts or topazes costs about one third of the London price; and their Brazil gold chains are exquisitely beautiful. Rouge is but little worn; and the paleness, I cannot say the fairness, of their complexions, gives a tender and melancholy character to the countenance, which is highly interesting; the more so, because, grave as they appear before conversation, when they once engage in it, the gloom is succeeded by a smile, and their fine dark eyes sparkle as they speak. I expressed my approbation to

a young lady, whose beauty would have been improved by rouge, at her having the firmness and good sense to resist it. She said she had been taught to think it immoral and immodest to attract admiration by such false means; and that she was persuaded, though many might use it innocently, without intention to deceive, and from mere compliance with custom, that none who reflected could reconcile it to that purity which is the finest feature of the female character. She then inquired, with a confident and cruel air of triumph, whether it were not worn very generally in England? The fact was not to be denied; but, jealous of the honour of my countrywomen, and anxious to do them justice, I stated, that, when a wife was ornamented in this manner, we always concluded it was in obedience to the wishes of her husband, and to appear beau-

tiful in his eyes, and his alone: that if any other man admired her in consequence of this new charm, her misery was not to be described; sacred were her sorrows; for she suffered no one to behold the tears she shed for this inevitable misfortune. 'This so far satisfied my pale inquirer: but she proceeded—"The custom is not confined to married women in England; how do you justify the single? what individual's wishes do they consult? can it be their object to captivate every circle that they move in; or do they make conquests of the hearts of Englishmen by such dishonest practices?" My invention was on the rack for an apology: I knew not what to say: when she continued—"You have daughters; shall you approve of their having recourse to art?" To this I replied, without a moment's hesitation, If I discovered that they rouged clan-

destinely, I should not recognise them in their masks, but avoid them as persons with whom I had no acquaintance; and if they spoke to me with this false colour upon their cheeks, I should stare at them as strangers, who were taking an improper liberty. If they asked my permission, the answer of my grief should be, "the request is an unhappy proof that your minds are already painted: I refer you to the rainbow and the chemist: it is to me a matter of indifference: you may make your faces what colour you think fit."

Here the conversation ceased; and on this, as well as many other occasions, I had reason to form the most favourable opinion of the ladies of this country: so much so, that if at any future period there should exist symptoms of a relaxation of morals in that class at home, as a physician of the soul

I should recommend a visit to Lisbon for as sovereign a specific in a decay of virtue as it has been considered in a decay of nature.

The public places of entertainment here consist of an Italian opera-house, a theatre, and a species of Sadler's Wells, called the Salsitré. The opera-house is built in the Doric order, and is a very elegant piece of architecture. Within, it is fitted up like our King's Theatre; but is not quite so large. The boxes are on a similar plan: you pay five crusados for the hire of one for the night. The orchestra is admirably filled, and of itself is an ample inducement for the lovers of music to frequent the house. The vocal performers are of the very first description; not indeed that there is here at present a Catalani or a Billington; but there are two females very little inferior to them, many of most exquisite voice and skill; and

none would be tolerated, who did not possess considerable powers to please. In this description, the male singers are included. The ballets are not got up with the taste and splendour of a D'Egville, nor is there any dancer equal to Deshayes; but this perfection is also nearly approached, and the entire corps is preferable to ours. In the centre of the boxes, a large space is appropriated for the royal seat. With a laudable delicacy it is now shut up, and a curtain let down before it. Junot continued to occupy it till his departure; though Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was so well entitled to a distinguished place, contented himself in a private box, as an obscure individual—so far as it was possible for him to be obscure. The performances are twice a week, and the most fashionable night is Sunday. Formerly the ladies sat apart from the gen-

tlemen; but this odious separation no longer exists.

The theatre for the representation of Portuguese comedies is a very small and ill-constructed building, and would be esteemed in England a bad provincial play-house. This deficiency is compensated by the excellence of the performers, many of them being admirable comedians, and all considerably above mediocrity. Their chief merit consists in their imitating nature so successfully, that they scarcely seem to act; in their unremitting attention to the scene; the freedom with which they tread the stage; and in the parts being judiciously allotted or cast, as actors term it. This house is, notwithstanding, not much frequented. The English, from their ignorance of the language, could not derive pleasure from it; and with the natives it is not the fashion.

Nothing can surpass the absurdity of the prompter's situation here. He stands in a trap-door on the stage, with about half his body above the level of the floor, and makes no scruple of speaking audibly, when occasion requires. But this, I believe, is the practice on all foreign theatres.

The Salsitré is appropriated to the performance of "les petites pieces," and pantomimic buffoonery, in which they are sufficiently ridiculous. The most observable circumstance here, is the indecency of the dancers; and you will think so, when I declare, that the exhibitions in our ballets are modest and chaste, nay almost prudish, when compared with the tortuous elasticities of the Portuguese figurantès: they are, indeed, most mischievous adepts in the "motus Ionicos," and cannot be seen without a blush of shame and indignation.

One great diminution from the pleasure of these places, is the difficulty of returning home; for you issue from a blaze of illumination into a Stygian shade. The very few lamps that glimmer, serve but to make "darkness visible;" and the selection of your steps is usually rewarded by plunging into a heap of filth. You meet too, at every pass, the prowling dogs, who are chartered inhabitants of the city, and accountable to no man. They are beyond description numerous. The French, on their arrival, destroyed many of them; and this was objected to them amongst their other offences; for the people say, that putrefaction is prevented by the quantity of offal they consume, that being the only sustenance of these tenants of the air; and if it be so, they are the Hygeias of the town. The

streets are safe, with the exception of this annoyance, and the danger of immersion from the windows.

I have not heard of any instance of assassination, by the charge of which the natives are, I believe, of late years unjustly calumniated. I came here, indeed, with a recent horror strong upon my mind, from an authenticated anecdote related to me at Portsmouth, previous to our embarkation. A marine had deserted from one of our ships in the Tagus, who had before been pardoned for a similar crime. His commanding officer was indignant, and most anxious for his apprehension. A Portugue presented himself, and undertook for five dollars to bring his head. The Captain cautioned him, at his peril, not to injure a British subject, and said, "I want the man

alive." "You shall have him," said the assassin, with surly disappointment; "but for that I must have thirty dollars."

Some measures of prudence, however, have been recommended to, and adopted by, the English who are not in regimentals; that of wearing a cockade—for best security, the national one—and of abstaining from the use of the French language. Many, with whom I was in the habit of conversing in that tongue, seem now to have forgotten it; and if I address them in it, answer me in Portugue. This change is not disagreeable, as I have made some progress in the latter, and am desirous to improve.

I lately passed an agreeable afternoon at the royal monastery of Belem, or Bethlehem, which is about three miles from Lisbon, and connected with it by an almost uninterrupted chain of buildings. A military ac-

quaintance of the abbot's accompanied and introduced me. We found them at table, and, it being Friday, fasted with them luxuriously on fish, vegetables, and fruit, in a superb refectory, cool as a subterraneous vault. This monastery was founded by King Emanuel, in the year 1499, and finished by his son and successor, John the Third, for the friars of the order of St. Jeronimo. The architecture is a compound of the Norman-Gothic and Arabian styles: and of the ornamental beauties of the latter, there are many ingenious specimens in different parts of the building, particularly in the cloister adjacent to the church. This magnificent pile stands on the high road, fronting the Tagus, from which it is removed about three hundred yards. The church is the grandest place of worship I have seen. There are too uncommonly fine-

toned organs in it, each of which, they informed me, had fourteen hundred pipes. In the choir, are many exquisite intaglios on the seats, the subjects taken from various parts of Scripture. The cloisters contain some good pictures, of which I could not learn a satisfactory account. One of the largest altars in the church was enclosed within a curtain; and we were admitted to behold what excited my astonishment in no small degree;—there were preparations, in a state of forwardness, for a scenic representation of the Nativity of Christ. Many of the scenes were painted and arranged for shifting, as on the stage of a theatre; and the exhibition was intended to be complete by the ensuing Christmas. The monks lamented pathetically, that their pious, or profane, ingenuity was interrupted by the troubles of the times.

The library is on a very reduced scale for such an establishment: the situation is admirably adapted for study and reflection; but it can boast of few works of merit, except on the subject of theology. There is, however, one book here of inestimable price; an illuminated manuscript Bible, which was presented by the Pope to King Emanuel. It consists of three volumes, and the painting is inimitable. The binding is enriched with clasps and edges of gold, studded with precious gems of very great value.

The Abbot was less loud in his complaints against the French, than any superior I had met with; and rather expressed himself obliged by their moderation, than offended at their extortion. The last requisition made to his house was for twelve thousand pounds: he stated the impossibility of disbursing it at once, and was

allowed to pay it by instalments at convenient intervals. Such forbearance had a claim to gratitude and admiration, were it only for its singularity.

Contiguous to this monastery is a residence of the Prince Regent, in which there are some very good pictures; but the best are not yet unpacked from the cases in which Junot had intended to have conveyed them to France. There is here also a museum, which will gratify the naturalist most highly. Amongst many foreign curiosities, the variety of Brazil birds is eminently entitled to admiration; but the hand of the spoiler has been heavy, and has been felt at different times previous to this last invasion. The botanic garden, too, contains a most valuable collection of plants and shrubs: there were some from South America, which were new to me, and, from the

healthiness of their appearance, they were evidently in a congenial climate. The lovers of aromatic fragrance may here imagine themselves regaling on the thousand sweets of Paradise.

Soon after my return to town this evening, I witnessed the narrow escape of a French general from an attempt on his life. Kellerman had come on shore to dine with one of our officers. The people had intelligence of this; and he was attacked by a mob, as he approached the pier to go on board in a boat of one of our ships of war. Our gallant tars, highly to their honour, defended him with as much spirit as if he had been one of their own, and two of them were severely wounded. I saw a pistol twice snapped at Kellerman's head, but it luckily missed fire: the boat pushed off under a volley of stones, and secured

his safety, but not till he had received some very severe contusions. He was, however, one of the least unpopular of his countrymen. Amongst the generals, Loison was the object of most universal abhorrence.

LETTER IX.

Lisbon, October 17.

THE town is now completely evacuated by the French, and the native troops begin to make their appearance, and do garrison duty. My taste may probably have been rendered fastidious by looking at our own and the French armies; but if this be not the case, such soldiers, I am persuaded, have seldom been exhibited since the days of Falstaff. Their appointments are, beyond description, ridiculously bad. There is such variety in the shape and colour, that it seems as if no uniform had been yet decided on, but that they had all been ordered to produce fancy patterns for approbation, and that no two of them had by accident fixed upon the same. Though this be not a very exaggerated ac-

count, allowance must certainly be made for the levy of an insurrection, labouring under all the disadvantages of the state to which Portugal has been reduced. Nor could it be reasonably expected, that their force should hitherto have been very formidable in the field. Their best officers are gone to the Brazils, and their arsenals have been in the hands of the enemy: of these, there are two in Lisbon, one marine, the other military; and it is but justice to say, that they were in very excellent condition, and contained abundance of every equipment requisite for the respective services. Cut off from this resource, it was not possible for them to be very nice about accoutrements, or well furnished with ammunition; and perhaps the greater wonder is, that they are so well in both. As for dress, it would be absurd and illiberal to form any conclusions from it prejudicial to their character as soldiers; and in

us it would be particularly inexcusable, who know, that one of our most distinguished regiments, the 50th, is the worst clothed and appointed on the expedition. They are ludicrously called the Dirty Half-hundred; but no reproach is meant to be conveyed; and as their name is never mentioned without applause, they are rather flattered than offended at the title. The day may not be distant, when the appearance of the Portuguese shall be forgotten in their prowess.

The government, as constituted by the Prince Regent, previous to his departure for the Brazils, is re-established; with the exception of some members of the Regency, who had favoured the French cause, and who, if they had not for obvious reasons been ineligible on this account, would probably not have had the courage or the audacity to act. One of the new members is the Bishop of Oporto, the president of the

Provisional Junta, which has conducted the insurrection; than whom a more worthy one could not have been selected, whether regard be had to talents, to station, or to patriotism. With the modesty of a great mind, he withdrew from this arduous and honourable office, when first proposed to him; but on the urgent solicitation of Sir Hew Dalrymple, he has reluctantly consented to accept it. The readiness with which the Supreme Junta of Oporto surrendered their powers, and even solicited the restoration of the Regency at Lisbon, is a rare instance of moderation, especially in new and self-constituted governments; and considerable embarrassments must have occurred, had they been actuated by any sinister motives of interest or ambition, and endeavoured to maintain that ascendancy to which they had strong, though not legitimate, pretensions.

As every thing is thus reverting into its former channel, or, rather, as it is seen that we do not intend to hold the reins of government in our own hands, the people begin to be satisfied with the Convention, and even to express their gratitude publicly to Sir Hew by addresses from the various departments of the state. Their tone is very much altered indeed, and they have now adopted the opposite extreme of absurd adulation. The judge of the people, in his original remonstrance against the Convention, made use of these energetic and emphatic words, where more is meant than meets the ear, " Let those French treat with the victors of Vimiera, who will be indignant at their proposed terms;" and yet, in about ten days after, the same judge, addressing the same Sir Hew, says, " Illustrious Sir, you have added to your number of virtues by your kindness

towards me and this people, for which the genius of Pope and Milton would not be sufficient to do justice."

It is probable, that this magistrate is not acquainted with much more than the names of our celebrated poets. Had he been conversant with their writings, it could not have escaped his memory, that they were not much addicted to panegyric; and we could furnish him with a long catalogue of geniuses, whom it would be more apposite to apostrophise on such an occasion. It is, however, a satisfaction to perceive, that this happy change of sentiment exists; the reign of rapine is at an end; and the fact of the expulsion of the French, the advantages of which they are every hour enjoying, appears to have obliterated from their minds all recollection of the means by which it was accomplished. The contrast between their late

and present circumstances is certainly matter of sincere gratulation; and the people of Portugal ought to feel and acknowledge, that for this they are exclusively indebted to an English army.

General illuminations were ordered for six successive nights, and have been continued for a fortnight. The effect is very beautiful; in some instances produced by the length and uniformity, in others by the height and steepness of the streets. There have been a few tolerable transparencies; but, on the whole, less taste and ingenuity than I expected to have seen displayed. But the most memorable demonstration of their joy is the performance of the Te Deum, and the Thanksgiving offered up in their churches. On this occasion high mass is celebrated, or, in other words, the service is chanted; and it is attended by all the

nobility and gentry of both sexes, many of our officers, and a vast concourse of the lower ranks. The members of the government, and a few others, appear in full dress; nothing can be conceived more splendid than the former, nor more elegant than the latter. The music is, indeed, exquisitely fine, as all the performers, vocal and instrumental, of the city are assembled; and some of the choristers of the churches are Italians of superior skill and very surprising sweetness of voice.

At one of their functions (for so they are called), I heard one of the most eminent preachers deliver a discourse, which was ingenious and eloquent, but rather political than religious. His manner was animated, yet free from theatrical rant. He took a luminous and able view of the history of Portugal, and illustrated and praised their

many miraculous feats in arms, performed with the aid of Providence. This was prefatory to the principal subject, the recent subjugation of the French; and he ascribed it to the same cause,—their native magnanimity and prowess,—by which the enemy was routed and subdued, and eventually compelled to evacuate the land. The preacher took occasion to mention England once, under the name of Albion; and had the candour to notice, in a cursory manner, that her prompt and zealous friendship had contributed to the late glorious victories. This, from the pulpit, was somewhat too strong an effort of imagination. In coffee-houses, I smile on hearing that the deliverance of Portugal was effected by herself; but from so sacred a place, before such a grave and solemn assembly, it was shameful and arrogant to utter such a ridiculous bombast.

Amongst others, a function was performed at a chapel attached to the house of my host, the principal Decano. He had the goodness to introduce me to a seat beside himself, which I mention as a gratifying proof that he had no great horror of me as a heretic. During the celebration of these solemnities, which usually lasted for five or six hours, the women knelt for the most part of the time, but occasionally squatted (I dislike that word, but know not any other appropriate); and they bore this fatigue with a patience which practice may have induced, but which was surprising to a stranger.

What has been for some time expected by the army is at length announced,—the recal of Sir Hew Dalrymple. Though the Convention has ceased to be the subject of conversation, they feel that for his honour,

their own, and that of all the parties implicated, it ought to be most fully investigated. In large bodies, especially interested ones, it is not possible to stem the tide of prejudice; it runs rapidly against our Commander-in-Chief: but the candid think, that he is not without a strong justification; and they who are acquainted with him say, that, whatever he judged it wise to do, he will not want ability to defend.

The command in Portugal devolves on Sir Harry Burrard; but it is not imagined that he can remain here long. He filled so conspicuous a part in the transactions immediately prior to the Convention—a part which many are of opinion justified the prudence, if it did not create the necessity of the measure—that, even though his conduct should not be made the subject of inquiry, his evidence is indispensable on any

proceeding that may be taken. On what I allude to, I communicated to you the sentiments of the army at the time; and can only now add, that he will carry with him the good wishes of many warm private friends, and the approbation of many respectable public persons.

There remain with Sir Harry about 10,000 men. Sir John Moore is to proceed forthwith to Spain, in the command of about 20,000. His appointment has given very general satisfaction. He has a high character for talent, and it is hoped will now have an opportunity of maintaining it, and compensating the vexations he has already and recently experienced. Why this expedition has been so long delayed, we are of course unable to pronounce positively. It is conjectured, that the time has been employed in arranging with the Spanish go-

vernment the place of our destination; and for this purpose Lord William Bentinck has been dispatched to Aranjuez; for it would have been evidently absurd to move, till it was ascertained at what point our services were required. But a valuable interval has elapsed, and the army has suffered from inaction.

When that was determined, the commissariat department must have had some previous notice, before so large a body could be put in motion. Hitherto they have had but little, comparatively, to do; but as we are now about to march into the interior of by no means a superabundant country, being one which cannot feed itself much more than six months in the year, their utmost exertions will be demanded. Part of our force has already moved towards the frontiers, exclusive of the regiments which were sent to

take possession of the forts of Elvas and Almeida. The remainder follows in a few days, by different routes, by Coimbra, Elvas, and Abrantes.

You will see by the Orders * the dislocation of the army, and every thing material relative to the conveyance of baggage and such other important concerns. I am to proceed by Abrantes, being attached to Major-General Hill's brigade, consisting of the 5th, 32nd, and 91st regiments; and as the march will be through a country but little explored by travellers, my information will have the merit of novelty, if destitute of every other.

Unpleasant intelligence from Oporto has reached us this day. Some of the transports, with French troops, put in there; and the

* Orders, see Appendix, No. 14.

populace, under the pretext of their containing Portuguese property, unauthorised by the Convention, boarded the ships, and plundered them of every thing portable, not excepting the stores and provisions for the voyage. They would probably have proceeded to more unwarrantable measures, but for the firmness and activity of Sir Robert Wilson. He published a proclamation, denouncing military vengeance against the offenders, and had his legion under arms to enforce his authority, should it be necessary to have recourse to violence. This quickly tranquillised the town; and the most alarming feature in the transaction is, that their enmity seemed to be directed against us as much as against the French; and that many persons, from whom a better demeanor might have been hoped, encouraged and protected the rioters.

To confess the truth, resulting from a more general and intimate acquaintance, a distrust and jealousy of us pervade the public mind. This may appear inconsistent with the exultation and gratitude I so lately described; and certainly their joy was unbounded at the extermination of the French. But it by no means follows, that, because they hate them, they should love us; and had their plunderers and oppressors conducted themselves with more moderation, particularly towards church property, I am persuaded they would have been hailed as the deliverers of Portugal from an odious government, and that any proffers of assistance from us would have been indignantly rejected. The Prince Regent is more indebted to the rapacity of Junot, than to his own popularity, for the addresses and pledges of attachment which will follow him to the

Brazils; and unless the Regency, which represents him, shall take greater pains, and adopt wiser measures to conciliate the affections of the people than he thought it adviseable to do, it is evident to me that we must keep a considerable army in Portugal, so long as we would preserve the connection, and that the day of our evacuation will be that of the entry of the French.

But I go still farther, and say, that, notwithstanding all their offences, there is a strong French party at this moment in Lisbon. Neither outraged by their rapine, nor undeceived by their perfidy, but too many are dazzled by their conquests, and duped by their promises. The inherent love of change operates most powerfully, and they flatter themselves with the vain hope of regeneration from the tyrant of mankind. That this should be so, is strange, after all

the awful lessons which Europe has received. Without attempting the solution of so difficult a problem, I can only assure you of the fact, and you will readily believe that I have grounds for the assertion. From this and many other circumstances, I shall leave Lisbon without regret, and expect to meet with more patriotism than can be boasted there.

LETTER X.

Santarem, Oct. 23.

I HAD dispatched my baggage mule,—the packing of which, by the bye, was an affair of no small trouble and importance,—and was about to proceed myself, when a Spaniard accosted me, and asked whether I wanted a servant to accompany me into Spain, who could speak no language but the Spanish and Portuguese. This was precisely what I did want; and my resolution was immediately taken. It was prudent, however, to propose the usual preliminary questions; and more unsatisfactory answers, perhaps, never were given. There was not any one in Lisbon who could recommend him: he never had acted in the capacity of groom, valet de chambre, or cook; yet

there was not a duty attached to any of those stations which he did not undertake most confidently to discharge. There was something so new in this, that I promised myself entertainment, if nothing more, from such a companion, and without hesitation acceded to his terms, which were four dollars a month: but that you may not think me very rash, I must add that his countenance is uncommonly kind and honest; and there is a frankness and *naïveté* in his manner, which superseded the necessity of any other recommendation. He is one of the many poor Gallicians who leave their mountains for employment, and perform almost all the menial and industrious offices of life in Lisbon.

The first day's march was to Sacavem, a distance of three leagues, or nine miles. It is a very small village, situated near the

confluence of the Tagus and the Loures, over which latter there is a moveable bridge of boards, worked by a windlass. I stopped at the only *estalagem*, or inn, the town afforded, which was of the poorest and dirtiest description. I cannot give you an idea of it by comparison, and must therefore confine myself to its individual merits, by stating, that every inhabitant of the house, and every article of furniture in it, had evidently laboured under hydrophobia for many years past. The floors, tables, and chairs, might have been, for any thing I can allege to the contrary, of the most valuable wood and exquisite workmanship: a thick and unalienable coat of dirt set all speculation at defiance. Happily there was not any table-linen, for that might have been still more offensive; nor was there a bed to be had for the moschetoes and me. But of this I was in-

dependent, having carried with me a blanket and mattress; a precaution which they must observe who travel through Portugal, and have no desire to be cupped by myriads of different kinds of insects.

The next day we marched three leagues, to Villa Franca, a small and poor town, through a marshy and bleak country, on a tolerable road, which runs parallel to the Tagus. I had a letter of introduction to a Capitao Mor *, from my estimable host in Lisbon; and reaped the full advantage of it, in a most cordial and hospitable reception.

In the morning we proceeded four leagues, through a similar country, but more hilly on the left, to Azamboja, the smallest vil-

* The title of an officer who commands a division of the ordenança, or levy en masse, resorted to in times of national danger. He has under him a Major and many Captains.

lage we had yet halted at. But there was an evident disposition to accommodate: the people received us with exultation, and made every exertion to be useful and obliging. A new character began to display itself; and, as we receded from the capital, industry and cheerfulness appeared to prevail, instead of that indolence and discontent, which were there so deplorably conspicuous. I was billeted at the house of a superannuated priest, and underwent a strict examination as to the religion of the English, whom he called the Lutherans. He had imagined they were Heathens; and his astonishment was great, on being informed that they were baptised with the sign of the cross, and the same form of words which is observed in the Roman Catholic church. After some such explanations, he apparently began to think their perdition not so inevitable: when he

asked whether they believed in the pope; and on my answering in the negative, he again gave up all hope of their salvation, and lamented, with sufficient charity, the horrors of their eternal doom. During the conversation, he was incessantly employed in counting his beads; and whilst I spoke, he mumbled over an invocation to the Trinity, which I considered as a species of exorcism against the evils of devoting to such a subject so much time and thought. Instances of so ignorant a bigotry are probably not numerous.

On the 22d, we marched four leagues and a half, through a hilly country, planted with olive trees, and on a tolerable road, to Santarem, the town which we should have originally occupied on our entrance into Portugal, had not the opinion of Sir Arthur Wellesley been overruled. It is a place of

considerable natural strength and importance, commanding the great eastern road, and flanked on the south-east by the Tagus, and on the north and west by very steep hills. It overhangs a rich and beautiful valley, through which the river runs. Santarem was formerly fortified by a wall with five gates, and is a city of great antiquity. The foundation of it is attributed, by authors, to Abidis, the twenty-fourth King of Spain, who reigned eleven hundred years before the birth of Christ. He called it Esca Abidis, in commemoration of a doe that fed his children with her milk, when his grandfather banished him to the woods in the neighbourhood. It was taken by the Romans; and, in allusion to its formidable position, called, by Julius Cæsar, who established a considerable colony here, Presidium Julium. It had afterwards the name

of Villa Scalabis, a corruption of the original one. The Moors, on overrunning Spain and Portugal, altered this to Cabilicastro, which continued to six hundred and fifty three years after Christ. It then assumed its present appellation, from the glorious Saint Eyria, who suffered martyrdom in the ancient city of Nabancia. Her body was thrown into the river Nabao, and carried by the current into the Tagus. Opposite the town, the angels divided the waters, as was done for the Israelites of old; and a sepulchre was thus formed for the floating martyr, who rests there now in peace. This strange medley of historical record and superstitious fiction is to be found, with much more, in the work entitled, Corografia Portuguesa.

I had joined General Hill and his staff this day upon the road, and accompanied

them to the house of the principal personage here, the Provedor das Lizirias, or manager of the royal demesnes, and receiver of rents and duties for a considerable tract of country called Lizirias. We had before been directed to the house of a Disembargador; and never did I see, or converse with, a gentleman of more violent temper. He thought we had received a billet on him, which really was not the fact, and from the obligation of which he was exempt. At this supposed affront, he was indignant and furious beyond measure, insisting repeatedly to know who it was that had written his name; but at the same time declaring, that we might occupy his house, on giving up the person who had been guilty of such presumption. The task devolved on me principally to converse with and endeavour to pacify him; and it ended in my becoming,

much against my inclination, nearly as vociferous as he was, and departing with an assurance that no English general would accept a compliment from one who had so ungracious a manner of conferring it.

We had reason to rejoice at the exchange we made, being admitted with the most cordial politeness by the Provedor das Lizirias, though he had a similar privilege of exemption. But he was, in truth, the most gentlemanlike and accomplished man I had met with in Portugal; and one whose society would in any country be courted. He was extremely well versed in the *belle lettre* of many languages, through the medium of French; and had himself translated the Henriade into his native tongue. This, as spoken by him, had a harmony, a strength, and grace, which I had not before discovered; but with all this, partiality must have

deceived him much in preferring it to the Spanish, both for copiousness and beauty.

His table was besides the board of luxury and abundance: some description of it may give you a correct idea of the best style of Portuguese living. The dinner commenced with a soup, which here was free from oil, a general ingredient. The next thing eaten was bouillé, together with bacon and rice; and these invariably follow the soup. There were then varieties of stews and ragouts of meats and vegetables, and a plain roast at the bottom of the table. The second course was a well-cooked aviary, as it consisted of chickens, ducks, partridges, pigeons, ortolans, and doves; and of each of those we were expected to partake. Then followed the dessert, which in this great fruit-garden could not but be good; and, not content with this delicacy in its natural state, there

were numerous conserves, of which the marmalades were most highly to be prized. Immediately after this, we concluded with coffee. During the repast, the servants anticipated our want of wine, by replenishing the glasses whenever they were empty; it, with water, is the only beverage. The latter, being always deliciously cool, is in this country an article of prime luxury, and is kept in vessels of porous clay, admirably adapted for that purpose.

On examining the town, we found that there were seventeen churches, which had been completely rifled by the French, this being the road by which they entered Portugal. One of them is a small Roman building, and has evidently undergone very little alteration or improvement since its original erection. Its strength and solidity cannot be mistaken. There was here a con

siderable college of Jesuits: the house and church are on a very grand scale; but with the downfal of the order, is their splendour sunk. In the convent of St. Francisco, there are some well-executed whole-length images of Christ, in clay, and one of the Virgin weeping, finely and affectingly done. They are the work of one of the monks, and about eighteen years old. We were here admitted to a nunnery, and had some agreeable conversation, through the grates, with the cloistered sisterhood. Nothing could surpass their expressions of gratitude to the English and detestation of the French; not that they had been exposed to any personal inconvenience. The youngest of them inquired, with much solicitude, for General Townshend, who had been there about forty years before.

As we halted on Sunday, I read prayers

and preached in an open space, surrounded by a vast concourse of the natives. They listened with respectful and decorous silence, though as much rapt in astonishment as we should be at a religious ceremony among the wildest of the Indians; and I am informed, they are at a loss to reconcile the barbarism of our worship with the civilization of our manners and appearance. They naturally contrast the latter with those of the French, who were for some time in quarters here; and the conclusion is, indeed, most creditable to us. The wanton devastation they committed is scarcely to be believed. In a very fine convent of Carthusians, the powers of mischief appear to be exhausted; so much ruin has been accomplished, that it must have been the constant and unrestrained employment of the soldiers: indeed, in some places, there is so much system in the de-

molition, that one might suppose it was effected by a regular working or storming party; and yet in this convent they were hospitably entertained.

Our troops conduct themselves with perfect propriety towards the people on the march. It would be unpardonable ingratitude for a kind reception, if they were to behave otherwise; and they are well aware that any transgression on this head would meet with a merited and exemplary punishment. But hitherto there has been no complaint: the men are healthy and happy, and the officers are particularly pleased with the quarters they have had, and the civility they experience: in the poorest houses, they are provided with clean towels and sheets. The pillow-cases are fringed and tied with bows of ribbons: silver spoons are in universal use, and forks of the same generally to be met

with. These latter were carefully concealed from the French, and the confidence with which they are produced to us, is a proud tribute to the character of the army and the nation. It is by such conduct and impressions, that permanent and useful alliances are to be made; for it is with a people as with individuals, where only those who are justly respected can be sincerely loved.

LETTER XI.

Abrantes, Oct. 27.

We proceeded on the 24th along the banks of the Tagus, through a fertile and romantic country, which was only used for the cultivation of vines and olives, though capable of producing, with little labour, luxuriant and profitable crops of corn. The substitution of the latter for the former was one of the favourite plans of Pombal, and his success was considerable. But native indolence, "*tamen usque recurret,*" and has triumphed: the plough is abandoned, and the hook resumed. The prospect to the north was bleak, and terminated by distant mountains.

After a march of four leagues and a half, we arrived at Gollagoa, a small and poor, but clean village. We stopped at the house

of the principal inhabitant, who had worth in his manner, and wealth in his appearance. The entire of his family, consisting of three daughters and a son, dined with us at table (and a more unctuous meal never was made), which, contrary to the custom of the country, they constantly did, with the various companies their father entertained. The natural effect of this was ease and affability; and to do the eldest daughter justice, the only one grown up, she was agreeable and eloquent, or, as a quaint writer terms it, a fine and glorious talker. I had contrived to make herself the subject of conversation, and so copiously did she expand, that I had reason to suspect it was not an ill-chosen one. Her education had been most carefully attended to; insomuch so, that there was not a celebrated theologian whose works she had not read, and whose name, at least,

she did not remember. This, at the instance of her father and tutor. From a motive of curiosity or rebellion, she had by stratagem obtained "La Nouvelle Heloise," and could very nearly repeat it by heart. I seriously asked, whether she preferred that captivating book, or "La Vie des Onze Mille Vierges?" And she seriously replied, that she thought Rousseau, on the whole, a more interesting writer than the author of it, or any of the truly edifying productions she had perused.

Her progress in English literature was not considerable; but certainly sufficient to explain her sentiments on a very important concern of life. She had learned to conjugate one verb, which, with a smile, she said, was, "I love, Thou lovest." This was the limit of her attainment; and mortifying as it was to my national vanity that she proceeded no further, yet, when I reflected

how many of my countrywomen devoted years to study for no other knowledge, I admired the wisdom of her master, who judged so accurately where to stop, and did not load her mind with useless information.

A sufficiently commodious and handsome bed-chamber was provided for the general. His aid-de-camps, brigade-major, and myself, were destined for what they called a room, and we considered a dungeon. Neither a ray of light, nor breath of air, were admissible to the apartment, which contained four contiguous beds. Suffocation appeared inevitable; and for that, and many other equally valid reasons, we preferred our mattresses spread upon the floors of the rooms we had dined and drank tea in. This evidently surprised the family much,

and offended them a little; and after pressing us pertinaciously to occupy their beds in vain, they came to the conclusion, that the English always slept upon the ground, and yielded to our barbarism in mute astonishment.

On the 25th we marched to Abrantes, a distance of five leagues, through the most picturesque and interesting country of any I had seen. In the immediate vicinity of Gollagoa, the scenery reminded me of Killarney, but on a much smaller scale than that lovely and magnificent master-piece of nature. We passed over a bridge of boats, thrown across the Zerzere, at its confluence with the Tagus, and entered Punheté, which overhangs the river on an eminence, and is most romantically situated, three leagues from Gollagoa.

This town was called by the Romans Pugna Tagi, on account of its encroachment on the river, and the continual contests between the strength of masonry and the rapidity of the tide. But the river is triumphant; the town has sustained considerable damage, and been compelled to retire from its intrusion on the shore.

Here the 32d regiment halted. Most of the men were quartered in the church, which is a very fine and ancient edifice. A silver chalice, and a crucifix said to be a sacred fragment of the original cross, suddenly disappeared. Suspicion rested on the soldiers; and the inhabitants were tumultuous and enraged. Lieutenant-Colonel Hinde, with that prompt attention to the character and discipline of his regiment for which he is conspicuous, had every man's knapsack searched in vain, and would have punished

the delinquent, had he been discovered. The uproar increased; the clergy remonstrated, and besought a restoration by the most pious and energetic appeals; when, lo! the cup was found under the bed of one of the natives, who declared he had removed and secreted it for safety. It is but equitable to infer, that a similar and unnecessary caution had concealed the crucifix; that, however, it must be lamented, could not be ascertained.

Abrantes, which was the Roman Tibuci, is a corruption of Aurantes; a name derived from the golden qualities of the Tagus, diffusing such riches in the country through which it flows, that its sands were said to contain abundance of that precious metal. It was built 308 years before the birth of Christ, and was in a state of high prosperity during the time of Julius Cæsar. The Moors

were expelled from it in the year 1179, after a most desperate conflict. Though by nature strong, and commanding a pass over the Tagus, it is not fortified, nor are there any vestiges of ancient works, more than those connected with the ruins of a castle, which was a private residence. From the walls of this, the prospect is of the most sublime description; so far as the eye can reach, the river moves with slow and graceful majesty, surmounted by gently sloping hills to an immeasurable distance, covered to the summit with woods of olive, fir, the oak, and the chesnut.

It was from this town that Junot took his title, which he raised from a marquisate to a dukedom. The legal proprietor is gone to the Brazils, and the French general has possessed himself at once of his honours and his fortunes. In compli-

ment to his vassals here, he exempted them from contribution; but, notwithstanding, their joy at his discomfiture is unbounded: illuminations have been continued for many nights, and their late master is the object of universal execration. Indeed, were there no other motive for this hatred than the wanton demolition of the Marquis's palace, it would account for it sufficiently. It was occupied by part of the French army; and here, as every where, the memorials of their mischief are the traces of their march.

General Hill's quarters are at the house of a nobleman, who was one of fourteen seduced into France by the promises of the Emperor, and detained as hostages, for the security of whatever treaty he meditated with Portugal. Their property here was confiscated of course, and it may well be doubted,

whether their credulity has received a compensation in the country which they preferred to their own. This house was unfurnished and uninhabited—two circumstances which carried some charms in their train; though, for my part, I had rather submit to noise, dirt, and oil, than not become acquainted with the natives, and favoured with such conversations as I have already communicated.

The 32d regiment is ordered to halt here, to wait for and take charge of the ammunition for the army, which is to be conveyed from Lisbon by water, in barges: they are from thence to conduct it to Salamanca; and, considering the probability of the rainy season commencing soon, the service is likely to be of the most severe and trying description. But every difficulty, I am persuaded, will be surmounted, and the duty

be well performed: and Colonel Hinde, by his orders * of this day, has judiciously prepared his men for the worst they can encounter.

*See Appendix, No. 15.

LETTER XII.

Castello Branco, Nov. 1.

On the 27th we crossed the Tagus in boats, and had proceeded through olive groves for some miles, on a smooth and level road, when our attention was attracted by the appearance of a house standing singly; the first so situated that we had seen since our departure from Lisbon. It proved to be the country seat of a family, who resided principally in the capital, and had come here for the annual purpose of gathering the olives and making their oil. We were invited to dismount, and received with that politeness which leaves one at a loss whether to admire most its good-nature or good-breeding. A breakfast was soon introduced, consisting of tea, coffee, toast, and sallylun. This

would have been sufficient for our appetite, but was not for their hospitality. In half an hour the cloth was laid, and a roasted pig, pork-chops, fruit, and conserves, wines and liqueurs, were placed upon the table. To eat whenever you are required, is said to be one of the arts of passing well through life; but here, I believe, Apicius would have failed. We tasted, however, sufficient to ascertain, that the pork, fed on acorns, was admirably good, as indeed was every thing at this hospitable board. I requested to be informed about the method of making oil, than which nothing can be more simple, as it was explained and shown to me. The branches of the trees are shaken by a hook fastened on a pole, and the ripe fruit falls into a cloth, spread under it to prevent injury. This is put into a press, and the liquor extracted into another vessel, in

which they pour boiling water; that is again drawn off, and carries with it all the sediment and coarser particles: what remains is pure oil: and the whole operation is performed in a day. This family consisted of a mother, daughter, son, and uncle. They desired us to write our names, and favoured us with theirs, which are,—Dona Ellena Sanguina Caldeira, Dona Maria Soze Caldeira, Luis Pinto Caldeira, and Pedro Reixa de Costa. Fortunate the traveller who shall be invited to repose with them! for more agreeableness and worth, he must acknowledge, he has rarely had the happiness to admire.

We proceeded, through a most romantic country, to the miserable village of Garvao, on the worst road we had yet experienced; but as the weather was fair, we advanced without difficulty. About this time last

year, the French army was on the same route; and, from the heavy rains, had frequently to march a great part of the day in water to their breasts. The consequence was, a dreadful mortality on their arrival at Lisbon. Above six hundred corpses lay unburied in the streets, and but for the coolness of the season, a plague would probably have been propagated.

We reached Niza on the 28th, the country within a league of which is well cultivated with rye. This place had been formerly fortified by a wall and castle; and, on ascending the heights, we had the satisfaction to see the Spanish frontiers, and the towns of Castello de Vide and Morvan. There are here three churches, one of which is circular; neither it nor the others have much to boast of beauty or decoration. The woman who showed one of them, spoke

with such a Stentorean voice, that I am satisfied she thought all the English deaf, and had not a suspicion that there was a second language in the world; she therefore prudently adopted this vociferous method of making herself understood.

In the house where we were billeted this day, though there were many indications of poverty, a small apartment was fitted up with taste for a domestic chapel; it had an altar, and the suitable decorations; the elegance of which, contrasted with the meanness of the furniture and family, was a proof that the owner had been more anxious to expend for purposes of piety than of pride and pleasure.

On the 29th we marched over stupendously steep and bleak mountains, on the greater part of which we were obliged to walk and lead our horses: and at the dis-

tance of ten miles from Niza, we crossed the Tagus in a boat, close to Villa Velha. The scenery here is particularly beautiful and romantic; the river, near the ferry, rushing through a narrow pass of the mountains, which seems to have been forced and formed by its rapidity. Over a very rugged road, if it be not an abuse of language to call it one, we proceeded eight miles, to Sernades, and found it to be an extremely poor village, and the people with all the evidences of wretchedness and want. Yet here we were well-pleased to halt, as the march had been fatiguing, and the rain heavy.

On the 30th we moved to Castello Branco, about nine miles, on a very good road, through an uninteresting country. The approach to the town is well cultivated with corn, and abounds in vineyards; but my attention was principally attracted by a

number of small images of Christ lacerated and bleeding, which were erected in niches in walls or pillars, and indicated that we were in the vicinity of a bishop's see. In the outlets of most of the towns there are numerous stone crosses, the number being regulated by the wealth and consequence of the convents.

The city of Castello Branco is a very ancient one, having been built on the ruins of the Roman town of Castraleuca. Its fortifications, which were once respectable, are dismantled. They consisted of a citadel, with a wall twelve feet wide, four gates, and seven square towers; and even in their present ruinous condition will amply repay the traveller the trouble of an inspection.

The cathedral is the smallest I have seen, and is not overloaded with tawdry images and ornaments. There is a good painting of

St. Michael, to whom the church is dedicated, at the altar. In the sacristy is a whole figure of the Virgin, in a rich damask gown, a white full-bottomed wig, and a large bouquet at her breast; and though I am ever apprehensive of giving offence, it was difficult indeed to suppress a smile at so ludicrous a choice of decoration.

We were lodged at the bishop's palace, and found him a man of most amiable and interesting manners. He is far advanced in years, and uncorrupted by commerce with the world; has a primitive and patriarchal simplicity in every word, and look, and gesture. When I first saw him, he was employed in carrying fruit, for our entertainment, into the parlour; and I was, you may suppose, somewhat surprised to find him occupied by so humble an office. His lordship and three agreeable priests dined

with us on the day of our arrival; the next, being a fast-day, they sat at table and carved for us, but did not partake: there was a liberality and condescension in this which pleased me much. We were attended, during dinner, by four candidates for Orders, who are called Familiaros.

The chaplain, an intelligent young man, informed me, that the value of the See was thirty thousand crusados novos a year, or four thousand five hundred pounds sterling; but that the Bishop was by no means rich, for one third of his income went to the poor, one to hospitality, and the remainder to the repair and maintenance of his churches: this, the ancient division of monastic wealth; and, in those countries where celibacy is enjoined to the clergy, a

more just and proper one could not have been devised.

The gardens of the palace are of considerable extent and beauty; the trees in the finest luxuriance, especially the cedar, the myrtle, the arbutus, and laurel. There are many old and ill-executed statues, in marble, of the Apostles, and Kings of Portugal, dispersed throughout the walks; and, as usual, a variety of fountains, water-works, and ponds.

In conversation with the Juez de Foro, as we walked, I was concerned to hear his sentiments of the Spaniards, which arose from intelligence that has reached us of General Blake's having been defeated, and an armistice consequently concluded. He declared his conviction, that the interests of Portugal would be compromised, and

that she would be given to Spain as a bribe to acquiesce in the projects of France; and though this may be an extravagant and unfounded suspicion, of which I laboured to convince him, such a jealousy is sincerely to be deprecated, and might be productive of the most injurious effects. I had, indeed, often heard before, that the Spaniards despised the Portuguese, and that they detested the Spaniards; but since their recent co-operation in the cause of freedom, this was the first expression of ill-will that struck me.

Vigorous measures are adopted for the re-organization of the army, the established strength of which, previously to the French invasion, was sixty-eight thousand men. Some important particulars relative to the constitution of this force, drawn up by a

Frenchman, have lately fallen into my hands, and I subjoin * them for your amusement and information.

* See Appendix, No. 16.

LETTER XIII.

Covilha, Nov. 9.

We left Castello Branco with regret on the 1st, impressed with a most grateful sense of the Bishop's kindness and urbanity, and marched that day four leagues, to Atalaia. For the greater part of the road the country was cultivated with rye, in rich and extensive plains. From the fertility of the soil, much skill in agriculture is probably not necessary, and therefore not possessed: the ploughing was superficial, but even; the plough of the simplest and rudest form, and drawn by oxen, yoked by the head, as is the practice for all kinds of draught.

Atalaia is a very small village: the natives are nearly strangers to animal food: but the best supply we had met with of walnuts, chesnuts, pears, grapes, and figs, was for sale in the principal street; and there was an abundance of straw, a luxury which men and horses have but sparingly enjoyed of late. The latter preserve their condition wonderfully, though, since we left Lisbon, they have had little to eat but Indian corn, rye, and chopped straw. An English horse must be hungry, indeed, when he condescends to such food: those of the country thrive on it of course. We here slept at the parish priest's, on a dirty clay floor, and had very bad accommodation; better could not be expected from him, his income being but forty-seven pounds.

On the 2d, a day of uninterrupted rain,

we moved to Capinha, three leagues and a half. It is a small village, and in a state of manifest neglect and decay; but we were well entertained at the house of an intelligent and agreeable man. In conversing with him on the actual condition of Portugal, he justly attributed her want of prosperity to the scantiness of her population; and this he accounted for by the number of monastic institutions, and the celibacy of the clergy. Obvious as the remark was, it argued a liberality and exercise of mind, which in this country are lamentably rare. He rather boasted of his wealth, and is the principal person in the district. On inquiry, I found that he had a large tract of land, and his stock was three hundred goats and eighty sheep; which he mentioned with a degree of pride, that satisfied me it was here esteemed

considerable. But much the greater part of his grounds was laid out in vineyards, and they produced an excellent wine.

On the 3d we proceeded to Covilha, and by the advice of our host, with the guidance of his servant, undertook a short cut. We accordingly lost our way for some time, and verified an observation I have often had occasion to make, that life is not long enough for short cuts. We arrived, after much deviation, at the river Zezere, which with some difficulty we crossed, the stream being rapid and the water deep; and had there not been some peasants on the bank, we must have retraced much of our road to a bridge, or perhaps perished in the attempt to pass, the only practicable place being intricate in the extreme.

I am utterly unable to give you an idea of

the grand and graceful beauties of Covilha. In the approach to it, for four or five miles, there is all the elegance of, and a striking resemblance to, an English park. Rich and luxuriant plains of verdure, with venerable oaks and chesnuts, scattered, for effect, at the most enchanting distances. The prospect is terminated, and the world shut out, by the Serra d'Estrella, or Mountain of the Stars, the highest in Portugal, measuring, at the town, six miles from the base to the summit.

As we came nearer, we perceived that the mountain was divided by a deep and finely wooded glen, on one side of which stands the town, on the other the convent of St. Antonio, than which a nobler object can scarcely be conceived, from apparent extent and actual situation. It belongs to

the poorest order of Franciscans, subsisting entirely on alms. But these afford them an abundant supply. Their cellar contained many pipes of wine, and an ample store of fruit. With meat they are little acquainted. One of the monks entreated me to procure him a party of soldiers, with whose assistance, he said, he could obtain an ox for the fraternity. I did not thoroughly understand in what manner this was to be accomplished, and the request could not be complied with.

The convent is of considerable extent, and accommodated a regiment without any inconvenience. The church has neither paintings nor other kind of ornament to recommend it to notice, but has a remarkably fine-toned organ, on which none of the proprietors can perform. The library

is small, and contains a very few historical works; the rest are theological. There is a figure of Christ, in chesnut wood, extended on the floor, and covered by a carpet, with the exception of the feet: on entering the room, it has the appearance of a corpse, and produces suitable impressions.

Covilha is said to have derived its name from the beautiful Florinda, the daughter of Count Julian, so fatally celebrated in the history of Spain, and commonly called Cava, or Caba, which, in the Arabic, signifies "wicked woman." She was brought and confined here by Rodrigo, the dissolute and despotic monarch of Spain, in the eighth century. Captivated by her charms, he employed, in vain, the arts of seduction and of terror, to win her to his wishes; failing in these, he had recourse to violence.

This Spanish Lucretia, indignant at her wrongs, immediately communicated them to her father, who was at that time Governor of Ceuta, and had been sent by Rodrigo as ambassador to the Saracens, who were masters of Mauritania. He embraced this opportunity of executing vengeance, by offering them the kingdom of Spain, if they would enter it and punish the injuries of his daughter. They proceeded to Heraclea (Gibraltar), and with a numerous and formidable army penetrated into Spain. Rodrigo soon fell a just victim to the resentment of insulted virtue; but the names of Julian and Cava are to this day detested, for the years of misery they entailed upon their country by the introduction of the ruthless Saracen.

Covilha is a considerable town, contain-

ing thirteen churches, and, strange to tell, but one convent. The town stands on so steep a declivity, that of the rooms I occupied, on the same floor, two in the rear of the house are three stories high, and the one in the front is on the ground floor. The sashes of the windows here, instead of panes of glass, which are very rare in Portugal, have plates of tin perforated like a colander; but most generally they have only shutters, with small doors in them, on hinges, to admit the light. There is here a very extensive cloth factory, the principal in Portugal, and that from which the army was provided. It is a royal edifice, founded during the administration of Pombal. Before the arrival of the French, it gave daily employment to one thousand persons; at present it occupies but two hundred. Many

of the inhabitants are descended from Jewish ancestors; and many retain the religion, but few avow it. There are the remains of a strong castle and fortification, in which they defended themselves, and obtained terms that were afterwards most cruelly disregarded.

The people here are the first we have seen with wooden shoes; and they are beginning to thatch themselves for the winter—that is, to wear a short round cloak and petticoat of straw, which hang loosely upon the body and limbs. This is, indeed, indispensable, if the rains continue to fall in such torrents as we have witnessed for the last three days. Without the intermission of a moment, it has poured more heavily than you have ever seen it after a thunder storm in England.

We had expected a halt of some days here, but have received orders to advance. Great must be the sufferings of the men upon the march—many indeed have been obliged to return, after having gone some miles, and almost all the women, who truly are objects of compassion. An officer, who had served in North America, informed me, that he never experienced such cold there, as accompanies these rains; and yet, two months since, some of our men died from the excessive heat. The natives have a horror of this change, and are so relaxed by the summer sun, that they immure themselves within their houses in winter, and exclude the air even from their mouths and nostrils, by the wrapping of a cloak. Such effeminacy affords but a bad prospect of their services in a winter's campaign, should Portugal be

again the seat of war; and the elements would save an enemy the trouble of tedious operations, if they took so active part as within the last three days.

LETTER XIV.

Villa Formosa, Nov. 12.

On the 9th the severity of the rains had somewhat subsided, and I left Covilha, to ascend the mountain still higher, to the town of Guarda. For five leagues a delightfully romantic road ran along the banks of the Zezer, the overhanging hills, at both sides of the river, covered to the summit with chesnut, olive, oak, and fir trees. It had a striking resemblance to the sublimity and grace of Powerscourt, of which, indeed, I have been frequently reminded.

Leaving these beauties, for a league we climbed up the bleak and almost per-

pendicular Estrella, till we reached the town. It is a Bishop's See *, and we stopped at the palace. His lordship was unwell, and had removed to a country house. So severe is the cold in winter here, that the principal gentry fly from its inclemency to a more genial clime, in sheltered situations.

We were politely and agreeably entertained by the bishop's nephew and chaplain, a gentleman whose suavity of manners would do credit to any country or condition of life. He gratified us highly by an inspection of a domestic chapel in the palace, much the most elegant we had seen. The altar was decorated with correct taste, and the walls were hung with

* In Portugal, there are three archbishoprics, thirteen bishoprics, and eighteen religious orders.

pictures by the best masters of the Italian school.

This city was founded by Don Sancho the First, and has the remains of a strong fortification, the wall and towers being still in a state of tolerable preservation. It derived its name from its position, being by nature a guard and protection to Portugal from northern invasion. The cathedral is a very fine specimen of Gothic architecture; and there are two other churches worthy of admiration. There are, besides, five convents, and a nunnery, the character of which, if truth be told, is not immaculate; but I am inclined to doubt a scandalous story which circulates through the army.

We had the mortification to find, that six privates of the 5th regiment had perished on the march, from the rain and cold of

the three last days; and there are many sick in hospital from different regiments. But, compared with former seasons, we have had no cause to complain of the weather, and have been peculiarly fortunate.

On the evening of our arrival here, a young man, evidently not a native, assisted me in taking off my wet clothes, and brought them back when dry. From his countenance and manner, I suspected he was a Frenchman; and on asking him the question, he answered, No—that he was a Piedmontese, and one of Sir John Moore's corps of guides, who had been left here two days before on account of a lameness.—This morning he was perfectly recovered, and proceeded, well-mounted and armed, to follow Sir John.

This corps consists of deserters from the French army, who joined us at Lisbon; and, without entering into the prudence of its formation, it would appear at least unnecessary, as the country could assuredly have supplied us with a sufficiency of guides; and whatever advantages are attached to the employment, I think should have been given in preference to the natives.

On the 11th, through a very rich and highly cultivated country, we had an almost impassable road to Murcira, the vilest hamlet of any we had yet halted at; and on the 12th proceeded to Villa Formosa, which has no pretensions to the name, and is the last town on our route in Portugal. Here we were received with somewhat of constrained civility by the principal personage of the town, an officer of

militia; and from his manner and appearance, if the knight of La Mancha left any heir, sure I am that this gentleman is his lineal and legitimate descendant. There was a gravity aud formality in every word and movement, which, to do him justice, were but few, unlike the ease and affability we have been accustomed to in Portugal; and his dress and figure were completely Quixotic. He probably derives his deportment from his neighbours, in preference to his countrymen; and should he prove to be a successful imitator, I shall at once abjure his taste, and lament the change of society I shall be compelled to undergo.

Though at the risk of repetition, I must communicate the general impressions which the march through Portugal has made upon my mind, in most of which, however, the

inhabitants of Lisbon shall not be included. With but a single exception, there was every reason to believe the gentry and peasantry sincere in their detestation of France, and their attachment to England. We found all ranks equally hospitable and civil to the extent of their means; and this appeared to be not so much in compliment to our peculiar circumstances, as the result of their natural dispositions. They are very uncleanly, though fond of ornament in their persons and houses, and rather saunter away than employ their lives. A husbandman in the field, or a woman at the distaff, was an infrequent sight. Their aversion to agriculture, from the labour it requires, entails hereditary poverty on successive generations; whilst the abundance of fruit and wine, which bountiful nature or moderate industry supplies,

protects them from famine, and in their own opinion justifies their sloth. The population is consequently small. The villages are few and distant: in these they congregate; nor is a single farm-house any where to be seen. They are pious and moral,—in the observance of their religious rites, scrupulously strict; and though branded by us with the epithet of superstitious, as is our custom, they know no better, and obey what they are taught. There are nations to whom this praise is not so justly applicable. Of their dishonesty I have heard some anecdotes related, but am certain that many more instances of rare fidelity are to be recorded. They were entrusted by officers with what to them must have appeared a treasure, to purchase such luxuries as the villages afforded; and though they might have eloped with the

money in perfect security, the confidence was not betrayed, and they returned, even after hours of absence and fatigue, with a satisfactory account.

In a military view, there cannot be conceived a much more difficult country. The inadequacy of provision for the natives obliges an army to depend, in great measure, on their own resources; and when much in the interior, the badness of the roads renders the conveyance of them an uncertain and tardy operation. We moved in such small bodies—usually in single regiments—that this inconvenience was obviated for the present, though not without great exertion on the part of the commissaries; but were we to remain or return by this route, we should be reduced, I apprehend, to a very slender diet.

The same difficulty presents itself to the movement of stores and ammunition, &c.; and, in point of fact, it has been barely practicable to convey those indispensable requisites; cars perpetually breaking down, or the drivers deserting and abandoning them at night, rather than sustain the hardships attached to their occupation.

To this must be added—what may prove of most material consequence—that we have been obliged to send all our ordnance, but one light brigade, by a round of 100 miles, to Salamanca; though many are of opinion, erroneously in my mind, that where the ammunition waggons went, the heaviest guns might also have been conveyed.

The country cars are the most unwieldy and misshapen machines that can well be imagined, being about six feet long by three

wide; the sides and back formed by upright sticks at two feet interval, the axle-tree of wood, and the wheels solid blocks. They are drawn by two or four oxen, yoked by the forehead to a ponderous pole, and make, by the friction of the wood, a most disagreeably-creeking noise.

This latter nuisance, which might be easily prevented, is variously accounted for. Some say it is a regulation of government to announce their approach, lest they should attempt to convey contraband goods through the towns by night. But this is scarcely credible in a country where there is no internal trade nor communication, unless it be of wine, in goats' skins, or coarse woollen cloths, which are carried on the backs of mules or jackasses.

Others assert, that this dissonance an-

swers the purpose of our mail-coach horns, and on such narrow and rugged roads is absolutely necessary. It is true, they may be heard at a distance of many miles; and if they clash, they deserve to be delayed. It is affirmed by still more, that a point of pride among the carmen is the principle of this; and that, like their betters, they think the more noise they make in the world, the greater must be their consequence.

Without resorting to such ingenious conjectures, the simple solution is, their ignorance of the arts, and the greater facility with which timber is procured than iron. The noise which stunned our ears, was either unperceived by them, or thought harmonious.

Scanty as the population is, they might

considerably impede the progress of an invading enemy, by driving their cattle into the mountains, and by felling trees, which overhang the roads, with little interruption. But the peasantry are of such retired, domestic, and indolent habits, that they dread trouble more than the march of an enemy to the capital; and it would require the exertion of no common abilities to rouse them into action, and make them emulate the character of the ancient Lusitanians.

Of this, they are not ambitious; and though loyal to their Prince, and devoted to their religion, it was only where they had smarted from the atrocities of Frenchmen, that the pure and noble and disinterested spirit of patriotism was to be found.

The philanthropist would not disturb them from their peaceful slumber; and the philosopher of one school, at least, would say, that "ignorance was bliss" to them, and that it was "folly to be wise."

END OF VOL. I.

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Johnson's Court.

122

Equipage de Junot al salir de Lisboa

Ordenes gen.s dadas por Sir Jhon Moore en la retirada a la Coruña

Tomo 2º nº 25 y siguientes

Foix el tomo 2º contiene muchos datos curiosos.

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LETTERS

FROM

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

VOL. II.

Printed by Ellerton and Byworth, Johnson's Court,
Fleet Street, London.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY,
AND OF
THE STATE
AND
SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE
OF
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,
DURING
THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE YEARS
1808 & 1809.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

By the Rev. JAMES WILMOT ORMSBY, A. M.
CHAPLAIN ON THE STAFF, &c.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
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1809.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

LETTER XV.

Entrance into Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo. Sermon at the Cathedral. Colonel Roche. Governor. Hospitality. Dress. Sanmonos. Head-quarters. Barbadilla - - - - - page 1

LETTER XVI.

Salamanca. Retreat. Origin of the City. Jesuits' College. Irish Education. Cloisters. University Library. Colleges. Cathedral. Nunnery of Santa Clara. Squares. Opinion of my host - 17

LETTER XVII.

Inactivity of the People. Causes of it. Depredations of the French. Sir David Baird. Lieutenant-General Hope. State of the Army. Divine Service. Religious Prejudices. Society. Dancing. Women. Crosses. Sir John Moore 35

LETTER XVIII.

Defeat of Castanos. Sir David Baird ordered to retreat. Council of War. Madrid. Colonel Graham. Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey. Opinions of the Army. Cavalry. Weather. Provisions. Shops. Carriages. Dead Bodies. Religious Orders. Innovation - - - - 53

LETTER XIX.

Leave Salamanca. Wine Vaults. Fresno. French Dragoons defeated by Brigadier-General Stewart. Alaejos. Funeral Ceremony. Castro Nuno. French Prisoners. Toro. Bustillo. Orders. Villalor. Villada. Requisition of French Commismisary. Sahagun. Lord Paget's Defeat of French Cavalry. March of the Army to attack the Enemy at Carrion Bridge and Saldana. Return of the Army. Opinions. Misconduct of the Soldiers - - - - - - 72

LETTER XX.

Mayorga. Arrival late in the Evening. Christmas Day. Foreign Staff Officer. Valderas. Benevente. Castle. Army censured by Sir John Moore. Patroles of the Enemy hanging on our Rear. Lorona. Distress of the Ammunition Convoy. Retreat. Opinions - - 94

LETTER XXI.

Lord Paget and Brig.-Gen. Stewart defeat the Imperial Guards near Benevente. Astorga. Marquis de la Romana's Army. Castle. Cathedral. Orders. Bembibre. Ponferrada. Disorder of the Army. Villafranca. Alcalde - - 112

LETTER XXII.

Ammunition destroyed. French Officer. Miseries of the March. Dancos. Scenery. Lugo. Lieut.-Gen. Frazer. Battle intended. Reserve at Cacabellos. Passes on the Mountains. Opinions. Description of Lugo. Conversation with a Canon - - - - - - - 130

LETTER XXIII.

Bridge on the Minho. Betanzos. Corunna. Hotel. Tower of Hercules. Citadel. Zeal of the Inhabitants. General Remarks on the Conduct of the Spaniards and our Troops. Apology for the Army - - - - - - 150

LETTER XXIV.

Advanced Posts at Lugo. Distresses on the Retreat. Appearance of the Guards. Guns on the Fortifi-

cations spiked. Transports not arrived. Explosion of Spanish Magazines. Our Army takes a Position near Corunna. Enemy becomes bolder and stronger. Orders for Embarkation. Battle and Victory of Corunna. Army embarks. Battery opened on the Heights. Arrival at Portsmouth. Observations on the Battle. Character of Sir John Moore. Consequences of the Campaign - - - - - - 172

LETTERS

FROM

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

Written in the Years 1808 & 1809.

LETTER XV.

Barbadilla, Nov. 17.

We left Villa Formosa on the 13th, within one mile of which, on crossing the boundary of a rivulet, we entered Spain. We were soon struck by the difference between the borderers, the Spaniards being less dark in complexion, and more intelligent in countenance and manner. The first who attracted our notice were employed in husbandry; and we observed that their cars were of a better construction than we had been used to, and that the wheels had

spokes. So far as the eye could reach, in every direction, was an uninterrupted plain of corn; no enclosure from the road, nor fence of partition, could be seen.

At the termination of three leagues we reached Ciudad Rodrigo, the distant view of which, from its elevated situation, we had for many miles enjoyed. It stands on an eminence, over the river Aqueda, and is surrounded by a strong wall of nearly a mile in circumference. The works are about one hundred and fifty years old, and are in very tolerable repair: there are at present fifty-five brass guns, of different calibre, mounted, most of them 24-pounders. It is little more than a century since this city withstood a siege of the combined Portuguese and English armies.

Ciudad Rodrigo is a Bishop's See, and was one of the stations of the Sancta Hirmandad,

a fraternity to prosecute disturbers of the public peace, but erroneously esteemed a branch of the Inquisition.

There are here fifteen churches, parochial and conventual. The cathedral is a very ancient edifice, in the Gothic and Arabic style, and contains in the sacristy some good pictures. While I was indulging my curiosity, mass was celebrating, and I attended at the sermon which followed. The subject was, the duty and necessity of invoking and relying on the protection of the Virgin Mary; to her was all the past prosperity of Spain attributed, and all the future prospects were referred. The preacher was eloquent and impressive, and his audience very sensibly affected; but whether, under existing circumstances, a better direction might not be given to the public confidence, it is for time to develope.

I had here the good fortune to meet with an old and estimable friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Roche, and, independently of my private feeling, rejoiced at the opportunity of conversing with one on whose information and sagacity I could rely. He has for some time been employed in Spain, and has rendered essential service to both countries. His immediate occupation has been to make arrangements for the reception of our army, who will be not fewer than seventeen thousand men; the different divisions which marched from Lisbon, with the exception of Lieut.-General Hope's, having assembled here.

This arrangement has been a task of no small difficulty; and from what has fallen within my own observation, I am sure that we are indebted for many of our comforts to the conciliatory manners and temper of my friend, which, in this country, are indispen-

sable to success. It gratified me to hear from him, that the people are truly zealous and enthusiastic in the cause; that a proud abhorrence of the French usurpation is universal; and that theirs is that determined and persevering enmity which cannot be subdued.

From the dissimilarity of customs, it is not likely that the troops of the two nations will co-operate under the same commander; and from the characteristic haughtiness of the Spaniards, their generals may refuse to be directed or counselled by ours; and from this, inconvenience may arise. But no doubt we shall yield to their prejudices to the utmost possible extent, and avoid every occasion for jealousy or discord. On the whole, Colonel Roche assures me, that our arrival will be hailed with gratitude, and that we shall every where be treated with civility and kindness.

But notwithstanding these assurances, the division which marched from Elvas by Alcantara (Major-General Paget's) are loud in their complaints against the natives. They have experienced nothing like hospitality or friendship, but the reverse, a decided disinclination to receive them; and a soldier of the 20th was poignarded at Alcantara, for no other offence, as is alleged, than looking earnestly at a Don. We may be unreasonable in our expectations; and are in general so utterly unacquainted with the national character, that we may frustrate our objects by the very means we use to attain them. In any transaction with a Spaniard, the least display of impatience is answered by a provoking and insolent *sang froid;* and till you recover your temper, he will retain his gravity and slowness. Of this truth I had repeated lessons in the con-

duct of my Gallician servant; for so surely as I uttered the fatal word of "*prestamente*," I lost my breakfast, or left my baggage-mules behind.

There is a good deal of bustle here amongst the native troops, or rather the recruits of the insurrection: they are not numerous, nor of a very encouraging description; the sons of some, and grandsons of more, ought to supply their places. Not that I would speak irreverently of the active patriotism of old age, inefficient though it may be; for the example cannot fail to stimulate and rouse the younger into action. Much indeed may be expected from the people of this town, if they are animated by the spirit of their governor. His predecessor was beheaded, on suspicion of attachment to the French; and soon after his appointment, he received a summons to surrender, from Almaida, within a day's

march, where was a garrison of two thousand men. He replied, that he had none but citizens to defend the town, but that they were resolved to fight and defend it to the last extremity; that if they failed, and the enemy succeeded in getting possession of the place, he claimed for his companions in arms, that they should be treated like men of honour, who had done their duty to their country. The design was happily abandoned; nor had he an opportunity to ascertain whether an accordant sentiment would actuate those respecters of the rights of nations.

Another trait of this governor deserves to be recorded. Complaints were made to General Hill, that some soldiers were destroying the timbers of a house to make their fires with. The governor was present, and remarked, that such complaints were unreasonable, and that he was sure the

fault lay with the master of the house; that if he were a soldier, and came in cold and hungry, after a harassing march, he would ask civilly for wood; and if the person who refused this moderate request were but combustible, the pot of potatoes should ere long be boiled, for he would make a fire of him forthwith. The principle of this speech was liberal; but I should not recommend its insertion in General Orders; and had the offenders been in our brigade, it would not have saved them from punishment or reproof.

A change of hospitality is already perceptible; but it may be excused from the numbers who have been billeted on the people. My general is at the house of a dignitary with all the appearances of affluence, and, for the first time since he left Lisbon, has not been offered any dinner; a little

fruit, and one bottle of bad wine, being the only compliment he has received. I have been more fortunate in my billet on a rich ecclesiastic, a Canon, bed-rid by the gout, who entertained Colonel Roche and me most handsomely. Our first dish was a very well-dressed sallad, which I state for the novelty of thus beginning dinner; and the third, bacon and eggs, which I mention on account of its curious name, "*La merced de Dios,*" literally translated, "God's mercy," but proverbially used to express this national food, when nothing else is to be had.

There are many grand and commodious residences here, and many indications of opulence and splendor. There were but few women of the upper rank in the streets; but they exhibited at the open windows, and appeared to be very much delighted by our troops on parade, and particularly by the

performance of the bands. So far as I could judge, their persons are elegant, and their dress is becoming, though of a gloomy character, black being the genteelest colour and the most generally worn. The females of the lowest class wear jackets of brown cloth, and petticoats of a different shade, but both enlivened by a gay border, and by trimmings on the skirts and sleeves. The men were muffled up in cloaks, which differed from the Portuguese only by having deep party-coloured borders; and the poorest of them had great coats like ours, but with the sleeves flung over the shoulders, and the back placed upon their breasts for warmth. Both sexes have a decided advantage over their neighbours, in external appearance; and I regretted, that, in so populous a place, it was not my good fortune to form any acquaintance who could satisfy the various

inquiries I was solicitous to make: but we marched on the 15th, and removed from a great city to the very small village of Martin del Rio, and on the next day to Sanmonos, through an open wood of evergreen oaks. The peasants were employed in beating down the acorns with flails, while the pigs were devouring them, and the women and children collecting them in cloths. I am not much of a connoisseur in swinish beauty, but believe that these might be vain of their charms, and would be admired in any circle. They were of the deepest jet, low in stature, small and fine heads; long, round, and deep waists; and in my humble judgment, of the most perfect symmetry, and in every particular "*de grege Epicuri.*" In the morning the frost was severe, and the cold intense; but at ten, on the welcome appearance of the sun, it was oppressively hot—

and this is the general character of the winters here.

At Sanmonos, a tolerable village, we stopped at the house of a parish priest, which, though small, was clean and commodious. He had, what surprised and pleased me much, a well-chosen collection of books, many of them on subjects of polite literature; among others, a Spanish review of Johnson's Criticisms on Shakspeare, by an author of taste and erudition; and the works of P. Feijoo, which are in themselves a library. The freedom and boldness with which he wrote, are justly admirable, when one reflects on the restrictions of the press in Spain, and the terrors of the Inquisition, which at that time hovered over the head of every literary man. And to these causes are to be attributed the paucity of authors, and the ignorance of the people.

From the unexpected arrival of a body, which is denominated head-quarters *, consisting, I believe, of Sir John Moore's and the general Staff, with no fewer than 140 horses and mules laden with many useful and ornamental articles, we were very much crowded this night, and the want of accommodation was sensibly felt. Sir John proceeds with little incumbrance, having only one Aid-de-camp, his Secretary, and an Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, to attend him. Application was made to the Alcaldè, or magistrate, to exert himself in providing billets for these officers, their horses and servants; and it was merely suggested, that the church might be opened for the reception of soldiers, and their quarters converted into stables. To this he did

*See Appendix, No. 17.

not condescend to make a reply: a solemn look of ineffable contempt sufficiently explained his meaning. The idea was accordingly abandoned; whereas, in Portugal, troops were introduced into their churches without ceremony; and they did not remonstrate, shocked as they doubtless were at the pollution of those hallowed buildings. But in many other instances the Spaniards exact and are treated with more deference than we have been accustomed to pay our friends the Portuguese, and the change between the countries is a subject of complaint throughout the army. We were here informed, by an Irish student of Salamanca, who is employed in the Commissariat, that General Blake's army was defeated; that Burgos was in the hands of 20,000 French; and that the Governor, the Bishop, and three Generals, were discovered to be in the in-

terest of the enemy, and were sent in irons to Madrid. If this be true, it is an inauspicious opening to the campaign; but we doubt the intelligence, at least to such an alarming extent. The next day we moved to Barbadilla, a small but clean village; and sorry I am to say, that the same lukewarmness towards us is manifest here, which has already been complained of. But the peasantry are poor and ignorant, and on reaching Salamanca to-morrow, we shall have fairer opportunities of estimating their real dispositions. I shall indeed be much disappointed if they do not improve.

LETTER XVI.

Salamanca, Nov. 25.

THE country from Barbadilla to Salamanca is a perfect flat, laid out in the cultivation of wheat to the utmost boundary of the horizon in every direction, and is unenclosed by any kind of fence.

Though the city appears considerable as you approach, it has not that imposing grandeur which might be expected from a survey of the interior; and this may be accounted for by the compression of the buildings, and the want of steeples, or other conspicuously elevated objects.

The first information we obtained on our arrival was of an unpleasant nature, no less than the probability of an immediate retreat; and every thing was yesterday arranged for

carrying it into effect. An alarm was spread on the preceding night of the approach of the enemy; and being without ammunition, it was determined to fall back upon our stores; a measure with which the inhabitants of Ciudad Rodrigo would have been much dissatisfied.

This false alarm originated in one of our own regiments coming in at a late and unexpected hour, and was strengthened by the green colour of their uniform, being a rifle corps, and the first of that description which had been seen by the Spaniards. But it is known that the French have pushed some strong patroles of cavalry in front of Burgos, and they are even stated to have entered Valladolid.

It is scarcely possible they can be in force; and the consternation of the people, at the rumour of their advance, is a proof of the

defenceless state in which they are at present. However, our army, with all its appointments, will be assembled in a few days. Every precaution is adopted to prevent surprise, strong picquets and mounted patroles having been ordered*, the latter of which, till the arrival of General Hope's division, cannot indeed be numerous. Lieutenant-General Mackenzie Fraser takes the command of the garrison.

Salamanca stands on the river Tormes, over which is a handsome bridge, originally erected by the Romans; about one-half of it was repaired and rebuilt by Philip the Fourth, in the year 1622. A wall, with gates and towers, surrounds the town; but, exposed as it is on every side, this cannot be considered a fortification of any importance.

* See Appendix, No. 18.

It is said by some to have been founded by Hercules; but the most commonly received opinion is, that Teucer, the brother of Ajax, and son of Telamon, King of Salamis, was the founder. On his return from the siege of Troy, his father refused to admit him into his dominions, on account of his having left his brother dead behind him. He and his companions proceeded to Spain, passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and disembarked in some of the ports of Gallicia. From thence he penetrated into the country, and founded the city, which was for many centuries called Salmantica.

With its present state I have been made well acquainted by the clergyman at whose house I am billeted; he has acted as my Cicerone, and probably shewn me every thing worthy of admiration. Salamanca is

indebted for its celebrity to being the seat of an university, which was founded by Alfonso the Ninth, about the year 1200, and is the principal one of twenty-three in Spain. It has since received considerable endowments from respective kings; and portraits, in relievo, of the principal benefactors are preserved in the cloisters: those of the present Queen, and Godoy the Prince of Peace, have been recently defaced. In this university there are fourteen colleges, in which there are not at present one hundred students, most of them having joined the armies; till then there were above four hundred.

That which is called the Jesuit's College, having belonged to that order, is pre-eminent in size and beauty, and is now divided into a Spanish and Irish college. The foundation of the latter is for sixteen, and

at this moment there are four vacancies. These are filled up by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland in rotation; the youths they recommend, are maintained and educated at free cost for seven years; they then take degrees, and are ordained for parishes in their native country.

While this institution demonstrates the zealous attachment of Spain to her religion, and her parental fondness for her Milesian colony, so far as Great Britain is concerned it may have been injurious to her interests; and since the establishment of the college at Maynooth can no longer be necessary for the priesthood of Ireland. Most of the present students have employment, or are soliciting it, in our army, their studies being completely interrupted; and I sincerely hope they are the last of my countrymen who shall receive a foreign education. Let

them remain at home, and learn a vocabulary, from which, I trust, the names of heresy and persecution will, ere long, be blotted out.

With a pardonable local vanity, they tell you here, that this college is the largest building in Europe; and from hence you may infer, that it is on a very grand and extensive scale. For the entire length of it, there is a platform on the roof, under a canopy supported by pilasters, as a place of exercise for the students; the view of the circumjacent country for a wide range is uniformly dull. In that part of the edifice which is appropriated to the natives, the cloisters particularly attract the attention of a stranger. They are hung with the pictures of an Italian artist, descriptive of the principal circumstances of the life and death of the celebrated Ignatius Loyola; but are more

indebted to the subject than their intrinsic merit for the interest they excite. The principal figure in each painting is the Jesuit, and on him is all the painter's art exhausted; in some instances with considerable effect. With the abolition of the order, Vandalic as it may be thought, I would have committed to the flames those gaudy memorials of the impostor's triumphs.

Contiguous to the cloisters is a lecture-room, which contains some admirable pictures; at one end, the Council of Trent, in which the original likenesses are preserved; at the other, the professors of the college, sitting in assembly; and on the sides and cielings, some very good heads of saints.

In the sacristy of the chapel there is a painting, curious from the subject: it records the following miracle of St. Louis Bertrand. He was stopped, when travelling,

by a robber, who presented a pistol to his breast; the Saint expostulated in vain; when suddenly there appeared upon the barrel a crucifix, with our Saviour in the last agony: the highwayman desisted, and became a pious convert. This was related to me as an historical fact, of which I did not seem to doubt the truth.

The University library is here extolled for its elegance and value; but in both I was not a little disappointed. The room is certainly comfortable, and well-proportioned; but the books, the most material furniture, from being adapted to the meridian they move in, consist almost exclusively in works of school theology, or of canon and civil law. A very small space is appropriated to the classics, to history, and poetry. I was gratified and complimented by the produc-

tion of a very fine edition of Milton, in the plates of which they took much pleasure; and by the perusal of a Spanish Herbal, containing a most choice and beautiful collection of plants, foreign and indigenous. From the causes I mentioned in a former letter, the authors in this country are not numerous, and few understand any but their native language. Greek is absolutely unknown, Latin confined to the monks and priests, French but little cultivated, and English not so much as thought of. Under these circumstances, and the grasp of the Inquisition, it ceases to be a wonder that there are so few books in circulation; and he who would revel in the delights of literature, must have access to the libraries of the Dominicans, where all the wit, the genius, and learning of Spain, lie buried under the

damning title of "*Libri prohibiti.*" The fates of Cervantes and of Mariana, are not yet forgotten.

The different colleges are noble and spacious buildings, and bringing to the recollection our Oxford and Cambridge, a comparison naturally ensues. For splendor of edifice, the preference, on the whole, must be given to Salamanca: for though we might proudly propose some individual challenges, their claim to superiority rests on this, that there is not a single building here which does not warrant admiration, not one which is inelegant or obscure. But merely to the architecture is this praise confined. They have neither gardens for recreation, nor walks for exercise; and, as I stated to you before, are driven for this enjoyment to the tops of the houses. This may inspire the eloquence of the divine, and assist the

observations of the astronomer; but I should fear their continuance in the clouds even after they descended, and should very much prefer the cheerful influence of fields and trees below.

Almost all the numerous convents and churches are entitled to admiration; but most especially the cathedral. There is too much of ornament on the outside, though the sculpture be exquisite; but within, I am disposed to think it the most grand and magnificent place of worship I have ever seen. There are four rows of stupendously large pillars in the aisle; in the centre is the church, the high altar of which, and the choir, are covered with crimson velvet, chastely decorated; and from the depth and height, the effect is sublimely beautiful. There are many superb chapels, enclosed by iron rails, opening into the aisle

at either side, and used only on the Saints' days to whom they are dedicated. In one of these there is an altar-piece by Titian, and in another two small paintings by Leonardo Vinci; unhappily they are placed in a very bad light. The centre of the building is crowned by a dome, richly inlaid with gold, and the walls, if unornamented by any fine monuments or busts, are not disfigured by any bad ones; and to the solemn uniformity which this preserves, I very much attribute my admiration of the whole.

A *Te Deum* was here performed, for what victory I am yet to learn; and the music was not comparable to that of Lisbon, but the ceremonial part was infinitely grander. The clergy were numerous, and their dresses superb; and in a Catholic country it is easy to understand the venera-

tion of the people for the Catholic religion.

There are twenty-five parish churches here, beside those belonging to the convents and nunneries; of the former of which there are nineteen, and of the latter eleven. The finest conventual church is that of the Dominicans; but here, too, the external ornaments of sculpture, though beautiful, are redundant, and the internal decorations are taudrily splendid. The house, however, is truly admirable (as, indeed, which of them is not?), and they have such a prodigious collection of paintings, that many good ones are, almost of necessity, to be found among them.

I have become acquainted but at one nunnery, that of Santa Clara, and have found the sisters agreeable and lively in their solitude. Their great anxiety was to see an

English woman and child; and when one was brought to them, they nearly devoured her with curiosity, even taking off some of her clothes to examine her person. Admittance is denied to every male, except their confessor and physician; but they open the folding-doors, and present me with a chair. They sit at one side of the threshold, I at the other; and we have thus had some very entertaining conversations. In the event of the French coming, they are determined to proceed to England. I informed them, that there they must submit to matrimony: with one accord they had rather perish, and are distracted by the alternative. The youngest I have yet seen is in her forty-fourth year; and on my remonstrance against her vow of celibacy, she replied to me by this quotation from St. Paul—" The unmarried woman careth for the things of

the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married, careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband."—Notwithstanding, nunneries have been for some years on the decline.

There are here some superb dwelling-houses; one handsome square, with piazzas, in which the principal shopkeepers live; another contiguous to it, where the fruit and vegetable market is kept; and very many narrow, incommodious, and dirty streets. But an agreeable walk or ride is to be had at a short distance from any part of the town, on the circular road, which is wide, level, and well planted. Some of the principal convents are situated there; and it is the place of general parade for our army. These attractions, however, do not operate powerfully on the natives, for few of them

are seen beyond the gates, preferring, as they do, the bustle, the politics, and suffocation of the squares, an everlasting scene of idleness and noise.

Our reception has been highly satisfactory, and every effort made to accommodate so large a force as seventeen thousand. The men are quartered in the convents, and most of the officers in private houses. They are hailed as the harbingers of happiness to Spain, and treated with as much grateful civility as respective circumstances admit.

I am once more fortunate in the society of an agreeable and worthy ecclesiastic; and his only avowed objection to me is, that I will not breakfast, dine, and sup at his expense. But we associate at other times, and I embrace every opportunity of conversing with so candid, unprejudiced, and

well-informed a man. He has the liveliest hope that his country will ultimately succeed in her arduous and honourable struggle; but he is not without his fears of failure, arising from treachery, and from the want of a good government and of resources.

Contrasting the good sense and moderation of this with the stupid arrogance which perpetually assails me, I am disposed to think that the contest may be protracted for a considerable period, and that the power of France will not be annihilated in one campaign: and I hazard this opinion, though many of our young gentlemen have determined otherwise, and mean to pass the ensuing summer on the banks of the Garonne.—It is by no means impossible that they may.

LETTER XVII.

Salamanca, Nov. 30.

To judge from the inertness of the people here, it might be reasonably inferred, that they were in a state of profound tranquillity, and at peace with all the world. They lounge, or rather strut, round the square from morning till night, enveloped to the eye in cloaks, which are occasionally opened, to emit the volcanic eruptions of their fumigated entrails;—the segar, though not visible, being in constant requisition. They remind me of the Athenians, as described by Demosthenes; and content themselves with talking of Napoleon, as the others did of Philip, when they ought to be rushing to the field for his destruction. And th is to be the more lamented, be-

cause their capabilities are so high: a finer race of men cannot be conceived; and from their quickness of apprehension, their activity, and strength, they would become, with little trouble, well-disciplined and efficient soldiers. But not one military movement, on their part, is here discernible; and the town could contribute to the common cause ten thousand troops, with very slight exertion.

Some Spanish soldiers are to be seen arriving daily; but they are fugitives from Blake's defeated army, which, from the accounts they give, is completely routed and dispersed. The inhabitants are not dejected by this misfortune, and are confident of ultimate success. Their reliance is placed upon Castanos, who is stated to have a force of eighty thousand men; but this is probably much beyond his real numbers, even in-

cluding the unarmed peasantry, who may be followers of the camp.

I do not mean to insinuate that the inactivity, which pervades the people here, proceeds from an indifference to the cause of freedom; being satisfied that they are enthusiastic and sincere in their abhorrence of the French. This quiescent apathy is rather the result of their national characteristic, pride; of their contempt for the enemy; of their confidence in their own armies; and, above all, it is generated by the want of an established government to give a direction to their spirit, and an impulse to their energy. This false security will naturally lead to a reverse of fortune, and that to the adoption of more vigorous and decided measures. Till very lately, all has been hitherto success. Inflated by vanity, a check would be most

seasonable; and they must be impressed with a more just and serious notion of their danger, before they can oppose to it an effectual resistance. In their patriotism and loyalty, to judge by their conversation, they are not to be surpassed: the restoration of their beloved Ferdinand (for this is the universal language of their affection), and the expulsion of the odious French, are the sole objects of their desire. These are not coupled with complaints against their old government, much as they might have suffered from its mal-administration; there is no demand for a redress of grievances, no stipulation proposed, nor any wish expressed, but the permanent re-establishment of the ancient order of things. All lesser evils are forgotten in the great calamity.

I press these facts upon your notice, in justice to the generosity of the people, and

in opposition to the sentiments of those political writers at home, who maintained, that there could be no successful insurrection here, because there was not any thing worth contending for. But be assured, that a Spaniard no more envies Englishmen their constitution, than he does their climate; that it is lost labour to address lectures upon liberty to the nations of the Continent; and false logic to infer, that, because they cannot boast the freedom, they must be strangers to the happiness of Britons.

It is mortifying to hear of the depredations which the French dragoons are committing in the adjacent province of Leon. They patrole the country in no very large parties, and levy contributions wherever they go. The strongest of these predatory bands, of which we have heard, consisted of nine

hundred, and two light field-pieces. They remained for some days at Valladolid, and we were not without apprehensions that they might be the advanced guard of an army intended to attack us in our position here. But they have fallen back, and are hovering about Valencia and Burgos. An officer of our staff-corps was sent some days since to reconnoitre. He proceeded in safety to Valladolid, and at the entrance of the town was met by a magistrate, who invited him to his house, at the same time requesting that he would use every precaution to conceal his being an Englishman. Accordingly, he took the feather out of his hat, covered his regimentals with a cloak, and was conducted by a private and unfrequented way. He remained with the magistrate that night, but in such privacy, that he thinks not even the members of the family knew that he was

there, and returned to Salamanca the next day. Their mutual safety was consulted by this caution; the enemy might have entered the town, and the harbourer of an Englishman must have betrayed the duties of hospitality, or have incurred the risk of exemplary punishment.

Another of our officers, on a similar expedition, advanced as far as Tordesillas, within three leagues of Valladolid. While he was in the town, thirty French dragoons entered it; and he was glad to hide himself in a house, at the evident hazard of destruction to the person who afforded him a shelter.

While these facts are creditable to the individuals concerned, they prove the unprotected state in which the country is in our immediate neighbourhood, and the danger of surprise to which our army is conse-

quently exposed. Being destitute of artillery and cavalry, our anxiety may be readily conceived; and we are impatient for the junction of Sir David Baird's and General Hope's divisions; an event which may be looked for in about a fortnight.

Sir David's reinforcement arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, but did not disembark for above a fortnight, the Commissariat arrangements not having been made, and communication with the Supreme Junta being necessary, relative to their disembarkation and march into the interior. An officer was also dispatched to Oporto, to raise money upon English bills. During his absence, a convenient supply arrived in the Semiramis, which was intended for the Spaniards; and Sir David appropriated 40,000*l.* to the exigencies of his army.

The advance was at Astorga on the 13th

instant, and the whole, including Lord Paget's division of cavalry, the 7th, 10th, and 15th, are expected to be assembled there on or about the 5th of next month. Previously to this, General Hope's corps, which marched from Badajos to the Escurial, in the vicinity of Madrid, will be collected at Arevalo, and, if circumstances permit, a junction will be accomplished in a few days after. But you know enough of the relative positions of our army to be aware that insurmountable difficulties may prevent this desirable object. The enemy may advance directly against us from Burgos; and as, on many accounts, our present position is untenable, in that event we should probably fall back on General Hope, and move to Madrid, while Sir David Baird would be obliged to retreat upon Corunna. Apprehensions are entertained that his march may

be impeded by the French cavalry; but of this I have no fears, relying on the valour and ability of Lord Paget and his hussars.

The troops are in the highest state of discipline and order; by their conduct and appearance, they are an honour to their country, and a credit to their commanders. The Spaniards are astonished at their appointments, and the perfection which pervades every department. They justly attribute much of this merit to Sir John Moore, and speak of him with the utmost confidence and respect.

Though the regiments are exercised every day as much as appears to be conducive to their health, the repose they enjoy, contrasted with the activity of the march, begins to be prejudicial to their health; and the hospitals are filling fast, though not many have fallen victims to disease. There was

a difficulty in procuring a burial-place at first, interment in their cemeteries being utterly inadmissible. After much solicitation, a body was allowed to be deposited in one of the cloisters of a convent; but so strong is the prejudice against heretics, that we feared it would not be suffered to remain there long, and succeeded in obtaining an enclosed piece of ground, outside the town, that had been formerly attached to an hospital for a similar purpose.

There has not, however, any objection been made to the performance of divine service in the cloisters of the convents. Many of the monks and priests are attracted to it by curiosity, and surprised beyond description. My host, after having heard me preach, was pleased to express an approbation of my manner, and lamented, with

much earnestness, that my zeal should be so inefficacious.

So inveterate are their religious prejudices, that, in the event of our co-operating with their armies, much inconvenience must arise. It is not the opinion of partial bigotry, but the universal conviction, that the English are not Christians; and when any officer announces himself an Irishman, there is an immediate exclamation of pride and joy, "Es Catolico, es Irlandes;" and he is thenceforward treated with the warmest cordiality of friendship by every member of the family. This distinction has not led to any open acts of animosity; but it unquestionably contributes to the coldness and the distance of their manners, and has a secret and pernicious influence which it will be impossible for us to controul.

There is no such thing as what we call society here; neither dinner nor evening parties. For the last three years, convivial assemblies were suspended at Madrid: if more than five or six persons met in any house, they were accused of disaffection to the court, and underwent a strict examination. But no such prohibition has extended here; and their unsociableness is owing to the times being out of joint, and to their natural dispositions.

Their mode of living is but little dissimilar from that of the Portuguese; the same temperance and regularity prevail. They appear to attach more importance to an early breakfast, slight as it is, than any other meal; for, immediately after rising, and frequently before, they have a cup of chocolate and a toast, which they conceive indispensable to health, and wonder at our

imprudence in braving the inclemency of the morning air without being thus fortified against its chilling blasts.

There is not any theatre, nor other place of public entertainment here; frivolous amusements being incompatible with the rigidness of an university town: and the only specimen of accomplishment I have seen is the bullera and fandango, as danced by two young ladies at their father's house. The former had the slow movement of our minuets, the latter the rapidity of our country-dance. They are accompanied by constant attitude and gesture, in which, on this occasion, considerable grace and playfulness were exhibited. The music was both vocal and instrumental; a female servant of the family performed on the guitar, and sang most sweetly words which, I am sorry to remark, were of a seductive ten-

dency; this in the presence of their father, three officers, and myself.

Whether such improprieties be common, I cannot pretend to say; but from the libertinism of the married women, it is reasonable to presume that education is neglected: and, indeed, where modesty is outraged by the maiden, it has but little chance of being respected by the wife. The jealousy of husbands here is not without cause; and it is asserted, that their vigilance is without effect. If it be so, and that virtue is only to be found within the walls of a nunnery, it will account for and justify the conduct of those parents who immure their daughters at an early age. I have been told in other countries, that when a strong temptation offered, there was no safety but in flight; but here they have recourse to a securer

method of defence, and imprisonment is adopted.

In my walk this day, I perceived one of those wooden crosses, which I had often heard of, but never seen before. It was erected to record the murder of a man, and to interest the passengers in his eternal doom, as appears by this inscription—"Aqui mataron a un hombre; ruegen a Dios por el."—"Here was a man murdered; pray to God for him." As a propitiatory offering for the sins of the departed, every one who passes drops a stone beside the cross; and I have seen the same person repeat this expiation six times within an hour. The wretch, who has the misfortune to be deprived of life in a country where there are no stones, must be, in the conception of the survivors, in a most pitiable state.

Since our arrival, a new arrangement of brigades has taken place, and a strong order* has been given relative to the loss of ammunition, and the imperfect state in which some regiments are.

The indefatigable and anxious eye of Sir John Moore will not suffer the slightest negligence or irregularity to pass unnoticed; and it is the opinion of the military men I converse with, that his pains are rewarded: for that, on the whole, for the number (seventeen thousand), a finer army never was assembled.

The sooner they can be put again in motion the better for themselves, and, I should imagine, for the interests of Spain; for the mere presence of such troops can-

* See Appendix, No. 19.

not but invigorate the public spirit, or rather awaken them from that lethargy which here, at least, they seem to be but too willing to indulge in.

LETTER XVIII.

Salamanca, Dec. 11.

On the 28th ultimo, the fatal intelligence arrived of the defeat and dispersion of Castanos's army, at Tudela, on the Ebro. By many he is accused of treachery; but I believe the truth is, that he chose a very bad position, and suffered himself, from want of military skill, to be surprised and attacked in his cantonments.

This calamitous event was disbelieved by many of the sanguine and infatuated politicians here; but the fact was certain, and the complexion of the campaign, so far as we were concerned, was changed materially, the very existence of our army, scattered as it was, being thereby endangered. Orders were immediately dispatched to Sir David

Baird to retire upon Corunna, and we anxiously looked for General Hope's effecting his junction with us, and escaping the advance of the enemy in very superior numbers. It was evident that we could not remain here long, and the heavy ammunition was ordered* to Ciudad Rodrigo, and the sick to Almaida, on the 5th; which prove, that it was at first intended we should fall back upon Portugal.

The French attacked and carried the pass of Samosierra on the 29th, which left no impediment to their proceeding to Madrid but the pass of Guadaramo. On their approach to the capital, the inhabitants universally took arms, constructed fortifications in the streets, and swore to perish rather than surrender. This demonstration of re-

* See Appendix, No. 20.

sistance has altered Sir John Moore's design; we are to advance towards Gallicia, instead of retiring into Portugal, and Sir David Baird, who had commenced his retreat, has been ordered to march back.

A council of war was held on the 9th, and it is imagined that this change of operations is contrary to the opinion of the Commander in Chief, and that he has yielded to the reasoning of others; a submission which is said to be not usual with him. Be that as it may, the army were indignant at the idea of a retrograde movement, and are only not displeased at the intended advance, under the prospect of meeting the enemy. It is evident that a junction with the Marquis of Romana, who is at Leon with fifteen thousand men, must be accomplished in the first instance; and we shall then proceed to Burgos, or in that

direction. General Hope by cautious movements avoided the cavalry of the enemy, and effected his junction on the 5th. He was placed in a most trying situation, which required the exercise of his superior abilities; he would have been a capital prize indeed, having almost all our ordnance and the entire of our money.

For the last two days we have been distracted by uncertainty and variety of reports, and the communication being cut off with Madrid, we can only hope that it holds out. Colonel Graham was sent there to procure information, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He was hotly pursued by a patrole, and his horse tired; he had the presence of mind to turn down an unfrequented road and leave his companions; the chace was continued after them, and he was enabled to give breath to his horse, and

to proceed at leisure. We are justly rejoiced at his safety; his loss would have been severely felt. The judgment and experience of such a man are in themselves a host, and his exertions are unremitting. The reserve has moved in the direction of Valladolid, and the remainder of the army marches this day and to-morrow, which, from every public and private feeling, will be to me a matter of no small satisfaction.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey of the 79th remains at Salamanca, to receive from the Junta, and to procure, by all practicable means, intelligence of the movements of the enemy. He is to transmit his information to head-quarters, and to decide from it how far the convoys arriving from Portugal may advance, and by what routes. He is also to promote every disposition in the inhabitants to organise themselves for resistance

on the approach of the enemy; an event which, in all probability, may ere long be looked for*.

This is a most arduous and important service, and one to which no one is more equal than Colonel Harvey. To great natural abilities he has added the advantages of a highly finished education, and, what will serve him materially now, an intimate knowledge of the Spanish tongue. It is gratifying to see such men employed.

I have compressed these important events,

* On the 23d December a body of 1500 French cavalry were expected to reach Salamanca. A consultation was held the preceding day on the measures to be taken. The commanding officers of three dismounted regiments of cavalry, viz. Ynfante, Almanza, and Villaviciosa, which were then in the city, declined giving any assistance, and quitted Salamanca in the evening. These are part of the troops who behaved so ill lately at Medellin, under Cuesta. They had come from the Baltic with Romana.

that you might see them at one view, without waiting to detail the observations and arguments which have been derived from them in the army. A diversity of opinion prevails. There are some who disapprove the entire conduct of Sir John Moore during the last ten days, imputing to him a want of that promptness, decision, and ability, with which he was supposed to be so highly gifted. It is asserted, that on the first information he obtained of Castanos' defeat, he should have moved with all possible celerity to Madrid; there, with the addition of General Hope's column, he would have afforded such a reinforcement to the remnant of the retreating Spanish army, and infused such animation and confidence into the troops and inhabitants, as would have enabled them to make an effectual resistance to the assault of the enemy; that even if he were ultimately

foiled in this great object, the importance of it justified and demanded the attempt; that his retreat into Andalusia was secure; and that even were this questionable, it would be more consonant with the principle of the expedition to sacrifice his army, after a glorious contest, than to pursue a course which could only tend to damp the spirits of the people, and to render the sincerity of our support suspicious.

This argument is said to derive additional weight from the energy which has evinced itself in the capital; and if the present opportunity be lost of endeavouring to save it, so favourable an one cannot be expected to occur, as accession of strength to the enemy will pour in every hour from the Pyrenees.

To this it is replied, that, ardently as Sir John might wish to promote the interests

of Spain, and to fulfil the pledge of British co-operation, it never could have been meant, or expected, that he should lead his force to certain annihilation, unsupported as they must evidently be; and that, arguing from the evidence of his own senses (a surer guide than the reports of other men), he had every reason to doubt the existence of that enthusiasm, of which he had heard so much, and seen so little.

The next objection is urged with equal warmth, and refers to his ordering Sir David Baird to retreat from Astorga, and taking measures himself for falling back on Portugal. It is said, that a more disheartening movement to both armies could not have been adopted; that, in point of fact, it was unnecessary; and that a junction might have been effected safely; while by this procedure he must have deprived himself for a con-

siderable time of Sir David's reinforcement; and the heavy ordnance, which could not be conveyed through Portugal, must of course have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

A somewhat similar reply is made to this as to the other: the impracticability of a junction, the hazard of the undertaking, and the faint hope of its being conducive to any profitable result, are all insisted on; and the vicinity of the frontiers, where stores could be easily collected, pointed them out as an eligible position to wait for some time the current of events.

These being merely military questions, I need not declare my incompetence to decide farther than this, that, without meaning to attach blame to any one, if we had been obliged to evacuate Spain, and to desert her in her distress, it would have been better for

both countries that a British soldier had never entered her dominions. But it is useless to discuss the point, as that design is abandoned; and I stated it to shew the sentiments of the army on what may be called the commencement of the campaign.

We shall march in security, nor fear the French cavalry, who will be hovering about us, protected as we shall be by Lord Paget's and General Stewart's brigades. They are represented to be of the very finest description. The former consists of fifteen hundred, who are said to be matchless in beauty and equipments. The horses had suffered considerably on board, and by a mismanaged debarkation; but they are now perfectly recovered, and equal to enter upon the most arduous service. The latter comprises the 18th Light Dragoons, who are too well known to require commendation, and the 3d King's

Germans, whose appearance is most martial, and whose appointments are admirable. In this brigade there are about twelve hundred.

The severity of the season has not yet commenced, but is expected every day. The mornings are so fine, that I sit in a room with the window open; but the evenings are cold, and here there is neither fire-place nor stove. The substitute for these is a brasier, or round copper, similar to a preserving pan, which is filled with charcoal, set in a square wooden frame, and placed in the middle of the room, or, as we improved it, under the table, while we were at dinner. This emits but little heat; and to derive any advantage from it, you must be so near as to be exposed to suffocation, the vapour from the charcoal being most oppressive. The natives do not use them much, pre-

ferring the warmth of the cloak and the segar.

We have been abundantly supplied with provisions here. The meat is of an inferior quality; nor did I see any exhibited for sale but pork, which is excellent, the commissaries having bought up all the oxen. We consumed thirteen thousand pigs, to convince the people that, if not Christians, at least we were not Jews. There is plenty of turkeys, fowl, and pigeons, and a sufficiency of hares* and partridges, to be had on reasonable terms; and a great variety of fruits and vegetables. The wine is of a very poor and bad quality, and dearer than any we had met with in Portugal, the lowest price being five *pesetas* for a quart bottle.

* Most parts of Spain abound in rabbits; so much so, that Bochart says the name of Spain came from the Phœnician Spanijiam, which signifies the Land of Rabbits.

The *peseta* is equivalent to an English shilling, and five of them to the *peso duro*, or dollar. The coins and computations vary much in different parts of Spain; but our transactions were principally carried on in these and the gold coins of the doubloon, worth sixteen dollars, and the half and quarter doubloon. There were besides some other kinds of small silver pieces, and a very bad copper coinage.

Every thing which is conceived by a Spaniard to be necessary or luxurious in life is to be had at Salamanca; the shops being well stored with foreign and domestic commodities, and the people in trade being industrious, and attentive to their business. The principal manufactures are hats and tin ware, the former of which are very inferior to ours in quality, but make up for that deficiency in quantity, being

about four times the size. The upper classes of the laity wear them cocked; the lower, flapping about their face; the clergy, turned up at the sides, like the dignitaries of our church in possession or expectancy.

French toys, jewellery, and hardware, are to be purchased here on moderate terms; and no inconsiderable sum of English money was expended at one shop.

Since the first introduction of carriages, their skill in building them, I imagine, has been stationary: they are heavy square boxes, painted without varnish, and hung without springs; drawn by mules in traces of rope; and driven by a coachman and postillion, with large cocked hats, and very long queues: they are lined with velvet; and move at the rate of about three miles an hour. A more ridiculous exhibition cannot be conceived.

If this amused, a practice which is prevalent here shocked me not a little; it is that of exposing dead bodies in the street, or hall which opens into it, to public view. The corpse is extended on a bier, with a cross in one hand, a sprig of cypress in the other, and a cup of oil at the feet: the motive for this, is to induce the passengers to intercede with Heaven, by their prayers, for the departed spirit. The first I saw was the body of a child; and I could not be for some time persuaded, that it was not a waxen figure.

But the most striking circumstance here, is certainly the number and variety of monks and friars;—the difference between whom is, that the former devote themselves to contemplation; the latter to the active duties of the clerical profession. In all the orders, there are some clergymen and some laics;

these are dressed alike, and are to be distinguished by having the tonsure, or wearing their hair. I shall annex an account * of their respective names, numbers, and habiliments. In the present posture of affairs they might be more usefully employed; or, at all events, their numbers considerably reduced. Some of them have elsewhere evinced a patriotic disposition; but what can be expected from them here, where the example of indolence is shewn them by the laity? A rigid conscription would be of utility to the state, and no detriment to them; and some such measure will probably be resorted to, should the population be diminished by a protracted war. But the necessity must be urgent indeed, which will induce them to step out of the ordinary course. Perhaps

* See Appendix, No. 21.

there is not upon earth a people so enslaved to prejudice, and so inimical to improvement; and if you doubt this, read the anecdote that follows.

In the reign of Charles the Second, a company of Dutch contractors proposed, on certain terms, to make the Tagus navigable to Lisbon, and the Mansanares from Madrid to where it meets the Tagus. The Council of Castile, after much deliberation, answered, "That if it had pleased God that these two rivers should have been navigable, he would not have wanted human assistance to have made them such; but, as he has not done it, it is plain he did not think it proper that it should be done. To attempt it, therefore, would be to violate the decrees of his providence, and to amend the imperfections which he designedly left in his works."

How much will it redound to the honour

of the modern Spaniards, if the spirit of patriotism and the love of liberty shall dispel those mists, which have so long concealed from them their real interests, and enable them to break those fetters, which were forged by superstition, and are indurated by time!—It is, indeed, devoutly to be wished for.

LETTER XIX.

Villada, Dec. 24.

On the 12th the greater part of the army marched from Salamanca in two divisions, and, at about five leagues' distance, occupied many small and contiguous villages. General Hill halted at Canizal with the 5th regiment. On our approach, we were struck by the novelty of what appeared to be a churchyard, with many upright tombstones. These proved to be the doors of their *bodegas*, or wine-vaults, which are sunk at a considerable depth under the ground, and are so constructed as to prevent effectually the admission of air. Such cellars are in universal use.

On the 13th we moved, through a well-cultivated and level country, three leagues,

to Fresno, and had the satisfaction of being received by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic joy. Their delight, and admiration of our troops, were justly exhilarating, but in some measure to be accounted for by two circumstances: the one, that a party of French dragoons had visited them but a few days before, had levied contributions, and made requisitions, which were actually in store, to a very large amount: the other, that they had, previously to our arrival, received intelligence of their plunderers having been attacked and defeated, the preceding day, at Rueda, five leagues from them, by a detachment of the 18th Light Dragoons; and they were thus relieved from the apprehension of a second visit.

This is the first blow which has been struck, and reflects the highest praise on the skill and gallantry of General Stewart. He

surprised a very superior number of the enemy, and by the rapidity of his movement filled them with such panic, that in a short time they fled in every direction, leaving behind them about twenty prisoners, and a prize of cotton said to be worth 60,000*l.*

On the 15th we made an unexpected movement to the left, or north-west, and proceeded three leagues, to Alaejos, where I stopped to admire the stupendous ruins of a Moorish castle, which had been strongly fortified, and to examine two very old and extensive churches. In one of these, St. Maria, a funeral ceremony was performing; and never did I witness so affecting a solemnity. The body lay extended on a bier, at the end of the church next the entrance, and on every flag or tombstone in the aisle were two lighted tapers, and two women kneeling, in the deepest mourning; of these

there were about two hundred, and they were all absorbed in bitter recollection of the friends whom they had lost, or imploring God's mercy for their eternal doom. At the head of the grave were six loaves of bread, with two lighted tapers on each, and at the foot a vessel of oil. The priest was at the altar, chanting masses for the deceased; and the effect of the whole was awfully impressive. I do not envy the man his feelings, who could have turned it into ridicule. —There are some exquisite intaglios, in chesnut wood, in the choir here; and on the steeples of both churches, which are very high, I perceived, with pleasure, that the social stork had built his nest.

In the evening I overtook the brigade at Castro Nuno, two leagues farther; an inconsiderable village, where three regiments were billeted with great difficulty. It is finely

situated on an eminence, on the left bank of the Duero; on the opposite side is a royal hunting-lodge. One of the churches here is a Roman edifice, in perfect preservation, but somewhat oddly placed, in the centre of the bodegas. Many of the soldiers, being antiquarians, were attracted to it; nor could they prevail on themselves to leave it for the entire night. The truth is, they broke open the wine-vaults, and committed unpardonable excess.

Early on the 16th we set off in a heavy fog for Toro, and moved through a rich and cultivated plain. I fell in with a party of the 18th Dragoons, who were guarding the prisoners they had taken at Rueda. Among eighteen, there was but one Frenchman; the rest were Swiss or Germans. In conversing with one of them, he fiercely denied that they had been taken prisoners, and said,

"Nous nous sommes rendus." If this distinction be at all consolatory, I should be sorry to deprive them of it. Our men spoke of them with sovereign contempt, declaring that without arms we could beat them, such was the superiority of our horses in management and strength.

Within a quarter of a mile of Toro we crossed the Duero, on a very grand bridge, which is remarkable for having double key-stones to the arches, and a double tier of stones through the whole of them; and after ascending a very steep and serpentine hill, we reached the town. It is a place of considerable extent and wealth, but cannot be esteemed a strong position, as to the northward it is completely open, and difficult to be defended. There is here a very handsome town-hall, where all the public business is transacted, which constitutes one side of a

spacious modern square. I regretted the impossibility of examining the churches; but two divisions of the army had halted here already, and no quarters could be procured for us. We were obliged to proceed two leagues farther, to Pinhalla, so miserably poor a place, that, for the first time, there was neither wine nor provisions to be had. This, after a march of five leagues and a half, was severely felt and complained of; but to many of the soldiers, though an unwelcome, it was a salutary, abstinence.

The irregularity of the troops at Toro was this day censured by Sir John Moore in orders*, and an arrangement made for providing quarters for regiments in the towns they are to march to.

On leaving Pinhalla the morning of the

* See Appendix, No. 22.

17th, I had occasion to inquire from the Alcalde the road to Bustillo, where the brigade had marched. He expressed his astonishment, and with a contemptuous sneer replied, that the French were not in that direction; and then pointed to the contrary way, where he said they would meet us. The suspicion begins to spread that we are avoiding the enemy; and so strong is the indignation of the natives, that our route is concealed as carefully as possible. It was but a league and a half to Bustillo, through extensive plains of cultivation; and I had the pleasure to find it, though a small village, the cleanest we had met with: there was ample atonement also for the deficiencies of the preceding day, in meat, bread, and wine. The only want was of fuel; and the weather being now, at night, and early in the morning, intensely cold, we could have

wished a better fire than was to be made of cut straw. We halted here the next day, Sunday, and, in consideration of the weather, I gave them, for the first time, prayers without a sermon.

The Orders * of this day prove that the enemy are hovering about us, and that apprehensions are entertained at least of the possibility of an attack.

On the 19th we continued a northerly direction, three leagues and a half, to Villapando, where there is an ancient castle of the Constable of Castile. The houses are principally built of mud, and a correspondent squalid poverty is visible in the people. Here we were very much crowded, and fresh orders were issued relative to picquets and alarm-posts. During the night there was a

* See Appendix, No. 23.

heavy fall of snow, and from the difficulties it created, and a new disposition in the order of march, we were detained a long time on parade the morning of the 20th, and were almost petrified by cold, the frost having been severe and incessant for the last week.

We passed through Aquilar dos Campos, three leagues, where are the remains of a Moorish castle, on an elevated site, and in good preservation. It is built of brick, with an abundance of clay cement; has twelve towers, and a subterraneous passage, which is said to extend for forty miles. There is beside it a church of equal antiquity, surrounded by cloisters of exquisite beauty. The troops moved on four leagues farther to Villalor, which they did not reach till a late hour in the evening, and in much confusion and distress. Foreseeing those difficulties, my friend, Captain Thompson, the Paymaster

of the 32d, concurred with me in the prudence of halting at Quinca, a league to the southward of Villalor; and we were there most hospitably entertained by an agreeable and affluent widow. We found in the morning that some men had perished, and we overtook many stragglers, and met others returning in pursuit of baggage, which had not come up. Passing through Villalor, we learned that a French commissary had been taken there last evening, and that the Alcalde had been confined on suspicion of treachery.

We moved this day, the 21st, with a strong concentrated force, and assembled at Villada near twelve thousand men. The accommodations had latterly been so bad, that I no longer intruded on General Hill, but drew a billet for myself. I had here the choice of two, Captain Thompson's and my

own, and found them both pre-occupied by soldiers, heaped upon each other like sacks of corn. To turn them into the street was out of the question; so I hastened to the Alcalde, and represented my grievance. The only reparation I obtained was the pleasure of hearing him laugh and sing most merrily, the unfortunate gentleman's intellects having been impaired by the number of similar applications. In this untoward predicament, my friend and I determined to try our fortune at a village that we observed about half a league on the left; and, on arriving there, we found every house shut up, nor did a single inhabitant appear. We stopped at the least wretched of the houses, which proved to be the Alcalde's, and, by the united influence of menace and entreaty, the door at length was opened. In apology for our exclusion, they stated that they thought

we were French, some of their dragoons having been there, with a commissary, a short time before; and in proof they produced a requisition, which was still wet.

This was, indeed, a most curious paper, and exemplified the manner in which the French army is supplied. It demanded, within twenty-four hours, so many quintals* of wheat and barley, and a sum of money, to be packed and ready for conveyance, under the signal displeasure and dreadful vengeance of the Emperor Napoleon. The people were employed in obedience to this order, which was written in good Spanish; a knowledge, which, it is to be wished, our Commissaries possessed, though not to display it in similar compositions.

Sir John Moore, with the remainder of

* Quintals—a measure of 100 pounds weight.

the army, including Sir David Baird's force, is at Sahagun, about a league from this. The French, consisting of about sixteen thousand, under Soult, are at Saldana and Carrion. An immediate attack on them is intended, orders having been issued this day, the 22d, for the army to hold itself in readiness to move to-morrow.

Our cavalry have had frequent skirmishes with the patroles and detachments of the enemy, in which, though outnumbered, we have been invariably successful. But, two recent instances deserve to be particularised. Lord Paget had information, that about seven hundred cavalry were stationed at Sahagun, when he was posted in front of the enemy, at Mayorga, with the 10th and 15th Hussars. He immediately marched on the 20th to attack them, and arranged a plan, by which, but for an accident, they must

have all fallen into his hands. His Lordship sent the 10th straight to the town, while he, with the 15th, undertook to turn it. While proceeding for this purpose, he fell in with a patrole of the enemy, one of whom escaped, and gave the alarm. The French had thus time to form on the outside of the town before Lord Paget got round. However, he charged them most vigorously, and, after a sharp action, defeated them with the loss of many killed and wounded, and about one hundred and fifty prisoners, amongst whom were two lieutenant-colonels and eleven officers. Our loss was about eight killed, and twenty wounded.

The other affair was by a party of the 18th Light Dragoons, which, though it may yield in importance, does not in brilliancy to the achievement at Sahagun. Thirty-eight of them fell in with a body of one hundred

and five French dragoons, near Valencia. Our brave fellows, regardless of this disparity, attacked and broke them. They rallied, and charged three times successively, and were as often repulsed. Favoured by the darkness of the night, the majority of them effected their escape, leaving behind about twelve killed, and twenty desperately wounded and made prisoners. Those gallant exploits have been rewarded, as they well deserve, by the thanks* of Sir John Moore.

The morning of the 23d, a bitterly cold one, the troops were under arms from five till seven o'clock; and being uncertain how soon a movement might be made, I went into Villada, determined to remain there, and preferring any inconvenience to the

* See Appendix, No. 21.

anxieties of doubt and ignorance. A convent of Dominicans afforded me a room, but without a single article of furniture. Orders * came out soon after for the march of the army at seven in the evening; and for the women, the sick, and the baggage to continue, till sent for, in their present cantonments. It matters not under which of these heads I classed myself; but after much deliberation, I was convinced that the night would be passed as comfortably in the convent as in the snow, and that, by setting out early, I might probably arrive at Saldana time enough to be shot. Most fortunate it was that I came to these conclusions; for the troops, after having proceeded about two leagues, were halted, faced about, and returned to their quarters between twelve

* See Appendix, No. 25.

and one o'clock, in the most sad and pitiable plight. To complete their calamity, the inhabitants were asleep in bed, and, when awakened, they could not, or did not, choose to believe that it was our army, and obstinately refused admittance to their houses. You may suppose that the soldiers were not very ceremonious; doors and windows were speedily demolished; and this inevitable violence led to many outrages of the most atrocious nature.

This extraordinary retrogression was occasioned by intelligence, which Sir John Moore received, that considerable reinforcements had been sent to Soult, and by an express from the Marquis de la Romana, informing him, that the French were advancing from Madrid either to Valladolid or Salamanca. We were, therefore, on the point of being placed in a most perilous situation,

and by the advance of another day, our retreat would have been much endangered, if not inevitably cut off*.

There are, however, many who insist that this precipitate return was injudicious in the extreme; that the hopes of the army had been elevated by the prospect of an engagement, and ought not to have been dashed so suddenly; and that Soult could not have received a reinforcement of such magnitude, as to give a desperate complexion to the meditated attack.

Others again say, that it required no uncommon portion of sagacity to foresee, what has actually occurred, that our Commander

* I have been since informed by a French officer, that it never was Soult's intention to give us battle at Saldana. His object was to draw us on so far north, as to secure the prevention of our retreat;—a point which was afterwards so nearly accomplished.

in Chief must have held the French generals in very cheap and erroneous estimation, to suppose that Marshal Soult would have waited to be attacked by nearly double his number; and that, entertaining the opinion he was known to have on leaving Salamanca, that Madrid must soon surrender, he should have calculated on an immediate pursuit from that quarter, nor thus have run into the snare which so cunningly was laid for him.

On the other hand it is maintained, that, though the risk was considerable, the object is accomplished, that of creating a diversion, preventing the enemy from proceeding to Portugal or the south of Spain, and affording time and opportunity to the people of that quarter to rally, and, if possible, to relieve Madrid.

Nothing, however, can surpass the irrita-

tion and disappointment of the army; and it is to be hoped that they have not much more hardship to endure, as their minds and bodies already have been harassed to a degree which is, on many accounts, to be lamented.

After the fatigues of last night, a halt was expected this day, and being the 24th of the month, many of the regiments had begun to muster, when suddenly, at ten o'clock, the *generalé* beat, and in one hour after the army was in a column of march on the road to Mayorga. Previously to their departure, it grieved me to witness the wanton barbarity of our soldiers. In the houses in which they were billeted, they took good care that if the enemy came after them by this road, they should be but badly accommodated; tables and chairs were broken to pieces, and the portable articles violently carried off by

them or the women. The wretched inhabitants were screaming in the streets, and uttering ineffectual complaints and execrations; and it shocked me to hear those men, whom I so lately had occasion to admire and extol, branded by the epithet of "malditos ladrones"—"accursed robbers." A sad and strange title for a British army!

LETTER XX.

La Baneza, Dec. 29.

It was a distance of five leagues to Mayorga, and the day far spent when we set out upon the march. Add to this, that the severity of the frost continued, the road was bad and slippery, the men were much exhausted, the horses and mules indifferently shod, and you will readily conceive that we did not reach our destination till eight at night; nor were all the men in quarters before twelve. It is impossible to give you an idea of the confusion and misery attendant upon so late a march. The darkness of the night makes it a tedious, sometimes an impracticable, operation to ascertain your billet; then there is no stable, or rather hovel, attached to it for your horses or mules to stand in; that

point settled, your baggage has not arrived, and with it is all the refreshment you have to look to after your day's fatigue: you sally forth to seek it in the snow, and find the philosophic animal, with many more, extended upon the ground, your dinner for his pillow, your wardrobe for his bed; your bat-man, whose strength will not inflict another blow, standing over him in an attitude of despair, and invoking all the deities of the infernal regions to take into their especial guardianship the souls of not only all the mules and jackasses of Spain, but all the planners, promoters, and conductors of the campaign. Matters are at length arranged; and if you have had the good fortune to purchase on the road an old game-cock and a stale onion, you make a most delicious meal. You soon drop into a sound sleep—in what posture depends on circum-

stances; and in about four hours the drum beats to arms, and not being thoroughly awake to your situation, you slide away merrily to a repetition of these joys. There are some of my acquaintance whom I occasionally wish for much, not for any love I bear them, but that I think it might be useful to the veriest puppy of them all.

To the miseries, not the merriment, of Christmas-day, we were invited by the alarm of the *generale* at four, and, crossing the river Cea twice, proceeded to Valderas, three leagues. On my arrival, I found that a new arrangement had been made relative to billets, as they were in future only to be drawn by Field-officers and the Staff. Mine had been hitherto procured by a regimental Quarter-master; but as the whole plan was altered, I applied to a very busy and bustling officer of the staff, who appeared to have the manage-

ment of it, for information on the subject. He answered, in broken and barbarous English, and with flippant impetuosity, that he was no billet-master for me; and as I had been standing under very heavy rain for more than an hour, waiting the leisure of this gentleman, I could not help regretting that the comforts of Englishmen should in any way be entrusted to the charge of foreigners; persuaded that, from a countryman, I should have received civility, if not assistance. On another occasion, I recollect one of these foreigners, from what part of the Continent I do not know, nor is it material, charged with a message of importance to a General Officer, and utterly unable to make himself understood, though very attentively listened to by the General and his Staff. Assuredly we might fill the confidential, the honourable, the lucrative

and efficient appointments in our army, without having recourse to Germany or Holland.

But to resume my Christmas gambols.—I proceeded to the Junta, and solicited a billet; when one of them, an ecclesiastic, politely said his house was at my service, and I eventually received from him a most kind and hospitable reception. In return I presented him with a coloured map of Europe, at which his delight and astonishment cannot be expressed, especially in tracing the limits of his own country. His ignorance of geography is scarcely credible: the relative situations of Spain and France he knew, but it was the labour of some minutes to discover where the British Islands lay. From him I learned that Valderas contains about eight hundred houses, a spacious town-hall, five parochial churches, and eight convents,

in one of which, that of the Carmelitas Descalzas, there is an admirable picture of the Virgin del Socorros. For all this, I was obliged to be satisfied with his report, my curiosity having been completely damped at an early part of the day.

On the 26th we moved on the road to Benevente, four leagues, three of which ran along the left bank of the Cea, in a tolerably level and well-cultivated plain. At the termination of this we ascended a hill *, from which there is a very fine prospect as far as Zamora and the river Ezla, to the south, and the town of Benevente, at the distance of three miles; south-west of which, at eight or ten leagues, the blue mountains of Portugal are to be seen; and north-west the

* It is on this hill Bonaparte is said to have been stationed during the action of the 29th; and from it the cavalry reconnoitred us while at Benevente.

mountains of Gallicia, on the last limits of the horizon.

Having descended this hill, we passed over the clear and tranquil Ezla, on a handsome modern bridge, and remarked, that the span of the arches was uncommonly wide, and that the two centre ones had sunk, and were, for the present, propped by piles. The bridge is distant from the town about two miles; and the road runs through a flat, but firm, marsh. We found, on arrival, that the 82d Regiment, and the Grenadier company of the 3d, or Buffs, had marched in here from Oporto, and had narrowly escaped the enemy in the neighbourhood of Zamora. A party of Dragoons looked at, and saw them formed to receive their charge and give them battle, which they prudently refused, and our men were unmolested. They brought with them a seasonable supply of

shoes and blankets, the greater part of which unhappily were not distributed; and as they could not be conveyed, were burned, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

Benevente is surrounded by a wall, which would have been formerly considered a formidable fortification; and, from the construction of the houses and public buildings, is evidently a city of great antiquity and note. The castle, which belongs to the Countess of Benevente, by marriage Duchess of Ossuna, is by many degrees the most magnificent edifice and exquisite specimen of Moorish and Gothic architecture I have seen, and is about five hundred years old. It stands on a proud elevation, overlooking the town, and, for a vast extent, the plains of Leon, through which the lovely waters of the Marez and the Ezla flow. On the ex-

terior, the sculpture of the turrets, and the columns of porphyry and granite, are principally to be admired; and on the inside, in the decoration of the grand saloon, or gallery, and the antechamber which leads to it, the arts appear to be assembled and exhausted in their rude efforts to dazzle and delight. It is impossible to give you an idea of the profusion of painting, gilding, and carving, which is lavished upon the ceiling and alcoves. In the niches, the skill of the statuary is displayed in a variety of figures; that of the Virgin going to Egypt with the Child, pleased me particularly. A frieze of porcelain is carried round the walls; and above a hundred pillars, of various kinds of marble, placed at proper intervals, constitute it an apartment of the first magnificence. Though this be the most sumptuous, the chaster beauties of some of the

other rooms charmed me still more; and oh! what a heart-rending sight it was to behold every thing combustible seized on by the soldiery (for two regiments were quartered here), fires lighted against the gorgeous walls, and pictures of high value heaped together as rubbish, and destined to the flames! Amidst this general devastation, one room escaped; it is that in which the archives and accounts of the family are preserved; and the annual expenditure and receipts, for above two hundred years, are regularly classed under their respective dates. There is here an ancient armoury, containing many curious weapons of destruction and dresses of defence. Some of the coats of mail are costly in the appearance, and admirable in the workmanship. As a protection from danger we despise them now, yet many a proud spirit has worn them in the field.

There are nine churches at Benevente, most of them very old, and the first I have seen in Spain of Saxon architecture. There are three convents; an hospital, built three hundred years; and many commodious and handsome dwelling-houses. Abundance of every thing is to be had for money, and at a reasonable rate.

The glaring misconduct of the army, for the last three days, has roused the indignation of Sir John Moore, and he has issued such orders* as must have been painful to him to dictate, and are degrading to them to have deserved. At the same time, aware of the dissatisfaction which prevails at the idea of retreat, and that to it are attributed many of the outrages, he has judiciously raised the spirits of the soldiers, and, I trust,

* See Appendix, No. 26.

will silence their complaints, by the promise of a battle when the proper time arrives. However, he assembled the Field-officers this day, and, in the strongest terms, reprobated the idea of opinions being so freely given upon the subject of his movements, which he denominated a change of position only, and desired that they should exert themselves to prevent such conversations. On hearing this, I could not but observe, though I subscribed to the wisdom of it, that if officers are to be precluded from discussing the merits of the campaign, they will be deprived of the only pleasure that is likely to be soon left them; and that he who undertakes such a proscription, will have a Herculean task to execute.

The entire of this day was passed in interesting suspense; the reserve and some light troops and cavalry being placed on the

hills I have before described, and rumours being in constant circulation of the approach of the enemy. Those, whose ears and eyes were gifted with extraordinary powers, could hear the discharge of musquetry, and see the flash of fire; but it proved, on inquiry, that their invention, or their fears, were stronger than their senses. In the evening, the whole of the baggage and stores having arrived, the troops were called in, and the bridge over the Ezla destroyed. It is reported, I know not how truly, that Sir John Moore, who remained to the last at the other side, was closely pursued, and nearly overtaken, by some French dragoons.

On the 28th, General Hill's brigade, part of General Hope's division, moved to Alejo, a most miserable village, containing about seventy houses; and here, being completely drenched with rain, I should have been con-

tented to remain in the pigsty allotted to me, could I have procured any shelter for my horses. That being unattainable, I proceeded in the torrent a league farther, to Lorona, where there was plenty of provision, which the inhabitants would neither give nor sell. Hunger and thirst and cold suggest convincing arguments, and absolutely enabled me to make a speech in Spanish. I reproached the Alcalde for ingratitude and disloyalty, and succeeded in procuring fowl, and in purchasing from the curate of the parish a very small quantity of wine, which he yielded with the utmost reluctance.

The road we traversed was uncommonly bad, and from the severity of the weather the sufferings of the troops were extreme. It was scarcely possible to move the cars and waggons, the guard, officers, and men,

employed in dragging them out of the sloughs in vain; and the greater part of a convoy of stores and ammunition was destroyed, from absolute inability to bring them on. We passed about four hundred wretched soldiers, without a leader, fugitives from Castanos's army; the misery of their appearance and appointments baffles all description.

On the 29th we proceeded three leagues farther, to La Baneza, over a very bad and hilly road, and, to judge from the prospect, we are exchanging fertility for barrenness. Though much crowded, we were received here with the most warm cordiality, and every exertion was made by the Junta to accommodate the troops, who continued pouring in during the greater part of the night. The reserve arrived at a very late hour, after a most harassing march; and from their in-

formation, and the rapidity of their movement, there can be little question that the enem is pressing hard upon our heels. It is reported we shall hasten to Lugo with what expedition we can, and there make a stand, the position being favourable; and it is necessary we should not be sluggish, having the double danger to encounter of being overtaken and intercepted in our retreat.

That we are retreating, there can no longer be a doubt; the resolution for this measure was taken at Sahagun; and a country more fraught with impediments to such an operation could not have been selected. You will say the line was inevitable; but on that fact there is a difference of opinion; and it is maintained, by those who dare to think and speak, that that was the time for Sir John Moore to have fallen back on

Portugal; that he could have reached Ciudad Rodrigo without interruption, and that there was a depôt, with every kind of store, for twenty thousand men; that we should have had the reinforcement of Sir John Cradock's army, been enabled to resist whatever force the enemy might dispose for our pursuit, and that this would have been a more beneficial diversion to the general interests of Spain, than the maintenance of a Parthian fight, dispiriting and wasting the northern provinces, and ultimately leaving them in the probable possession of the enemy.

I must confine myself to the recital of this reasoning, without pretending to decide upon its merits: they rest completely upon the correctness of the statement. Of this, the Commander in Chief had better opportunities of forming an opinion than those who have thus speculated; and it is not to

be supposed he would have voluntarily braved the difficulties of his present situation, had there been a possibility to avoid them. But the army is out of temper, and will murmur till they fight.

LETTER XXI.

Astorga, Jan. 4.

On the morning of the 29th, the bridge leading to Benevente was destroyed; a work of easy execution, and, as it has proved, of insignificant importance. The river was fordable above the bridge, and, soon after its destruction, seven squadrons of the French cavalry, Bonaparte's Imperial Guards, were discovered in the act of passing it. A report of this was immediately communicated to Lord Paget, and he sent down the picquets of the night, without a moment's delay, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Otway of the 18th, to check and repel the attempt. Lord Paget proceeded in person to reconnoitre, and finding four squadrons of the enemy formed, the

10th Hussars were ordered out; and on their arrival, Brigadier-General Stewart took the command of the picquets, placed himself at their head, and, with his accustomed gallantry, led the attack, supported by the Hussars, in the most perfect order. After a sharply-contested action, the enemy sustained a considerable loss, and was compelled to recross the river in confusion and dismay. When he had regained the opposite bank, he formed again, with an apparent intention to renew the conflict, but the opening of three light field-pieces on him, which had just then arrived from the town, soon thinned his ranks, and the survivors retired to the hills with the utmost rapidity. The result of this engagement was a loss to the enemy of about sixty killed and wounded at this side of the river, and seventy prisoners. Among the latter is the

General of Division, Lefebre, who commanded the cavalry of the Imperial Guards, and two captains. The General * endeavoured to cross, but was prevented and borne down by the current. He remounted the bank, and tried the fleetness of his horse; but in this, too, he was foiled, being pursued and overtaken by one of our gallant dragoons, a private of the 10th.

It is impossible to reflect on this brilliant affair, and the former feats of our cavalry, without gratitude and admiration; and it is by no means an exaggerated praise to say, that the army has been hitherto indebted for its safety to the enterprise and valour of Lord Paget, General Stewart, and the highly

* General Lefebre acknowledged the superiority of our cavalry in conversation afterwards, and said he had done a very rash and daring deed, for which he should incur the Emperor's displeasure.

meritorious conduct of all the officers and men under their respective commands.

Before day-light on the 30th the division was in motion, and we entered on the royal road from Corunna to Madrid, which is made most durably, and at an enormous expense; the country, from extensive fens, bearing a strong resemblance to parts of Lincolnshire. At the termination of three leagues we reached Astorga, where we wished and expected to halt for the night; but the arrival of five thousand of the Marquis de la Romana's army from Leon, in addition to our reserve, rendered that impossible. These were the first of the Spanish troops that I had seen assembled; their appearance was highly creditable; and it was only to be regretted that their numbers were so few. Of this army, the only one which could now co-operate with us, there were not nine

thousand, which could be brought into the field, and of these many were deficient in appointments, and yet, wherever we had gone, the credulity of the people had magnified them to twenty-five thousand. On effecting this junction, it was the wish of the Marquis to take up a position, and make a stand at Astorga; but the openness of the country was a sufficient objection to such a measure, beside that there was not provision for the united armies for two days, nor any probability of being able to procure it. In consequence, while we continue our retreat upon Corunna, the Spaniards will move towards Portugal, and will be indebted for their safety to the pursuit being confined to us; for it can be scarcely hoped that they will create a diversion. Our two flank brigades are to proceed to Vigo by Orensee, with a view to facilitate our march by a reduction of our numbers.

Astorga is a city of considerable extent, and gives the title of Marquis to the family of Osorio, who are of great antiquity and distinguished character in the history of Spain. It is surrounded by a wall, twelve feet thick, with towers at short intervals, and contains the ruins of a very strong castle, celebrated for the defence its master made against the Moors. The area of the castle is converted to a vineyard, and in the external wall there are many excavations, which are inhabited by the most squalid and miserably-looking race we have seen since our departure from Lisbon.

The cathedral here is justly an object of admiration; and I regretted that circumstances did not permit a very minute examination of it. It contains eight altars, which have much beauty and magnificence to boast; but the high altar is stupendously grand, and

gives a character of sublimity to the whole, surpassing the churches of Salamanca and Lisbon. It consists of twenty compartments of marble sculpture, in alto relievo, descriptive of the principal passages in our Saviour's life, the figures being as large as nature. At the summit appears God the Father, placing a crown upon the Virgin's head; and the Glory has a beautiful effect from its transparency, the rays being illuminated by a lamp placed behind them. A figure of St. John is pre-eminently fine. The pillars, which support the arches of the Basilica, are of exquisite proportion, and the octagonal sacristy is in the purest taste of the genuine Gothic. In this room there are some good pictures, as there are also on the very handsome staircase of a spacious edifice, which was designed for a college, but is used as a hospital.

Sir John Moore has again had occasion to resort to very strong and animated Orders*. The present is for him a moment of most distracting anxiety; and he appears to labour under the melancholy apprehension that the army, by their misconduct, will frustrate, instead of seconding, his views. Their indignation against the people of the country cannot be restrained; to them they attribute all their misfortunes, and are goaded to madness by the reluctance with which they are received, or rather the aversion with which they are avoided. If the natives dared to give utterance to their wrongs, recrimination would be just and vehement; truth and impartiality will admit that the excesses of the soldiery have been rather the cause than the consequence

* See Appendix, No. 27.

of the alienation of the people, and, instead of prayers for our success, and the animating *vivas* which cheered us on the march through Portugal, "curses, not loud, but deep," pursue us as we move.

On the advance from Astorga, we passed through a small village, and numerous were the unburied corpses which lay extended at their doors. It would appear that they had been turned out of their houses, deprived of food and shelter, and had fallen victims to the severity of the weather. The wretched hamlet of Bombarras, where I halted with part of the brigade for the night, had been completely deserted by the terrified inhabitants; and here it was unavoidable to break open the doors.

On the 31st we marched over a stupendously high chain of mountains, which were deeply covered with snow, and as many of

the troops had not received either bread or wine for the two preceding days, their sufferings were extreme. In better times one would pause, and dwell with delight upon the beauty and sublimity of the scenery; but for such raptures there was little inclination. At the end of five leagues and a half we reached Bembibre, our artillery having been much impeded by a cavalcade of sick and baggage from Romana's army, which we met upon the road; and the town was so full, that I went on a mile farther with the 32d to the village of Mansanasa. We had to cross a river, which was barely fordable for horses, but not for mules; and the bridge of hurdles was so broken, that with the utmost difficulty our baggage was conveyed. Mine did not arrive till ten at night, and the consequence was, that the soundness of a first sleep at twelve prevented my com-

panion and me from hearing the regiment under arms at that hour, and resuming their march. This unpleasant discovery we made the next morning at five, the usual hour for preparing to set out. The moon shone bright, and all was tranquil in the streets; not a single soldier to be seen or heard. This was unaccountable to us; and on inquiry we learned, to our great mortification, that the drum had beat to arms soon after we had lain down to rest in our miserable hovel. It was evident that a strong necessity must have urged this unexpected movement; and, exhausted as our forces were, after so short repose, they would not have been harassed by a march at night, had not the enemy been gaining on us fast. We therefore had no time to lose, and, procuring a guide to conduct us, made what haste we could to overtake the division.

For two leagues we passed through a rich and beautiful valley, interspersed with fruit, forest-trees, and vineyards; we then ascended a very steep hill, from the summit of which was every variety of prospect to be embraced, with the exception of human beings and habitations, to both of which we seemed to have bidden an eternal adieu. After having descended for above two leagues more, through groves of wild arbutus and gum-cistus, we were gratified by the appearance of Ponferrada, at no great distance, delightfully situated in the vale beneath, and, if we dared, should have been well pleased to continue there for the remainder of the day. The Alcalde received us with contumelious pride, not deigning to make any reply to our inquiries, but looking at us with that refrigerating insensibility, which said, or seemed to say, why trouble me—what brought

you here? Being now conversant with the Spanish character, I waited his pleasure, or rather his displeasure, for some minutes, till beginning to be benumbed, I thought it prudent, before my tongue was petrified, to make a second application; and the result of this was, that he sent a servant to point out a posada, where we got a most excellent breakfast.

There were here five hospitals, which contained about three thousand sick of the Spanish armies; the convalescents, the most ragged and wretched rabble that can be conceived, were sitting at the stalls in the streets, and feeding upon a black coarse bread, steeped in salt-fish water. This is their only nutriment, and but ill calculated it is to restore them to the service of their country. A venerable gigantic castle, two regularly-built squares, a handsome town-hall, and a

particularly pretty church, constitute the architectural beauties of Ponferrada. There are, besides, three convents and two parish churches of inferior merit. It was anciently called Intra Fluvios, from its situation between the rivers Sil and Bueza; and afterwards assumed that of Ponsferrata, from the difficulty of working the iron rock, on which the foundations of the bridge are laid.

Having refreshed ourselves and horses, we proceeded two leagues farther, to Cacabello, on the road to which we met about three hundred of a Spanish regiment, unaccompanied by an officer, on their route to join Romana at Leon, and ignorant that he had saved them the inconvenience of so long a march, and was on the way to meet them. They had English arms and accoutrements, and appeared to be in high spirits. The

rear of our division, or rather the stragglers from it, presented a most disorderly and alarming picture, whether their numbers or condition were considered. Many of them had been retarded by fatigue, but more by drunkenness; and in the most violent torrents of rain were either staggering along the road, or lying down unable to proceed. The survivors must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy, there being now no means of conveyance to carry them on. We had still a league and half to arrive at Villafranca, and a most inauspicious commencement of the year it was, for the appearance of officers and men indicated more misery than they had yet experienced. Though they had marched all the preceding night, the majority of them were still unhoused, and glad to stretch their wearied limbs under the archways and piazzas.

The Alcalde here very much surpassed his countrymen in supercilious indifference to complaints and applications. It appeared to me that his only amusement was to listen to the recital of distress, and his sole occupation to explain to others the laborious duties of his office. After an hour's ineffectual appeal to his humanity and patriotism, I despaired of being attended to, so took the resolution of writing to him. In a short note I stated my gratitude for his attention to the English, my admiration of his dispatch of business, and my concern for the weight of it which then oppressed him; that, unwilling to add to it, I would return to the street, where my baggage was under heavy rain, and that in about two hours he might probably be at leisure to favour me with a billet. Need I acquaint you with the sequel? He immediately addressed me with

politeness, lamented that his own house was full, and gave me a billet upon one, where, he said, I should be well accommodated; and he did not deceive me. It was part of a Moorish castle, which had been preserved and modernised, and, in an apartment forty feet long, there were but two officers and myself.

Villafranca was formerly called Villa Francorum; a name which it derived from being the resting-place of the French pilgrims on their road to Compostella. It is most romantically and grandly situated on the brow of the mountain, which seems to touch and overhang the town. There is a very ancient palace of the Duke of Alva here, possessing all the gloominess suitable to his dark and cruel character. The Franciscan monastery is an extensive, stately building, and there are many sumptuous

residences of the nobility and others. A river, which runs with mountainous rapidity, washes the precincts of the town, and, though looked at to much disadvantage, the scenery of the whole was highly picturesque and pleasing.

General Hope has issued Orders* this day, in which he endeavours to re-establish the good conduct of the troops under his command, by restoring them to good humour. If any one can accomplish it, he will not fail being justly a favourite both with officers and men. To-morrow the *generale* is to beat at three.

* See Appendix, No. 28.

LETTER XXII.

Lugo, January 6.

THE troops were so much enfeebled by fatigue, by cold, and hunger, that it was not practicable to assemble and march them off the morning of the 2d till eight o'clock; and, in addition to the sick who were unavoidably left behind, many were the lame and lazy who did not choose to encounter a renewal of their miseries. Before we moved, we learned, by report, that on the evening of the 31st the main body of the enemy, consisting of forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, were within a league and a half of Astorga, and that our reserve were halted at Cacavellos, to check their advance, which was supposed to be an inconsiderable body of cavalry.

On passing over the bridge of Villafranca, it was painful to see the sad necessity to which we were reduced, of destroying and throwing into the river immense quantities of ammunition; the number of cars that were broken down, and of mules and oxen which were tired, having left us without the means of conveying it any farther: even if those useful animals had been in full vigour, they would have been scarcely able to drag their loads up those almost perpendicular mountains of snow, which now frowned on us with hoary sullenness. Early in the day I joined and fell into conversation with one of the French prisoners, an officer of the Imperial Guards, who had been taken at Benevente. He confirmed the intelligence of the morning, that an army of fifty thousand men was in close pursuit of us, and stated, that Junot, with fifteen thousand,

would probably intercept our retreat to Corunna. As every Frenchman is a general in his own opinion, he began to discuss the merits of the campaign, and freely said, that our remaining at Salamanca, after Madrid had been invested, was absurd in the extreme, and proved our Commander to be no General; that if Sir John Moore could but embark his army, it would be a fine manœuvre, if not, a dreadful misfortune; that he ought to capitulate, and would now obtain good terms; but that if he continued to destroy ammunition and property, he could not expect any; for that, with such disparity of force, defeat or surrender inevitably awaited us. To this gasconade I contented myself with replying, that the armies of England were in the habit of accepting surrenders, but not of making them; and that when the opportunity of a battle offered, he

would alter his sentiments of them and their Commander. This evidently made no impression, and was received with a shrug. He then pointed to the train of baggage, and said the incumbrance of it alone was sufficient to retard and destroy us; and that the French army, being free from this clog, possessing more natural alertness, and observing more temperance, could gain upon us two leagues a day. This latter observation is not altogether unfounded.

It is not possible to give you an adequate idea of the miseries of this day's march; such scenes of horror perpetually recurring, as would have unmanned the stoutest heart. Soldiers, sinking under fatigue, reclining for refreshment, as they vainly hoped, upon a bed of snow, but never to rise again. The wretched women, struggling with a spirit beyond their sex, and yielding to exhausted

nature. Here, lies an infant upon a lifeless mother's breast; it fondly labours to imbibe the wonted nourishment, and weeps and wonders! There, are two new-born babes beside their mother's corpse, orphans by birth! An awful silence pervades the ranks, which is only interrupted by the faint groans and fruitless exclamations of the dying. Humanity may sympathise, but can no more. Every individual is occupied and alarmed for his safety; night has overtaken us before we reached the summit of the steep; we are pelted by the pitiless storm, have still six miles to go, and many are the victims whom despair consigns to death.

In addition to these calamities, horses and mules innumerable are scattered along the road, some charitably shot, others left there to die; stores, ammunition, money, baggage, tumbling down the precipices: no

possibility of saving those necessary articles, nor time nor strength to rescue any thing, however valuable and tempting, from this universal wreck.

To these combined afflictions we were exposed till nearly eight at night, when we halted at Dancos and adjacent villages; and never did I enter the most luxurious drawing-room with such delight as a filthy hovel here, pre-occupied by soldiers and a numerous family. But there was shelter from the storm, and a fire upon the hearth; and as our baggage had neither arrived, nor was expected, it was an agreeable surprise to find the house afforded abundance of potatoes, on which, with black salt, and very cool water, we supped most heartily. At ten a soldier came in, who informed a married Officer of our party, that his wife was on the top of the mountain, six miles off, her

horses having tired, and with her a nurse and two children. With some difficulty he procured a mule, and returned in about four hours with these poor sufferers almost exhausted. This was one of a few ladies who accompanied their husbands, and sustained the hardships of the campaign with admirable firmness. Their adventurous spirit was condemned by many, and pity for their sorrows was less prevalent than censure for their rashness. But it should be recollected that they were, for the most part, attracted by prudential motives or conjugal affection, and as such entitled to the applause of every reasonable and feeling mind. Even those who are loud in condemnation must admit, that their crime was their punishment.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary fatigue, I was awake long before day, being almost suffocated by an oppressive heat. Had there

been no other reason, I should have known by the weight that it did not proceed from English blankets, and I soon discovered them to be Scotch, no fewer than three Highland grenadiers being extended upon me, and in a sound sleep. I had the good fortune to escape without disturbing them; and Captain Thompson being roused by falling off a bench at the same moment, we determined to proceed before the column, early as it was, the morning air being preferable to the atmosphere of the Calcutta hole in which we passed the night. It had frozen so hard, that we got on with the utmost difficulty, and proceeded about a league before the day opened, and exhibited a most picturesque and interesting country. The snow had either dissolved, or had not fallen in such heaviness here; the mountains continued, but not of that tremendous alti-

tude; and the valleys were so deep and verdant, the rivulets so full and lively, and the plantations so gracefully dispersed, that the scenery was enchanting, and reminded us of the loveliest features of North Wales. Here, too, were many detached or single residences, the first we had seen in Spain. At one of them we stopped, and had some breakfast, though at first we were unwillingly admitted, the females of the family being in tears for the injuries they had sustained from the soldiery.

Having passed over a very handsome bridge of hewn stone, which, at a distance, resembled an aqueduct, at the end of four leagues we entered St. Constantine, where, and in the vicinity, the division was to halt. We took up our abode at Sobradelo, containing about ten houses, prettily situated on the banks of a rapid river. Nothing,

could exceed the civility of the people here; and never was it more requisite, there being no delivery of *rations*, and the want of corn and wine being severely felt.

On the 4th we proceeded to Lugo, a march of four leagues and a half, in the most violent torrents of rain we had yet witnessed; and the sufferings of the army appeared to be more exquisite than on the mountain of Nogallis. On our arrival here, we found that General Frazer, with his division, had marched for Vigo yesterday, and that this afternoon an express was dispatched to recal him. The reasons assigned for this counter-march are, that it is now discovered that the distance from Lugo to Vigo is double that of from Lugo to Corunna; that on the former road artillery cannot be conveyed, and that it is intended to assemble the army here, the position

being favourable, and the enemy pushing on with unlooked-for rapidity.

It is to be lamented* that these facts were not known or considered sooner, as it would have spared our brave fellows the unnecessary fatigue of nearly sixty miles; and it is only to be accounted for by the complicated embarrassments and distractions which have attended our retreat. The wonder is, that,

* I have since heard that a dragoon was sent to stop General Frazer's division at Lugo; but that he missed his way, on which these remarks are obvious;—that so important an express ought not to have been entrusted to a dragoon; and that he must have voluntarily mistaken his way, so many fatal traces of it were strewn upon the road. It is also evident that the original design was to move the entire of the infantry on Vigo, in which case, if the state of the roads were known, it must have been intended to send the artillery by Corunna; a separation which, under existing circumstances, it is not easy to comprehend the wisdom of. A considerable part of Sir David Baird's column had marched by the Vigo road, and could have stated its condition.

in the different departments, so few mistakes have actually occurred. But indecision is the order of the day, arising from our ignorance of the movements and force of the enemy. Soon after our arrival on the 4th, the Arrangement* was, that we should march early the next morning, and leave the sick behind; and when the morning came, the Orders* were to send off the sick and baggage, with all expedition, to Corunna, to halt the division, and to complete the men to sixty rounds of ammunition. So here the stand is to be made at last; Sir John Moore being convinced that a battle is inevitable, and the neighbourhood of this town being considered a very strong and eligible position. Our reserve had been withdrawn from Cacabellos on the

* See Appendix, Nos. 29 and 30.

afternoon of the 3d, much against their opinion and inclination, Major-General Paget having made such an able disposition as inspired him and his column with the confidence of cutting off the advance of the enemy. There had been some successful skirmishing; but Sir John Moore, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, went forward, and from his own observation, and the intelligence he received, concluded that they were in very considerable force, and therefore thought it prudent to withdraw the reserve, and fall back upon the main body of his army.

The privations of this gallant corps were severer than any the rest of the troops had undergone, the stragglers having destroyed whatever stores the Commissariat had provided, and plundered whatever supply the country might have afforded; so that they

had literally to apprehend more danger from hunger than from the sword.

It is matter of astonishment to every military man, that none of the formidable heights on the road from Villafranca were occupied by our sharp-shooters and light field-pieces, many of the passes being so completely commanded, that their operation would have been certain and destructive. Had but a small force of this description been employed, our retreat could not have been calamitous to such an extent; many a valuable life would have been preserved to the country, and the enemy would have been annoyed to a degree which must have stemmed the torrent of adversity which threatened to overwhelm us. On this point I have not heard a satisfactory explanation even from those who ascribe infallibility to the Commander

of the forces. Of such injudicious and indiscriminating idolaters there are always to be found a few; but they do mischief to a great man's character, which can abide the test of truth.

Lugo was formerly a city of considerable celebrity, being the *Lucus Augusti* of the Romans; and many grand vestiges of its ancient masters are visible to this day. It is surrounded by an irregular wall, which, seen from a distance, appears to be square, and which, as a fortification, has some peculiarities. There are above eighty towers and turrets built on it, at unequal distances, containing each three stories, or apartments, in which the chimneys and arches for the windows leave no doubt of their having been inhabited. Some of these, considering their antiquity, are in very good preservation, and but few of them in total ruin.

The wall is ten feet thick, and at the towers, twenty, affording a commodious walk, which is much frequented by the inhabitants. I passed a most agreeable hour on it, enjoying the luxuriance of the scenery, and the conversation of an enlightened Spaniard. "This wall," said he, "is one of the many monuments of the power and ambition of the Romans; would that it could now check the progress of those arms, which emulate them in universal conquest!" Vain hope! like all the ancient fortifications I have seen, it is commanded within half gun-shot; and though formidable, when built, was rendered useless by that "villainous saltpetre."

The cathedral is of great antiquity and extent, but a most gloomy and unattractive edifice. The exterior has been ridiculously repaired and beautified of late years, and the

walls on the inside are white-washed and hung with bad portraits of apostles and saints, in heavy gilt frames. It would not have mortified me much to have been refused admittance here: as it happened, I was one of very few who saw it, soon after the arrival of the army a Spanish guard having been placed at the doors, and almost every Englishman excluded. This was the first time that such a circumstance occurred, and the motive of it was unexplained.

The bishop's palace and the town-hall are worthy of inspection; the latter has a profusion of Arabesque ornament, which is exquisitely curious. The Roman baths have survived the ravages of time, and, possessing a sulphureous quality, are resorted to as medicinal, and said to be singularly efficacious in many complaints. There are, beside, three public fountains, which, I

believe, are Moorish, covered with grotesque decorations, and yielding an abundant supply of excellent water.

I am at the house of an old ecclesiastic, who, in his youth, was a celebrated preacher; and, though he may have lost the powers of elocution, he certainly has preserved the freedom of the pulpit. In unqualified terms, he branded the English as cowards, reprobated their destruction of ammunition, which ought to have been given to the Spanish armies, and would not be persuaded that Romana's army was dispersed, reduced, and flying for its safety. To my remonstrance on the want of co-operation on the part of his countrymen, he replied, that if they had seen us make a stand, or shew any determined disposition to engage the enemy, they would have made every exertion which could

have been expected in their undisciplined state; that the present was the fourth army of ours which had passed through Gallicia in little more than a month; that the poor peasantry were exhausted; and that when they saw our troops with arms in their hands, and all the array of warfare, running backwards and forwards, how could they be condemned for partaking of the panic with which we were evidently struck? He added, that if any of the passes had been defended, the peasantry would have come forward in thousands from the mountains to which they had retired; that in such operations they could have rendered essential service; and the ammunition would have been well bestowed on them, which had been tumbled down the precipices. To pacify this furious Canon, I urged every argument that my knowledge or invention could suggest,

but to no purpose; and to purchase a little tranquillity, was compelled to listen to the charge of "*Cobardia*," nor controvert its justice.

LETTER XXIII.

Corunna, Jan. 11.

NOTHING can be more uninteresting than the road from Lugo for the first three leagues, till you approach the Minho at Ravade, which is here deep and rapid, and about seventy yards wide. A handsome bridge of ten arches is thrown across the river; but we were not so much occupied in admiring it, as in remarking the difficulties which its destruction would oppose to the pursuit of the enemy, there not being any boats on the water, nor sufficient timber in the neighbourhood for even a temporary repair *.

* This very important work was not effected; and the failure here was more to be regretted than of all the other bridges, this being, in fact, the only one on a river which was not fordable.

Having passed the greater part of the night at a farmer's beautifully-situated cottage, a mile beyond Bamonde, and above ten leagues from Corunna, we renewed our march long before the dawn of day, determined that if our retreat were cut off—an event by no means improbable—we should not have to reproach ourselves for inactivity. The road was here, too, through a bleak and moorish country, but executed with great ingenuity for some miles, as it winded down a precipitous descent, in form as spiral as a screw. In the vicinity of Betanzos the prospect materially improved; the hills being clothed with vines, the valleys fertilised by irrigation, and extensively luxuriant crops of turnips to be seen in every direction.

Another animated appeal to the honour and feelings of the army is published in the

Orders * of this day; and it must be acknowledged, that if exhortation and reproof be salutary, strong and repeated doses of it have been administered with no very lenient hand. That blame is imputable, and in a high degree, cannot be denied; but there are circumstances which tend to mitigate the offences of the troops, and which shall be communicated when I am more at leisure. But I am preparing now to proceed to Corunna with the *non-combattans*—the sick, the women, the baggage, and heavy artillery. If we are decidedly victorious in the battle, which is expected to take place this evening or to-morrow, our embarkation will be secure and undisturbed; if we should be defeated, or even gain but an inconsiderable advantage, the confusion of the army will be then complete, and we shall be more likely

* See Appendix, No. 31.

to march for France than to embark for England. The possibility of this I have more than once suggested, and the idea has been scouted as extravagant and absurd; and, as it ever happens in such cases, no small portion of obloquy has attached to me from those whose opinions are invariably regulated by their wishes, or who have neither the ability nor inclination to think for themselves.

The peninsula of Betanzos is sweetly situated on a gentle eminence, overhanging the confluence of the rivers Lambre and Mandeo, and commanding a view of the contiguous bays of Ares and Redes, which are arms of the sea. We were attracted by the cleanliness and construction of the houses, which is on a more light and airy plan than we had been accustomed to, and by the beauty of the women, who, like the

lower orders of the Irish, were barefooted, and the first of that description we had seen in Spain. In the square are two or three Posadas, with sign-posts, which were also novel; and on the door of almost every house were painted, in large characters, the words, Ave Maria Santissima. The road by which Junot's intercepting army must march, forms a junction here with that from Lugo, and the people have heard enough of the rumour to be doubtful whether the French or English will enter first. But they were perfectly free from alarm, and were pursuing their domestic or rural occupations with all the unconcern and happiness of peace.

Betanzos is four leagues from Corunna, and for the greater part of the way the grounds are laid out in gardens and green crops. On arriving at the bridge* of Burgo,

* This bridge was very imperfectly destroyed,

its narrowness was strikingly observable, not being more than ten feet wide; and from that circumstance, and its being completely commanded by a range of hills at the Corunna side, it was evident that a strong defensive position presented itself here. From the summit we were gratified by a view of the ocean; but our pleasure was soon diminished on perceiving that there were not a dozen ships in the harbour. We must presume, that proper arrangements have been made for sending the transports from Vigo here, or we may soon find ourselves in an awkward predicament.

Before you enter the town of Corunna, there is a considerable suburb, called St. Lucia: in both, the streets are regular, and

though an officer of Engineers lost his life in the execution of the work. It is but justice to this corps to state, that their operations were much impeded by the destruction of their tools, the greater part of them having been burned by order.

for the most part flagged, instead of paved; and a degree of comfort, opulence, and neatness pervades the whole, to which we have been long strangers. We proceeded to the principal hotel, the Leon d'Oro, and had once more the satisfaction to enjoy English entertainment, the intercourse being so constant as to ingraft our customs to the great amelioration of the Spanish stock. Never was a good bed more acceptable, a march of ten leagues and a quarter having this day terminated our labours. The fortifications of the town and citadel are in perfect order, and would have formerly bid defiance to any assault which could be directed against them, their present weakness arising from the circumstance of their being commanded by the adjacent hills. The harbour is beautiful, safe, and commodious. On a promontory projecting in the rear of the town, stands the tower of Hercules, who

is said to have founded it, and erected this town for various magic purposes. It had lain for centuries in a state of dilapidation, till it was determined to rebuild and convert it to a light-house, which was undertaken in the reign of Charles the Third, and completed in that of the late king, Charles the Fourth. There are some buildings connected with it in an unfinished state *.

* Over each entrance to the tower is an inscription: the one in Latin is as follows;

CAROLI III. P. AUG. P. P.
PROVIDENTIA
COLLEGIUM MERCATORUM
GALLACIE
NAVIGANTIUM INCOLUMITATI
REPARATIONEM
VETUSTISSIMÆ AD BRIGANTIAM PHARI
D. S.
INCHOAVIT
CAROLI III. OPT. MAX.
ANNO II.
ABSOLVIT.

Within the citadel are the principal buildings, consisting of the Governor's house, a prison, three convents and churches, and a theatre, which is just now shut up. The churches are in the Moorish style, and, as usual, abound in the ornaments of images and paintings: that of St. Francisco has five very fine altars, and a profusion of ex-

The other is in Spanish, and differs in little but as to dates and titles.

REINANDO CARLOS IV.
EL CONSULADO MARITIMO
DE GALICIA
PARA SEGURIDAD DE LOS NAVEGANTES
CONCLUYO A SUS EXPENSAS
EN EL ANO DE 1791
LA REPARACION
DEL MUY ANTIGUO FARO
DE LA CORUNA
COMENZADA EN EL REINADO
Y
DE ORDEN DE
CARLOS III.

quisite sculpture. In the town there is a small, but well-constructed, market-place. The part of it appropriated to the sale of meat, fowl, and fish, is covered in; that for vegetables and fruit is in the open air. The proprietors have small wooden houses at one side, which are situated near the sea, and from the arrangement of the entire, I suspect the plan to be English.

Nothing can exceed the animation and patriotism of the inhabitants; all ranks and ages are equally ardent. They have formed themselves into corps, and are constantly employed on some military duty. Numerous and strong patroles perambulate the town and vicinity by night and day. In short, the enthusiasm and zeal, which we had hitherto known but by description, we here see realised to the most full extent; and from the energy they inspire, it is un-

avoidable to infer how much may be accomplished by a people determined to be free; and how sincerely to be lamented is the contrast of inactivity, to which we have so long been unhappily accustomed. On this point I must expatiate: the fact is indisputable, that from Salamanca to Corunna there has been little or no exertion on the part of the natives to oppose the enemy, or to assist us their allies. No man who has a respect for truth or character can affirm the contrary; but the motives of this inertness have not been considered, and conclusions have been drawn from it, unjust to the Spanish character, and unfavourable to the Spanish cause. To form a fair judgment, you must remember the period of our entrance into Spain: that immediately subsequent to it, their armies of the North were defeated and dispersed. For this calamitous

event they were wholly unprepared; disunion reigned in the Provincial Juntas, from the intrigues of some ambitious and interested men; and, even had their government been well organised, it was not reasonable to expect that their armies should be suddenly recruited so near the scene of action, after such unlooked-for and fatal disasters. The long repose they had enjoyed, and their disuse of arms, had rendered them unequal matches for the French; and it will be the wonder of future ages, that, under these circumstances, such resistance was made by an undisciplined people to the armies which had overrun Europe, and vanquished its best troops. The Marquis de la Romana, the last hope of the Asturias, did all that was practicable to co-operate with us, and was most anxious to engage the enemy at Astorga. His wish was over-ruled, as you

already know, from an apprehended scarcity of provision; and on his ability and spirit no imputation can be justly thrown. In the latter quality, Sir John Moore yields to no man; but the Spanish general was better able to appreciate the accumulating difficulties of our retreat, and probably had them in contemplation when he proposed a battle.

But the want of their assistance in the field is not so much insisted on, as their inhospitable reception of us, the abandonment of their houses, and concealment of their provisions. Here too, in candour, I must be their apologist, and declare my conviction, that in many instances the charge is unfounded, and in all exaggerated. They who are the most loud in their complaints, would do well to recollect, that the military are not much oppressed by civilities at home; that the houses of the nobility and

gentry are not at all times open to them; that their society is not absolutely courted; and, if I am correct in this information, let me ask, do they honestly think that an army of thirty thousand Spaniards would be better received in England than they were in Spain? I doubt it much. Besides, in the hurry of our retreat, and till then the grievance was but little felt, we moved in very large bodies; Sir David Baird's column had traversed a considerable part of the route, from Astorga to Lugo, three times before, which might be well supposed to exhaust a country of greater resources; the rapidity of our march had no very exhilarating tendency; and the people, dispirited and alarmed, began to look to self-preservation as the primary or sole object of their care. Add to this, the horror and dismay which the excesses of our soldiers struck, and you will

not be surprised that villages and towns were frequently deserted by a population of, say, two hundred, to make room for ten times the number of men in arms, whom they justly dreaded. Religious prejudice had its share in the alienation complained of; and they had too much of melancholy evidence to support their ignorant persuasion, that we were not Christians. It mattered not that our faith was right, and theirs was wrong—error is always more obstinate than truth; and on this occasion, while many things occurred to confirm this absurd opinion, there was but little done to undeceive them. The few who remained fell victims to their rash confidence, or to the impossibility of removing the little property that was left them; being either driven out of their houses to perish in the snow, or in some instances dispatched by a less tedious

operation. With such terrible examples before their eyes, is it matter of much astonishment, that the Gallician peasantry fled into the fastnesses of their mountains, intimidated by our presence, and confounded by our crimes?

Notwithstanding these lamentable and opprobrious truths, there is much to be said, if not in vindication, at least in apology for, and explanation of, the conduct of the army. You must have observed, that their excesses did not commence till after the intended attack on Carrion was abandoned, and that they had been marched back in the middle of the night to Sahagun and Villada. Their hopes had been elevated to the highest pitch, and they ascribed their disappointment to the treachery and cowardice of the Spaniards, and the want of a promised co-operation. With this idea strong upon their

minds, hearing that the enemy was in close pursuit, and knowing that their flight was precipitate, all the disgrace, all the mortification, and all the inconveniencies attached to this, were attributed to Spain. In their treatment, therefore, of the unoffending inhabitants, they thought themselves wreaking just vengeance on the authors of their shame and misery; and erroneous as their reasoning was, he must be ignorant of the character of a soldier, and indeed of human nature, who will not make allowance for the influence of such a misconception. Besides, their sufferings were of an extreme poignancy; day after day, fatigue and cold and hunger were the comfortless meed of their exertions; provisions were sometimes not to be procured by the Commissaries, at other times could not be carried on; again were destroyed by stragglers, who, unable

to keep up with their regiments, were thus deprived of their regular *rations*, and must have perished if they had not plundered.

It is said, that the officers should have restrained the excesses of their men; and much blame is imputed to them in the General Orders. That it is their duty to superintend the conduct of the soldiers under their command, and to prevent and punish crimes, there cannot be a doubt; but the question is merely as to the possibility of their usual attention during this disastrous march; and I maintain, that, unless they had been gifted with supernatural strength of constitution, it was not possible for them, after an exposure to rain or snow for twelve hours, to perform this duty when they came into quarters. Not even the Captains were permitted to ride; they had no indulgence which was denied to the men: their suffer-

ings were the same; and had they employed themselves at night in listening to complaints, arranging billets, and regulating the delivery of provisions, it requires not the testimony of a physician to pronounce, that the army would have been, ere long, unofficered. Of that part of it with which I was best acquainted, Major-General Hill's brigade, I can truly assert, that when a complaint was made to him, be the hour ever so late, or the weather so unfavourable, the matter was immediately investigated in person by one of his aid-de-camps or brigade-major, and so far as fell within their power, nothing was neglected. But regimental officers were not equal to such exertions; and if more was required than their powers could accomplish, however it may be regretted that they were not cast in a gigantic mould, it must be admitted that

little or no blame was fairly imputable to them.

In addition to this fact, that the capabilities of the army were miscalculated, and that they were pressed beyond their speed, it cannot be concealed that they had completely lost their temper; that murmurs and dissatisfaction spread throughout the ranks; that they were eager for battle, and indignant at retreat; and often have I heard them declare a determination not to march another day, and express an anxiety to wait for the enemy, be his numbers ever so great. It was argued, too, with some plausibility, that the losses we sustained by sickness, arising from fatigue, could not be surpassed by the result of an engagement; and it irritated the troops to see their files reduced ingloriously, which might have fallen with honour and advantage in the field.

You are aware that I do not mean to offer this in justification of their misconduct, but merely state it as one of the causes which almost necessarily produced it; and I am not singular in thinking, that a mind of more comprehensive reach than that which guided our operations, would have foreseen and prevented those lamentable events. If it be true, that the danger of our retreat being cut off was imminent, and that a scarcity of provisions was apprehended in the event of halting, it must ever be a subject of the deepest regret, that the army was placed in so desperate a situation; but had a battle been fought and won, there can be little doubt that our ranks would have been reinforced, and our stores replenished by the peasantry; and without adverting to the wishes of the troops, had the interests of both countries been understood, the experi-

ment would have been well worth the risk, whether it failed or succeeded. As it has been managed, in avoiding the enemy our means of resistance are every day diminished; and when he overtakes us, or we wait for him, whatever may be accomplished by British spirit it is feared will be far short of what might have been done, had it been earlier attempted.—But the troops are marching in from Lugo, and I must learn the news.

LETTER XXIV.

Harbour of Corunna, Jan. 17.

On the 6th our advanced posts were attacked by the enemy, who, after some sharp skirmishing, were repulsed with loss: on the 7th they renewed the attack, with a considerable increase of force, and, after a severe contest, were again driven back by the formidable and never-failing British bayonet.

From the approach of their infantry, a general engagement appeared to be inevitable. Sir John Moore took up a strong position with the entire of his force, and expressed* his confidence in their valour in the long-wished for action. During the 8th the two armies

* See Appendix, No. 32.

stood at bay; neither would attack. Soult had such an evident advantage of position, and such a supposed superiority in numbers, that it was considered unsafe and injudicious for us to advance; and he probably waiting for reinforcement, to make "assurance doubly sure," and conscious of the goodness of his position, declined to attack. Our army burned with angry and sullen expectation, tempestuous torrents pouring on them incessantly; and the day, so big with hope, was closed in disappointment. Yielding to an imperious necessity, our gallant troops were marched off at night, and fires left lighting to deceive the enemy, there not being more than a sufficiency of provision for the ensuing day, nor any means of conveying a supply that could be depended on from Corunna. Indescribable were their sufferings upon this last retreat; it is not in

language to give an adequate idea of them; and countless were the numbers who were left in the hospitals at Lugo, or sunk upon the road under the accumulated miseries of cold, fatigue, and hunger.

The appearance of the survivors, on entering Corunna, was of a most disheartening and pitiable nature. Many were the officers and privates who were literally barefoot, having neither shoe nor stocking; some without hats, others without coats, or in such tattered rags as merely mocked their nakedness. From this woful plight the Brigade of Guards was almost a singular exception, though they had sustained more hardships than the majority of the army, frequently acting with or constituting a part of the reserve; and I mention the fact, to correct a prejudice, in every sense vulgar, against these truly fine corps. Their Officers

are generally men of rank or fortune; and so far from this being an objection to them, it is, in my mind, the best security for the discharge of their duty to their King and Country, even under the most afflictive circumstances.

This day the guns on the fortification, commanding the harbour, were spiked by us, to prevent the possibility of our ships being annoyed by the enemy, in the event of their gaining possession of the town, after we shall have embarked. To this measure the Governor, though most zealous in his co-operation with us, objected strongly; and the Officer, to whom the execution of it was entrusted, had no small difficulty in obtaining his consent.

The inhabitants begin to be alarmed for their safety; and seeing that we only wait the arrival of the transports, and that in

the few which are here we are sending off our artillery, horses, and baggage, they anticipate the horrors of their impending fate, and are concealing or removing their effects in the best manner that circumstances admit. Those who have taken a distinguished part in opposition to the French, are justly apprehensive of their vengeance, and, abandoning their property, think only of their lives, and are flying along the coast to seek for obscurity and shelter. Many of them, however, are most usefully employed in repairing the works and mounting the guns, of which they had been dismantled; and the universal spirit of activity that animates the town, presents a picture of most uncommon interest.

Early on the 13th an alarm was spread by the explosion of two magazines of powder, which produced some ridiculous

and some pitiable scenes. The concussion was so great, that many of the windows were broken, and the terrified inhabitants, but principally women and children, ran half-naked into the streets, convinced that the enemy was at the gates. The powder was in two Spanish depôts, which it was judged prudent to deprive the enemy of the possibility of employing against us. In the explosion, a few of our men unhappily lost their lives.

In the evening our army took a position on the hills, between two and three miles from the town, and Orders * were issued to confine the men to camp, and to complete them to seventy rounds of ammunition each. The enemy pushed some picquets across the water at Burgo on the 14th, but not without

* See Appendix, No. 33.

sustaining considerable loss from our reserve, which was posted on the heights.

About two in the afternoon the much-wished-for fleet from Vigo appeared in view, and great and general was the joy it diffused. The embarkation of the sick and guns and horses proceeded with alacrity; of the latter, the number was not considerable, the majority having been completely worn out, and the beach being covered with the bodies of these once noble animals, which had been shot as unserviceable.

On the 15th it was observed that strong reinforcements had joined the enemy, and that he occupied a more forward position, and, as was expected from this circumstance, he attacked our advanced guard and outposts. Nothing could exceed the intrepidity and steadiness of our troops, which resisted and repelled repeated attacks, the

day being consumed in this desultory warfare. The Artillery was eminently efficient, and asserted its superiority by soon silencing the guns which were brought out against them. Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, of the 5th, gave fatal testimony of his undaunted spirit, and sacrificed his life to an ardour which could not be restrained. In him the service has sustained a severe loss, and particularly his own regiment, whose discipline and appearance were brought to such perfection, as proved the talent and assiduity of its commander.

Orders* were this day issued relative to embarkation; but the enemy is too strong and near to us to attempt it without a battle. During the forenoon of the 16th, three fresh divisions were seen to join him, and an engagement was inevitable, though their

* See Appendix, No. 34.

numbers were about three times ours, and their position formidably strong. His attack commenced upon our right, on which the village of Elvina lay. It was of the most impetuous and determined description; and principally directed against Lord William Bentinck's brigade, and the brigade of guards, a battalion of which was exposed to a most galling fire, which they could not return; but the bravery of our troops not only prevented the enemy from making an impression, but drove him back upon his crowded columns in confusion and dismay. Unable to force our right, he endeavoured to turn it by numbers. In this, too, he was disappointed by a skilful movement of Major-General Paget, who, with the reserve, vigorously attacked him, and, by the rapidity and effect of his advance, threatened the left of his position.

Our centre was the next object of attack, and with no better success, Majors-General

Manningham and Leith's brigades compelling him in a short time to desist. Our left, the picquets of which had been hitherto engaged, had now to encounter a serious and last effort, the enemy having got possession of a village on the high road, which was in front of that part of our line. From this he was soon driven by some companies of the 14th, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls, and the enemy confined himself to a cannonade and the fire of light troops, to cover the retreat of his other corps, till darkness terminated the contest; and we found ourselves not only masters of the field of battle, but more advanced than we had been in the morning. Our army was marched off at ten at night, fires having been left lighting, and the picquets stationed as usual; and by the admirable exertions of the navy the whole was embarked with immediate

expedition, except the brigades of Majors-General Hill and Beresford, which were left on shore to cover the embarkation.

Early on the 17th the enemy occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour, and soon after opened a battery upon our shipping. The only ill effect of this was the terror it inspired in some of the masters of the transports, who, under the influence of fear, ran their vessels upon rocks, and but for the prompt assistance of the boats of the King's ships, many are the lives which must have been lost in consequence. A fresh and favourable breeze providentially springing up in the afternoon, we all rode in safety out of the reach of batteries, and the greater part of the fleet stood out for sea. On my arrival, I shall acquaint you with further particulars.

Portsmouth, 26th January.—After a tempestuous voyage, I am once more safe in England, and I lose no time in concluding and forwarding my letter. The able and satisfactory dispatch of General Hope will inform you, better than I can from other sources, of all the interesting occurrences in the battle of the 16th; and I shall therefore content myself with a very few remarks.

When the circumstances under which the battle of Corunna was fought and won are considered, the victory of that day must be admitted to redound pre-eminently to the credit of the British army. In numbers they were far exceeded, not having twelve thousand in the field, and a considerable part of them on the left of the line not engaged, opposed to above thirty thousand French. Did not the event contradict it, one might

presume that the spirits of our men would have been depressed, and their physical powers exhausted, by the hardships they had sustained: if it were so, the appearance of the enemy operated as a magic spell; their minds were revivified, and their nerves restrung; and they were equally distinguished for the coolness that awaits, and the courage that conducts attack. It is no diminution from their merit on this head, that the French had traversed the same route; for it does not follow that they suffered the same evils, the pursuing having always a manifest advantage over the retreating army. It must be noticed, too, that all that was done, was effected by our gallant troops with little of the wonted aid of that tremendous engine of artillery. There were but four English guns in the action, the rest having been previously em-

barked; their absence was badly supplied by Spanish pieces, with which our men were dissatisfied. Nor had they a sufficient supply of ammunition: on this account twice they were obliged to withdraw their guns, and on receiving a replenishment, returned to their post. But on the whole, the want of their assistance was severely felt; and when the admirable perfection to which our artillery has been brought, and the brilliancy of their recent services in Portugal were remembered, it could not but be lamented that so essential an arm had been paralised or cut off. It was beside an unparalleled misfortune, that not only should Sir John Moore have fallen so early in the action, but that the second in command, Sir David Baird, should but a short time before have been so dangerously wounded, as to be obliged to leave the field. The deprivation

of two such heroic leaders would have checked the ardour of any troops but ours; yet much as they must have mourned so great a calamity, it seemed but to inspire them with fresh animation; and they rushed upon the foe with a redoubled eagerness to avenge, and, if possible, to compensate the loss they had sustained.

I will not insult the memory of Sir John Moore by the distortion or concealment of truth, nor subscribe to the silly and mischievous maxim of "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" In the abilities which are requisite to conduct the operations of a great army, he was thought deficient; and he did not remedy the defect by resorting to the advice of others: but in love for his country, zeal for the service, solicitude for its honour, and intrepidity of spirit, he never was, and never can be, surpassed. Such qualities as

these demand and will receive the gratitude and admiration of posterity; and the most warm of his advocates, if they respect the nearly unanimous opinion of the army, must be contented with this limited applause.

Though the course of the campaign was calamitous in the extreme, the termination of it was honourable, and the effects of it may be important. Time has been afforded to the South of Spain to prepare for the attack which must be meditated against that part of the Peninsula; and a further considerable period must elapse before the enemy, which pursued and was defeated by us, can be in a condition to commence offensive operations at such a distance from the point at which we left them.

We have shewn to Europe the steadiness of our perseverance in the cause of freedom,

and the value of our support; and, under every disadvantage, we have taught the vain Frenchman to fear and to respect the strength and spirit of a British army.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

The army employed on the expedition to Spain and Portugal consisted of the following troops:

Commander in Chief—Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple.
Second in Command—Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Burrard.

FIRST DIVISION.

Lieut.-Gen. Hon. John Hope.

2d Foot	700	
4th ditto, 1st bat.	978	
28th ditto, 1st bat.	1000	
Brig.-Gen. Acland		2678
79th Foot, 1st bat.	1000	
91st ditto, 1st bat.	940	
92d ditto, 1st bat.	940	
Major-Gen. Ferguson		2880
		5558

SECOND DIVISION.

Lieut.-Gen. Lord Paget.

6th Foot, 1st bat.	900	
29th ditto, 1st bat.	800	
32d ditto, 1st bat.	900	
Major-Gen. Spencer		2600
5th Foot, 1st bat.	1000	
50th ditto, 1st bat.	950	
32d ditto, 1st bat.	950	
Brig.-Gen. Nightingale		2900
		5500

THIRD DIVISION.

Lieut.-Gen. Mackenzie Fraser.

9th Foot, 1st bat.	900	
9th ditto, 2d bat.	950	
40th ditto	990	
Major-Gen. Hill		2840
36th Foot, 1st bat.	900	
45th ditto	910	
97th ditto	790	
Brig.-Gen. Fane		2600
		5440

FOURTH DIVISION.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Wellesley.

20th Foot, 1st. bat.	600	
38th ditto, 1st bat.	980	
71st ditto, 1st bat.	950	
Brig.-Gen. Crawford		2530
4 bats. Light Infantry of the German Legion	2800	
Brig.-Gen. Murray		2800
		5330

RESERVE.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Moore.

18th Light Dragoons	640	
3d German Legion ditto	563	
Brig.-Gen. Hon. C. Stewart		1203
52d Foot, 1st bat.	955	
52d ditto, 2d bat.	820	
95th ditto, 1st bat.	900	
Brig.-Gen. Anstruther		2675
43d Foot, 2d bat.	800	
60th ditto, 5th bat.	940	
Light Infantry, 2 German bats. .	1800	
Brig.-Gen. Robert Stewart		3540
		7418

TOTAL.

1st Division	5553
2d ditto	5500
3d ditto	5440
4th ditto	5330
Reserve	7418
	29246

No. 2.

Thanks to the Army, in General Orders, after the Battle of the 17th August, 1808.

"*Head-quarters, Lourinha, August* 18.

"The Lieutenant-General was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the troops in the action of yesterday, particularly with the gallantry displayed by the 5th, 9th, 29th, 60th, and 95th regiments, to whose lot it principally fell to engage the enemy.

"From the specimen afforded yesterday of their behaviour in action, the Lieutenant-General feels confident that the troops will distinguish themselves whenever the enemy may give them another occasion; and it is only necessary for him to recommend to them a steady attention to their preservation of order and regularity, and strict obedience to the commands which the Officers may give.

"G. B. Tucker, D. A.G."

No. 3.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. on the 17th of August, 1808.

Officers—4 killed, 20 wounded, 4 missing. Non-commissioned officers and drummers—3 killed, 20 wounded, 2 missing. Rank and file—63 killed, 295 wounded, 68 missing. Horses—1 killed, 2 wounded.

Total—Officers, non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, killed, wounded, and missing, 479. Total—Horses killed and wounded, 3.

Names of Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the 17th August, 1808.

General Staff, Captain K. I. Bradford, 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, killed.

Royal Artillery, Captain H. Geary, killed.

Royal Engineers, Captain Howard Elphinstone, wounded, badly.

5th Foot, Major Eames, slightly, Lieutenant Doyle, wounded.

9th ditto, Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, severely. Major Molle, Captain Sankey, Ensign Nichols, wounded.

29th ditto, Lieutenant-Colonel, the Honourable G. A. F. Lake, killed; Major G. Way, Thomas

Egerton, Captain P. Hodge, A. Patison; Lieutenant R. Birmingham, St. John, W. Lucas, Robert Stannus, wounded; Captain George Tod, William Birmingham, Ambrose, Newbold, Thomas Langton, missing.

6th ditto, Captain John Currey, wounded, slightly.

45th ditto, Ensign Dawson, killed; Lieutenant Burke, wounded, slightly.

82nd ditto, Lieutenant R. Reid, wounded, dangerously.

60th ditto, Lieutenant Kiety, Ensign Danus, Adjutant De Gilso, wounded, slightly.

95th ditto, Captain Creagh, Lieutenant Hill, Lieutenant Cortman, wounded, slightly.

No. 4.

Thanks to the Army, in General Orders, after the Battle of the 21st August, 1808.

"*Head-quarters, Vimiera, August* 21.

"Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley congratulates the army on the signal victory they have this day obtained over the enemy, and returns them his warmest thanks for their resolute and heroic conduct. He experienced the sincerest pleasure in witnessing various instances of the gallantry of the corps, and has in particular to notice the distinguished behaviour of the Royal Artillery, 20th

Light Dragoons, the 36th, 40th, 2d battalion 43d, 50th, 2d battalion 52d, 60th, 71st, 82d, 2d battalion 95th, and 97th Regiments. It will afford the Lieutenant-General the greatest pleasure to repeat to the Commander in Chief the bravery displayed by all the troops, and the high sense he entertains of their meritorious and excellent conduct throughout the day.

"G. B. Tucker, D. A. G."

No. 5.

Return of Ordnance and Ammunition taken in the Action of the 21st instant.

One 6 pounder, four 4 pounders, three 2 pounders, six 5½ inch howitzers, 2 ammunition waggons, 21 Portuguese ammunition cars, 40 horses, 4 mules.

The above is only the number already arrived in the park; but from several accounts there are eight more taken from the enemy. The ammunition waggons and cars contain a portion of powder, shells, and stores of all descriptions, and about twenty thousand rounds of musquet ammunition.

Wm. Robe, Lieut. Col.
Commanding Royal Artillery.

No. 6.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. on the 21st of August, 1808.

Officers—4 killed, 37 wounded, 2 missing. Non-commissioned officers and drummers—3 killed, 31 wounded, 3 missing. Rank and file—123 killed, 466 wounded, 46 missing. Horses—30 killed, 12 wounded, 1 missing.

Total—Officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file killed, wounded, and missing, 720. Total---Horses killed, wounded, and missing, 43.

Names of the Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing on the 21st of August, 1808.

General Staff, Captain Hardinge, 57th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, wounded.

Royal Engineers, first Lieutenant, Wells, missing.

20th Light Dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, killed; Captain Eustace, missing.

20th Foot, Lieutenant Brook, killed; Lieutenant Hogg, wounded.

29th ditto, Brevet Major Creagh, wounded.

36th ditto, Captain Herbert, slightly; Lieutenant Hart, ditto; Lieutenant Lough, ditto; Lieutenant Edwards, ditto; Ensign Bone, ditto; Lieutenant and Adjutant Povah, severely wounded.

40th ditto, Captain Smith, Lieutenant Frankly, slightly wounded.

43rd ditto, Major Hearn, Captain Ferguson, Captain Brock, Captain Haverfield, Lieutenant Madden, Ensign Wilson, wounded.

50th ditto, Captain O. G. Cooke, killed; Major Charles Hill, Lieutenant John Kent, John Wilson, Robert Hay, wounded.

52nd ditto, Captain Ewart, Lieutenant Bell, wounded.

60th ditto, Lieutenant Charles Kirk, Lewis Rithe, wounded.

71st ditto, Captain Jones, slightly; M. M'Kenzie, ditto; Lieutenant J. D. Pratt, severely; Wm. Hartley, ditto; R. Dudgeon, ditto; A. S. M'Intyre, slightly; Ensign W. Campell, ditto; Acting Adjutant R. M'Alpin, severely wounded.

82nd ditto, Lieutenant R. Donkin, killed.

95th ditto, Lieutenant Pratt, Ensign Wm. Cox, wounded.

97th ditto, Major J. Wilson, Lieutenant E. Kettlewell, wounded.

No. 7.

" *Suspension d'Armes arrêtée entre Monsieur le Chevalier Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant Général, et Chevalier de l'ordre du Bain, d'une Part, et Monsieur le Général de Division Kellermann, Grand Officier de la Legion d'Honneur, Commandeur de l'ordre de la Coronne de Fer, Grand Croix de l'ordre du Lion de Bavière, de l'autre Part: tous deux chargés de Pouvoirs des Généraux respectifs des Armées Françaises et Anglaises.*

" *Au Quartier Général de l'Armée Anglaise.*

Le 22 Août, 1808.

" Art. 1. Il y aura à dater de ce jour une suspension d'armes entre les Armées de Sa Majesté Britannique et de Sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale, Napoleon I, à l'effet de traiter d'une Convention pour l'evacuation du Portugal par l'armée Française.

" Art. 2. Les Généraux en Chef des deux armées et Monsieur le Commandant en Chef la Flotte Britanniques à l'entrée du Tage, prendront jour pour se réunir dans tel point de la côte qu'ils jugeront convenable pour traiter et conclure la dite Convention.

" Art. 3. La Riviére de Sizandre formera la ligne de démarcation établie entre les deux armées; Torres Vedras ne sera occupé ni par l'une ni par l'autre.

" Art. 4. Monsieur le Général en Chef de l'armée

Anglaise s'obligera à comprendre les Portugais armés dans cette suspension d'armes, et pour eux la ligne de démarcation sera établie de Leira à Thomar.

" Art. 5. Il est convenu provisoirement que l'armée Française ne pourra dans aucun cas être considerée comme prisonnière de guerre, que tous les individus qui la composent seront transportés en France avec armes et bagages, leurs propriétés particulières quelconques, dont il ne pourra leur être rien distrait.

" Art. 6. Tout particulier, soit Portuguais, soit d'une nation alliée à la France, soit Français, ne pourra être recherché pour sa conduite politique; il sera protégé, ses propriétés respectées, et il aura la liberté de se retirer du Portugal dans un terme fixé avec ce qu'il lui appartient.

" Art. 7. La neutralité du Port de Lisbonne sera reconnue pour la Flotte Russe, c'est à dire, que lorsque l'armée ou la Flotte Anglaise seront en possession de la ville et du port, la dite Flotte Russe ne pourra être ni inquietée pendant son sejour, ni arrêtée quand elle voudra sortir, ni poursuivie lorsqu'elle sera sortie, qu'après les delais fixes par les lois maritimes.

" Art. 8. Toute l'artillerie de calibre Français ainsi que les chevaux de la Cavalerie seront transportés en France.

" Art. 9. Cette suspension d'armes ne pourra

être rompue qu'on ne se soit prévenu quarante huit heures d'avance.

"Fait et arrête entre les Généraux désignés cy-dessus, au jour et an cy-dessus.

"(Signé) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"Le Général de Division KELLERMANN."

"Article additionel.—Les Garnisons des places occupées par l'armées Français seront comprises dans la presente Convention, si elles n'ont point capitulé avant le 25 du courant.

"(Signé) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,

"Le Général de Division KELLERMANN."

"(A true copy.)

"(Signed) A. J. DALRYMPLE, Capt. Military Sec."

No. 8.

Suspension of Arms agreed on between Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant-General, and Knight of the Bath, on one Part, and the General of Division Kellerman, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of the Iron Crown, Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Bavaria, on the other Part: both charged with Powers by the respective Generals of the French and English Armies.

Head-quarters of the English Army,
Aug. 22, 1808.

Art. 1. There shall be, from the date of this day,

a suspension of arms between the armies of his Britannic Majesty and of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, Napoleon the First, for the purpose of entering into a treaty of Convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

Art. 2. The Generals in Chief of the two armies, and the Commander in Chief of the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus, shall appoint a day to meet on such point of the coast, as they shall think convenient, to treat and conclude on the said Convention.

Art. 3. The river of Sizandro shall form the line of demarcation between the two armies; Torres Vedras shall not be occupied by either.

Art. 4. The General in Chief of the English army shall bind himself to include the armed Portuguese in this suspension of arms, and for them the line of demarcation shall be established from Leira to Thomar.

Art. 5. It is provisionally agreed, that the French army shall not, in any case, be considered as prisoners of war; that all the individuals who compose it shall be conveyed in transports to France, with their arms and baggage, and their private property of every description; of none of which they shall be deprived.

Art. 6. No individual, whether Portugue, whether of a nation allied to France, or Frenchman, shall be molested for his political conduct; he shall be protected, his property respected, and he shall

have liberty to retire from Portugal with his property within a stipulated term.

Art. 7. The neutrality of the Port of Lisbon shall be recognised for the Russian Fleet; that is to say, that when the English army or fleet shall be in possession of the city and port, the said Russian fleet shall not be disturbed while it remains, nor stopped when it wishes to depart, nor pursued after its departure, till after the periods fixed on by the maritime laws.

Art. 8. All the artillery of French calibre, as well as the cavalry horses, shall be conveyed to France.

Art. 9. This suspension of arms shall not be broken without forty-eight hours previous notice.

Done and concluded between the above-named Generals, on the above-named day and year.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
The General of Division, KELLERMAN.

Additional Article.—The garrisons of the places occupied by the French armies shall be included in the present Convention, if they have not capitulated before the 25th of the current month.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
The General of Division, KELLERMAN.

No. 9.

Address of the Field Officers to Sir Arthur Wellesley.

"SIR,

"The Commanding Officers of Corps, and Field Officers, who have had the honour of serving in the army under your command, anxiously desirous of expressing the high opinion they entertain of the order, activity, and judgment, with which the whole of that force was so ably and successfully directed, from the time of landing to the termination of your command in the action of Vimeira, request you will accept from them a piece of Plate, as a testimony of that sincere esteem and respect which your talents and conduct have so justly inspired.

"To the Right Hon. Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. &c. &c. &c."

"SIR,

"It has happily fallen to my lot, as the oldest Field Officer in your army, to have the honour of presenting the inclosed Address, from the Commanding Officers of Corps, and Field Officers serving in it: we have but one sentiment on the occasion,—admiration of your talents, and confidence in your abilities.

"JAMES KEMMIS, Lieut.-Col. 40th, and Colonel.

"*To the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. &c. &c. &c.*"

"SIR,

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter of this day's date, in which you have transmitted an Address from the Officers commanding Corps, and the Field Officers who served under my command in the late operations in Portugal.

"I have had more than one occasion of expressing the satisfaction which I had derived, from the state of discipline and order in which the several corps were kept throughout the service in which we were employed; and my sense of the assistance which I had derived from the Officers belonging to the different departments of the army. These advantages rendered our operations easy and certain; and we were enabled to meet the enemy on fair terms in the field of battle.

"I beg you to convey to the Field Officers of the army, the assurance that I shall not lose the recollection of their services; that I am fully sensible of their kindness towards me; and that I value highly their good opinion.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Colonel Kemmis, 40th Regiment.

W. W. Blake, Major 20th Light Dragoons.

Wm. Robe, Lieut.-Colonel commanding Royal Artillery.

James Viuey, Major Royal Artillery.

H. Elphinston, Captain commanding Royal Engineers.

Edward Copson, Major 5th Regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel.

Thomas Eames, Major 5th Regiment.

Henry Bird, Captain 5th Regiment, and Major.

Thomas Carnu, Major 6th Regiment.

Arthur Miller, Major 6th Regiment.

J. Cameron, Lieut.-Col. commanding 1st Bat. 9th Foot.

H. Craufurd, Major 1st. Bat. 9th Foot, and Lieut.-Colonel.

D. White, Major 29th Regiment Foot, and Lieut.-Colonel.

G. Way, Major 29th Regiment.

Thomas Egerton, Capt. 29th Regiment, and Major.

Andrew Creagh, Captain 29th Regiment, and Major.

Samuel Hinde, Lieut.-Col. commanding 32d Regiment.

H. Johnson, Major 32d Regiment.

John Wood, Major 32d Regiment.

Robert Coote, Captain 32d Regiment, and Major.

Robert Burne, Col. commanding 36th Regiment.

Lewis Davis, Major 36th Regiment.

J. Greville, Lieut.-Col. commanding 38th Regiment.

J. W. Deane, Major 38th Regiment, and Lieut.-Col.

E. Miles, Major 38th Regiment.

David Ross, Captain 38th Regiment, and Major.

James Kemmis, Lieut.-Col. commanding 40th Regiment, and Colonel.

Henry Thornton, Major 40th Regiment.

Richard Archdull, Major 40th ditto.

Edward Hull, Major 2d Battalion 43d.

Daniel Heane, Major 43d.

William Greard, Lieutenant-Col. commanding 45th Regiment.

Andrew Pattan, Major 45th Regiment.

Wm. Gwynn, Major 45th Regiment.

D. Lecky, Brevet-Major 45th Regiment.

A. Cochlan, ditto, ditto.

G. J. Walker, Colonel, commanding 50th Regiment.

J. Ross, Lieut.-Colonel, commanding 2d Battalion 52d Regiment.

H. Ridewood, Major 52d Regiment.

W. G. Davy, Major 5th Battalion 60th Regiment.

W. Woodgate, ditto, ditto.

John Gasse, Brevet-Major, 60th Regiment.

D. Pack, Lieut.-Colonel commanding 71st Regiment.

D. Campbell, Major, 71st Regiment.

Harry Eyre, Major, commanding 82d Regiment.

Chichester M'Donall, Major 82d Regiment.

J. Robinson, Lieut.-Colonel, commanding 91st Regiment.

J. Douglas, Major 91st Regiment.

B. H. Otley, Major 91st Regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel.

D. M'Donnell, Captain 91st Regiment, and Major.

Robert Travers, Major, commanding 95th Regiment.

STAFF.

Henry Torrens, Lieutenant-Colonel and Military Secretary.

George Tucker, Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy-Adjutant-General.

Thomas Arbuthnot, Major and Deputy-Assistant-do.

Andrew Pattan, do. do. do.

William Gunn, do. do. do.

D. Leeky, do. do. do.

A. Coghlan, do. do. do.

James Bathurst, Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy-Quarter-Master-General.

J. Rainy, Assistant-Deputy-Quarter-Master-General.

To which, by their particular request, are added the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh, and the Field Officers of the 2d Battalion of the 9th Regiment, which arrived previous to the 21st of August, and served in that action.

No. 10.

General Report of Fort St. Juliens, and the Defences of the Coast-line West of it, as far as the Rock of Lisbon.

Lisbon, 28th Sept. 1808.

Fort St. Juliens.

This work stands on a projecting part of the shore on the north side of the entrance of the Tagus, and co-operates with the town of Bugio, in the defence of the mouth of that river.

It is an irregular work, presenting, towards the land, a front of five hundred and thirty feet, and having a scarp-wall forty-five feet in height, which is raised considerably above the sea defences, in order to cover them against the reverse fire from a hill about five hundred and twenty yards north-north-east from the fortress, and the summit of which is upon a superior level to any part of the work. Before the land-front is a low ravelin. The land, and part of the left front, have galleries for counter-mines.

There are two entrances to the river, one between Fort St. Juliens, and a ledge of rocks about six hundred yards from it; and the other between the same rocks, and a sand on which the town of Bugio is built.

The northern passage is well defended, as ships

must pass within a short range of the guns of the fort, and be exposed to them in various directions. In the southern channel they may, I believe, pass at a more considerable range from either the fort or the town. The sea defences, at Fort St. Juliens, are well provided with furnaces for heating shot.

This work contains souterains for about a thousand men, and barracks for five hundred. The casemates are, however, not well aired, and were found by the French to be unhealthy. Many of them are not, I think, in their present state, proof against a heavy fire of large shells.

There are several extensive case-mated stores, and a magazine for about two thousand barrels, but which is said not to preserve powder in good order for any length of time.

There are five smaller magazines, for the immediate use of the batteries, which may contain fifty or sixty rounds for each gun. The fort also contains case-mated tanks for about three hundred thousand gallons of water.

The defences towards the sea are mounted with seventy-five pieces of artillery, in an upper and lower range of batteries; the latter having the guns en barbette, and being about forty feet above the level of high water.

In proceeding from Fort St. Juliens towards Cascaes, the first work is a battery, at the distance of about two thousand yards, called Fort Jonquieres.

This presents eight guns, which co-operate with St. Juliens, in defence of a fine sandy bay. It is (like most of the batteries on this coast) inclosed towards the rear, and has an arched barrack; but, in many of them, the guns, and men, would be very imperfectly covered against musquetry from the ground near them. From Fort St. Juliens, to the battery of Jonquieres, is a continued parapet for small arms, well disposed, upon a broken line, and which, if occupied, would, with the works on its flanks, render a landing, here, altogether impracticable.

The next work, towards Cascaes, is Fort Antonio, at the distance of about two miles from Fort Jonquieres. This is a square work of about one hundred and seventy feet front, having a scarp nearly thirty feet high towards the land, which is well covered by a counter-scarp; but its flanks are so small as to add little or nothing to its defence.—It presents twelve guns in three tiers, en barbette, towards the sea; the lowest not less than sixty feet above high-water mark. This work contains case-mated cover for two hundred and fifty, or three hundred men, with good stores, a magazine, and a cistern. It is not commanded within about a thousand yards; and, though very small, it would not, I think, be taken, if properly defended, without establishing some artillery against it. The coast-line, for some distance, on each side of this work, is extremely rocky, and difficult to ascend.

About nine hundred yards west of Fort Antonio, is a small battery (No. 3, from St. Juliens) made to defend a little bay, in conjunction with another work, two hundred yards from it: they are now both abandoned.

The next battery (No. 5, from Fort St. Juliens) has a good platform for seven guns.—It is about four hundred yards from No. 4.

No. 6, about two hundred yards from No. 5, is called Little St. Anthony: it mounts four guns. From No. 3 to No. 4, and from No. 5 to No. 6, is a line of musquetry parapet.—From No. 6 to No. 7 is a distance of about two hundred yards.—They are also connected by a line for small arms. No. 8 is about eleven hundred yards from No. 7, and commands one side of the bay of Cascaes: it mounts six guns through embrasures. There is another battery, opposite to the town, called Fort St. Catharines, and which, also, assists in the defence of the bay: it has fourteen embrasures, but only five guns mounted. From No. 8 to this work, a distance of about four hundred yards, a musquetry parapet is continued. Upon the whole, considerable attention has been paid, by the erection of so many batteries, and by the construction of lines for small arms, to the defence of the bay, formed by St. Juliens on one side, and the point of Cascaes on the other.

Fort of Cascaes.

The Fort of Cascaes is an irregular square.—The length of the land front is one hundred and sixty-nine yards, that of the left two hundred and forty-nine yards; the south side is one hundred and ninety yards in length, and the east one hundred and sixty-seven.

The work presents, towards the sea, on the east and south side, two parapet batteries; the former commanding the bay of Cascaes, and mounted with seventeen 18-pounders: and the latter looking towards the roadsted, or anchorage, and mounting twenty-six guns, 36, 24, and 12-pounders. In the angle, formed by these sides, is a small work, called the Citadel, raised about twelve feet above the general level of the land defences, and about thirty above those towards the sea.

The fort is in an unfinished state: on the land front scarcely any part of the rampart is found, and much remains to be done to it on the west front, which, from its present state, and from some rising ground near it, is particularly weak.—The land, close to the defences, is much embarrassed by buildings.

The work contains souterains for about a thousand men, some of which, however, do not appear to be proof against the repeated shocks of heavy shells.—It has barracks, covered with a thin arch,

for about eight hundred men, and case-mated stables for a hundred horses.

This fort has two principal magazines, the first of which will contain about three hundred, and the other two hundred, barrels of powder.—It has, also, two other magazines, which, together, might contain two hundred barrels.

From Cascaes, towards the west of the coast-line, is, for a considerable distance, rocky, and difficult to land a body of men.—There are, however, small batteries at certain distances, some of which are inclosed in the rear, and have arched barracks raised, to cover the guns against a reverse fire from the land. The first of these is about two hundred and fifty yards from Cascaes: it is called Fort St. Marta, and co-operates immediately in the defence of the bay and roadsted: it has, also, four guns bearing westward. The next battery is about a mile and a half from Cascaes, and is called Fort Guia: it is about sixty feet above the level of the sea, and contains four 12-pounders, en barbette; near it is an open battery for two howitzers and two mortars. About two thousand yards further west, is another inclosed battery, called Fort St. George: it is nearly square, and constructed for six guns, through embrasures.

Its height, above the sea, is about forty-five feet.—Within about seven hundred yards is a commanding hill, or knoll, on which are some remains of an

old work; but it is now only occupied as a signal post.—The coast line, from Fort Guia to Fort St. George, continues rocky, and nearly impracticable to ascend, though it is somewhat lower than between the former and Cascaes. About two thousand yards from Fort St. George, is another small work, called Fort St. Brasse, situated on Point Sanchette: it contains five guns through embrasures, three to the front, and two to the flanks.—The coast-line, from Fort St. George to Point Sanchette, though low, is rocky, and difficult.

Proceeding westward, the next inclosed battery is at the distance of about two miles, and is called Fort Guinche: it has embrasures for seven guns, but has only five mounted. Between this and Fort St. Brasse are three open batteries, without any guns mounted, two of which are intended to co-operate with Fort Guinche in the defence of a sandy bay; on about seven hundred yards of which, I think, a landing might be effected, with the wind off shore, or with very light winds from the sea.—This bay, and one smaller, to the east of it, and in the defence of which two of the batteries I have mentioned would act, are the only places between Cascaes and the Rock of Lisbon, in which a debarkation, in force, would not be attended with extreme difficulty, even under the most favourable circumstances.

On a small ledge of rocks, a little below the

Cabo de Roca, is an old battery, on which are eight dismounted, unserviceable, guns, and which is now abandoned.

The coast-line, from Fort Guinche to the battery of the rock, is mountainous, and very unfavourable to an attempt to land a body of men.

RICHARD FLETCHER,
Major and Commanding Royal Engineer.

No. 11.

Definitive Convention for the Evacuation of Portugal by the French Army.

"The Generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negociate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d instant, for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negociate the same in their names, viz.—On the part of the General-in-Chief of the British Army, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General; and on the part of the General-in-Chief of the French army, Monsieur Kellermann, General of Division, to whom they have given authority to negociate and conclude a Convention to that effect, subject to their ratifica-

tion respectively, and to that of the Admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus.

"Those two Officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the Articles which follow:—

"Art. 1. All the Places and Forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present Convention.

"Art. 2. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

"Art. 3. The English Government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the Ports of France, between Rochfort and L'Orient inclusively.

"Art. 4. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the Ratification of the Convention.

"Art. 5. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under

the name of property of the army, that is to say, its military chest, and carriages attached to the Field-Commissariat and Field-Hospitals, or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the Commander-in-Chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property, of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

"Art. 6. The Cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the Generals and other Officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British Commanders are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the Port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred, and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.

"Art. 7. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the Garrisons of the places, of the Cavalry, the Artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the Ratification, or sooner if possible.

"Art. 8. The Garrison of Elvas and its Forts,

and of Peniché and Palmela will be embarked at Lisbon. That of Almaida at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British Commissaries charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.

"Art. 9. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are entrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country at the expense of the British Government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English Government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical Officers shall be left behind to attend them.

"Art. 10. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

"Art. 11. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon; and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and will be so

placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.

"Art. 12. The Forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the Ratification of the Convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the Forts and Batteries as far as the Lazaretto or Trafuria on one side, and Fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition; the fortresses of Elvas, Almaida, Peniché, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time, the General-in-Chief of the British army will give notice of the present Convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

"Art. 13. Commissioners shall be named on both sides to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

"Art. 14. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any Article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

"Art. 15. From the date of the ratification of the present Convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against subjects of Portugal, or any

other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops, in the month of December 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled, and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

" Art. 16. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliates in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected. Their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected, and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country, where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood, that shipping is excepted from this arrangement only however in so far as regards leaving the port, and that none of the stipulations above-mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.

" Art. 17. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army, and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or who have ac-

cepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property; it not having been at their option to be obedient, or not, to the French government; they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th Article.

" Art. 18. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon, shall be given up to the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.

" Art. 19. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.

" Art. 20. Hostages of the rank of Field Officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officer of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the Articles which concern the army; and the officer of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own

country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

" Art. 21. It shall be allowed to the General-in-Chief of the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British Admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochfort.

" Art. 22. The British Admiral will be invited to accommodate his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the other principal officers of the French Army, on board of ships of war.

" Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

" (Signed) Geo. Murray, Quarter-Master-General.

" Kellerman, le Général de Division.

" Nous, Duc d'Abrantes, Général-en-Chef de l'Armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions la presente Convention Definitive, dans tous ses Articles, pour être executée selon sa forme et teneur."

" (Signé) Le Duc D'Abrantes.

" Au Quarter-Général de Lisbonne,

" Le 30me Août, 1808.

" *Additional Articles to the Convention of the 30th of August*, 1808.

" Art. 1. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made prisoners, either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of

Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

"Art. 2. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses. The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over, in the usual form, to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expence beyond the estimation to be made by both parties, of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army.

"The provisions on board the ships of war in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British Government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses.

"Art. 3. The General commanding British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

"Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

"(Signed) Geo. Murray, Quarter-Master-General.
"Kellerman, le Général de Division."

"Nous, Duc d'Abrantes, Général-en-Chef de

l'Armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions les Articles additionels à la convention et contre, pour être executés suivant leur forme et teneur.

" (Signé) LE DUC D'ABRANTES."

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) A. J. DALRYMPLE, Captain, Military Sec.

No. 12.

" *Protest which is made by Bernardin Friere de Andrada*, General-Commandant of the Portuguese Troops, against the Articles of Capitulation, conventioned and signed, between the English Army and that of France, for the Evacuation of Portugal.*

" *Head-quarters at Encarnacao, 4th Sept.* 1808.

" I protest in general, for the want of contemplation in said Treaty, of what interests His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, or the government which represents him, and against all that may interfere with the Royal Sovereignty, and its Authority; as also the independence of the said government; against all that may be contrary to the honour, security, and interest of the nation; and he further protests particularly against the following Articles.

* This general has been since put to death for treachery.

" Articles 1, 4, and 12. In the part which determines the delivery up to the British Forces, of the Places, Store-houses, or Magazines, and the Portuguese Ships, without declaring, in any mode, that such surrender is obligatory, as a temporary act, with an intent, immediately after, to restore them to the Prince Regent of Portugal, or to the government which represents him, to whom they belong, and whom the English forces came to assist.

" Art. 16th. Against the part which permits to remain in Portugal, the individuals therein-mentioned.

" Art. 17th. Against that part, which restrains the government of this kingdom from inquiring into the conduct, and punishing, by any means, those individuals who have been scandalously disloyal to their Prince, and their Country, by serving the French party, and when under the protection of the English Army, they will be screened from the punishment which they deserve, and which would, in future, protect this country from a repetition of their treason.

" Additional first Article. Cannot, by any means, be obligatory to the government of this kingdom without a reciprocal clause, but which is not stipulated.

" Finally, I protest against the omission of providing for the security of the inhabitants of the capital, and its environs, that they should not be mo-

lested, or vexed, during the delay of the French amongst them, or at least a reciprocity, as inserted in the Articles 16 and 17, in favour of the French and their followers; and I here limit my protests, to avoid augmenting a list of them, avoiding to make mention of other objects of less consideration, such as the cession of eight hundred horses, without attending to their having been nearly all seized by the French in Portugal, and, consequently, should not have been considered as French property; also the magazines of provisions, furnished at the cost of this country, although in their possession, they had no real right in, as being the unjust possessors of the country.

"BERNARDIN FRIERE DE ANDRADA."

No. 13.

RETURN of *for*

from the *to the* *inclusive,*

180 .

Effective.	No. of Persons.	No. of Horses.	No. of Mules.	No. of Oxen.
Total....				

REMARKS.

Received from His Majesty's Magazine at

Pounds of Biscuit.
Pounds of Bread.
Pounds of Meat.
of Spirits.
of Wine.
Pounds of Oats.
Pounds of Hay.
Pounds of Barley.
Pounds of Indian Corn.
Pounds of Straw.
Pounds of Wood.

Being Days' Rations for the above specified.

No. 14.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Lisbon, 8th October, 1808.

Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard having received his Majesty's commands to place a large proportion of the army in Portugal, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, to be employed in a separate service, the following regiments are to compose the corps to be so employed, and are hereby directed to receive their orders from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, accordingly.

18th Light Dragoons, 3d do. do. K. G. L., 2d Foot, 4th do., 5th, 1st battal. 6th, 9th, 20th, 1st battal. 28th, 32d, 36th, 38th, 40th, 42d, 43d, 52d, 60th, 5th battal. 71st, 1st do. 79th, 91st, 92d, 5 companies of 1st battal. 95th, 4 comps. 2d do. do., 1st light battal. K. G. L., 2d do. do.—2 companies of staff corps.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore directs that the army shall be brigaded as follows:—

18th Light Dragoons, 3d ditto K. G. L.—Brig.-Gen. Hon. C. Stewart.

Lieut.-Gen. Frazer.

4th Foot, 28th ditto, 42d ditto, and 5 companies of 60th—Major-Gen. Lord W. Bentinck.

9th, 1st battal. 43d, 2d ditto 52d—Major-Gen. Beresford.

Lieut.-Gen. Hon. John Hope.

36th, 71st, 92d, and 5 companies of 60th—Brig.-Gen. Crawford.

2d and 6th—Brig.-Gen. Acland.

5th, 32d, and 91st—Major-Gen. Hill.

Major-Gen. Hon. E. Paget.

38th, 79th, and 4 companies of 2d bat. 95th—Brig.-Gen. Fane.

20th, 1st battal. 52d, and 5 companies 1st. bat. 95th.—Brig.-Gen. Anstruther.

1st light battal. K. G. L., 2d ditto ditto—Colonel Alten.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Lisbon, 11*th Oct.* 1808.

The following is to be the equipment of a regiment for the field with respect to horses and mules, which are to be provided as soon as possible; and Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Moore directs it may be distinctly understood, that he considers General Officers, and Officers in the command of regiments, responsible that the establishment is kept constantly complete, and in serviceable order:—

Commanding Officer, 3 horses, 2 mules; Field Officer, 2 horses, 1 mule; Captains, 1 mule; the Sutlers of each company, 1 mule; Adjutant, 1 horse, 1 mule; Quarter-master, 1 horse, 1 mule; Paymaster, 1 horse, 2 mules; Surgeon, 1 horse, 2 mules; Assistant Surgeon, 1 horse; Assistant Surgeon of a

regiment, 1 mule. Each Company, for the carriage of camp kettles, in those regiments which have the larger sort, or Flanders kettles, 1 mule. Entrenching tools, 1 mule. Of the mules allowed to the Surgeons, one is for the carriage of the field medicine-chest; and of those allowed to the Paymasters, one for that of the regiment's pay-books.

A cart will be furnished for the carriage of the following articles:—Medicine-chest, or two voyage-chests; canteen of utensils; 20 sets of bedding. Regiments will be allowed forage for one mule for a Sutler's heavy baggage.

No. 15.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

Abrantes, 27th October, 1808.

No. 1. The regiment, being ordered to take charge of the ordnance stores for the army, will move in two divisions. The greatest order and regularity must be enforced on the march, and the exertions of individuals will be required in conducting so important a charge. *Smoking* is positively forbid; and any man found transgressing on this head will be brought to a court-martial and severely punished; as the consequences may not only be fatal to indiduals, but to the future progress of the army.

No. 2. The first division, consisting of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, and 8th companies, under the command of Major Johnson, will march on Saturday next: the hour will be specified to-morrow.

No. 3. The Commanding Officer takes this opportunity of apprizing the officers and soldiers, that they are about to enter a country nearly exhausted of supplies; they must therefore expect to meet with difficulties in even procuring the necessary subsistence; and which, in general, will be very poor and bad. Wine will not be able to be procured by any means. But he has no doubt they will submit to these privations with that patience and cheerfulness so characteristic of British soldiers encountering difficulties; more particularly when they know that they are advancing towards the enemy. He has further to remind them, that the French troops marched through this very part of the country, last year, in the midst of the heaviest *rains*, and nothing to subsist on but chesnuts and acorns, *for several days.*

No. 16.

Memoir of the actual State of the Portuguese Army in the Year 1805.

The Portuguese army, in the event of invasion, consists of three corps: 1st. Troops of the line; 2d.

Militia; 3d. Levy-en-masse. The infantry is composed of twenty-five regiments, which, since the last reduction from sixteen to eight hundred men, make a total of twenty thousand. The original number of officers is preserved, which is thirty subalterns and five field officers to a battalion. The cavalry consists of twelve regiments, each four hundred strong, making four thousand eight hundred. There were four regiments of artillery of one thousand two hundred each. In 1801, a company of horse artillery was formed; but since, the horses have been transferred to the police guard, and the men drafted into the four regiments of artillery. In Portugal and the colonies they have about one hundred and fifty engineers, a corps which has nothing but the uniform to distinguish: it is without a head, without plan, and without discipline. One of the grand defects of its organization is, that the duties of the engineer, which are immense, are not divided, and that a Portuguese engineer must be at once a geographer, a soldier, and a civilian, &c.; the consequence of which is, that in each department their knowledge is superficial. Besides, many are introduced into the corps, who have not undergone a proper course of study and examination.

The militia of Portugal is composed of forty-three regiments, forming each a battalion of eight hundred men, commanded by an equal number of officers with that of the line. The colonels are

chosen from among those who have the most influence in the province, or interest at court. The major and adjutant are taken from the line, and are at all times on full pay. The other officers and privates only receive pay when called out on actual service. The colonels are responsible for keeping their regiments complete, and have a right to select men from all classes within the canton, even those who are married.

This corps may be of the utmost utility in a defensive war, but cannot be kept united, or far from their provinces, for a considerable time, their agricultural pursuits requiring them at home. Some of them are equal to troops of the line; others could scarcely march off by sections.

The levy-en-masse, or ordinança, is, really, the nation which rises to resist an invading enemy; and undisciplined as this multitude is, in the better times of the monarchy they have given proofs of an extraordinary courage and constancy. This levy is divided by cantons, each of which is commanded by a chief, called the Capitao Mor, who has under him a major, and many captains. When this mass is actually employed, the state provides them with ammunition. Their duty is usually to break up or repair roads, and to construct rural fortifications. They are also serviceable as guides and sharpshooters, as they are all hunters, and know the country well. Their arms are their fowling-pieces,

or a species of pike, and the state supplies them with powder and ball.

In Portugal there is but one corps of light troops, the Legion of Allorna, composed of eight hundred foot soldiers, and four troops of cavalry, of fifty each. This corps, which was raised and formed by the Marquis of Allorna, who commands, possesses science and activity. It is to be lamented that personal considerations have prevented it from remaining on the frontiers, instead of moving it to the capital, where it cannot be of any use. The late minister intended to form two other legions like this one; but the project, with many others equally useful, has been abandoned.

Beside these, there are many companies of invalids, dispersed in the different fortresses. Their number does not exceed three thousand men: they are chosen from the soldiers reduced on half-pay.

RECAPITULATION.

Infantry of the line	20,000
Cavalry of the line	4,800
Artillery	4,800
Light troops	1,000
Militia	34,400
Invalids	3,000
	68,000

The royal police guard, consisting of one thou-

sand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse, is not included in this account. Though this corps be military, and composed of the best soldiers in the army, it would be difficult and dangerous to withdraw it from the important functions which it performs so well at Lisbon, and to place it upon country duty.

The Portuguese possess all the qualities which are necessary to make good soldiers. They are brave, intelligent, alert, sober, and patient; but as they have been a long time strangers to war, the men are inexperienced, and the officers ignorant. Besides, the profession of arms not having in this country the consideration and importance it deserves, there is naturally but little emulation or effort to be distinguished, and the road to promotion is not by merit, but by intrigue and patronage. There are other defects, which it is essential and easy to remedy. The regulation for manœuvres was reformed by the Count de Lippe in 1763-4. It was imperfect and confused even at that time; and, as the commanders of corps may make arbitrary alterations, it follows that there are not perhaps two regiments in the service who perform the same manœuvres, or on the same principle. It is evident what embarrassment this diversity must occasion to the commander of such an army, especially if he be a foreigner. The remedy is simple—to intro-

duce a new regulation, more consonant to the modern mode of warfare, and to oblige all commanders to conform to it exactly. There is a sensible difference between the regiments of the court and those of the provinces, the latter having a marked superiority, especially the northern ones. The appearance of the men is finer; the officers are better chosen; the troops in general in a higher state of improvement; there is more subordination, and discipline is more strictly observed.

The recruiting of the army includes two objects, which must be distinguished; that of the troops of the line and of the militia. The six provinces, which consitute the kingdom of Portugal, are divided into *comarcas*, or departments, which are subdivided into districts. To every regiment of the line a certain number of these districts is attached, the nearest possible to their station; and from these recruits are supplied. In each district there is a Capitao Mor, who, on a requisition to him from the commander of the regiment, which is addressed through the governor of the province, provides the number of men required. These men are all to be drawn from the class of bachelors, from the period at which they are able to carry arms, to the age of forty. All ranks are, without distinction, subject to this species of conscription; there are exempt from it merely the only sons of the widows of labourers,

and the heads of noble families, called Morgados. They too, in virtue of a particular law, were obliged to enlist during the last war.

The recruiting of the militia has already been explained under that head.

Military Resources of the Country.

Under this head are comprehended military posts, artillery, arms, ammunition, provision, and horses.

Military Posts.

In Portugal there are not more than three places which deserve this name — Elvas, Almaida, and Valencia on the Minho. The first of these is very strong both by situation and by the works and fortifications which surround it. It is in admirable order, and presents so many means of defence, that it does not appear possible that a war should commence by a siege of it. It is only after repeated success and repulsion of the Portuguese army that the Spaniards can risk so difficult and expensive an enterprise.

Almaida, situated in Beira, some leagues from the left bank of the Douro, was attacked and taken by the Spaniards in 1762. But they were indebted for that success rather to the weakness of the governor, than to their own talents. Since that period the works have been strengthened.

Valencia, whose walls are washed by the Minho, is a place most happily situated; and if the Portu-

guese army, entrusted with the defence of that frontier, were conducted by an able commander, it would be extremely difficult for an enemy to besiege it.

In addition to these three places, there are some points on the frontiers, which deserve attention, because their position is good, and that, with some country works, they would afford secure depôts, and for a long time arrest the progress of an enemy.

Artillery.

This corps cannot be expected to be as perfect in Portugal as in other nations; however, there are in it some clever and active officers. It has one defect in common with the engineers, that the duties are not divided, and it is difficult for one man to embrace all the branches of knowledge which belong to this essential arm of war. The country artillery is in tolerable condition; that of the forts is composed of guns of such widely different calibre, that great trouble arises to the service, and accidents frequently occur.

A considerable part of the arms of the infantry is not made in Portugal; they are brought from foreign countries; and whether it proceed from the negligence of the purchasers, or the fraud of the sellers, firelocks of every kind of calibre are to be met with, especially in the regiments of militia.

Ammunition.

In the entire kingdom there is but one powder-mill, which is situated three leagues below Lisbon; and from the many years of peace which Portugal has enjoyed, this mill might have supplied all the forts, and provided for the consumption of future wars, had not the government sold a great part of the powder to merchants in the Guinea trade. But there are many places in the kingdom where other powder-mills might be erected, if occasion required.

Provisions.

Portugal does not produce sufficient corn for its inhabitants, furnishing a supply for little more than six months. The rest is imported; and the two last harvests having been bad, it would be difficult to form the necessary magazines for the support of an army. But this failure having been much more considerable in Spain, the enemy would experience still greater obstacles to keeping the field. Portugal produces but little hay; straw is the food of their horses; and as the two last crops were unproductive, that article is extremely scarce. In the event of war, the allies, who send cavalry to Portugal, must also send forage to support them, at least till the ensuing harvest.

Whether it be that Portugal has not a sufficiency of horses, or that there are abuses in this branch of

their political economy, it is certain that their cavalry is partly supplied by Spain, where this traffic is contraband; notwithstanding, there are many individuals on the frontiers who have no other occupation.

The Portuguese soldier costs the state about eleven vintems a day, and receives not quite two.

No. 17.

Extract from General Orders.

Lisbon, 23d Oct. 1808.

Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, Assistant Adjutant-General, is appointed to act as Commandant of the head-quarters until further orders.

Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson will regulate all matters concerning quartering, marching, and police of the head-quarters.

Whenever the head-quarters are to move, all persons concerned are to send an officer to the Commandant for instructions relative to the carrying of their baggage. Officers belonging to head-quarters will give such injunctions to their servants in charge of their baggage, to have it ready at the place and time which shall be fixed by the Commandant; and they must be warned that all orders issued by him are to be implicitly obeyed, as he is answerable to

the Commander of the forces for the regular march of the baggage and conduct of those who accompany it.

No. 18.

The inlying picquets of those battalions quartered at the outside of the town, are to patrole the several roads in their points, and communicate with the corps on their right and left during the whole night, placing sentries upon each of the roads immediately after dark. The officers on picquet are frequently to visit their sentries, and to require reports upon the return of the several patroles; and the field officer, directed to be furnished by the Garrison Orders of the 14th instant, will visit the regimental picquets at least once during the night. In the event of alarm, notice is to be immediately given to the several corps, and the guards stationed at the gates, for the purpose of communicating with the main guard.

Major-General Hill, and such other General Officers, whose brigades are in part out of the town, will be pleased to increase the picquets as they may think fit, and give special orders to commanding officers on this subject, as well as to make every preparation for assembling, should it be thought advisable.

No. 19.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Salamanca, 26th Nov. 1808.

When the army began its march from Portugal, the regiments were complete in all their equipments, every soldier was furnished with his full allowance of ammunition. From the general character of this army, the Commander of the Forces felt confident that every soldier in it would take pains to keep the whole of his appointments in the best state for meeting the enemy, and, above all, that his ammunition would be the first object of his care. The General is therefore much disappointed to find, that, besides the great deal of unserviceable ammunition, which has been damaged by the rain, there is in many regiments a considerable deficiency in the number of cartridges. This the General has ordered to be made good; but as those deficiencies can only have arisen from the men having sold their ammunition, or through a degree of negligence almost as culpable, which can only take place in regiments which are ill-regulated, and whose officers do not do their duty:

The Commander of the Forces directs, that, in addition to any measures commanding officers may find necessary to adopt, to check a practice so disgraceful and injurious to the character of the regiment,

each soldier shall pay, now and in future, threepence for every cartridge which shall be lost through carelessness, or otherwise made away with. The money so forfeited is to be paid into the hands of the regimental pay-master, who is to give an acknowledgment for it, and keep a regular account thereof.

The Commander of the Forces takes this opportunity to remind the troops, that it is no less their duty to keep in repair every article of equipment with which they are furnished by the public, than it is to take care of their arms, ammunition, and clothing. If canteens and havresacks sustained damage in the course of service, they must be immediately repaired; for it is impossible that stores of those articles can be carried to replace such deficiencies, nor can the soldiers be suffered to want them. Officers do not require to be told, that the preservation and good order of every part of the soldier's appointments, constitutes a very essential part of their duty; and when this is diligently discharged, complaints of this nature will not be heard.

The General trusts he will not find it necessary again to address the army on this subject, particularly when he reminds the troops, that the bad order and incomplete state of a regiment may oblige him to employ it at a distance from the enemy, when the rest of the army shall be engaged in the most glorious of duties.

No. 20.

Salamanca, 5th Dec. 1808.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The five companies of the 5th battalion 60th regiment will march to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, in charge of the sick and some stores.

No. 21.

Names, Numbers, and Habiliments, of the different Religious Orders at Salamanca.

One of Dominicanos.	White robes and black bonnet.
Five Franciscanos.	Three in dark mixture, two in brown.
One Capuchinos. One Carvelistos.	Both brown, with short cassocks.
Two Trinitarios. Two Mercenarios.	All white; one of each barefoot*.
One Benitos.	Black.
One Bernardos.	White.
One Heronymos.	White robe, black cassock.
Two Carmelitas.	White robe, black cassock; one barefoot.

* They call themselves "Descalzos," but wear a sandal open on the upper part of the foot, and are only barelegged.

One Montenses.	Black robe, white cloak.
One Basilios.	All black.
Two Augustinos.	All black; one barefoot.
OneClerigosMinores.	All black.
One Los Minimos.	All black.

In addition to these, there are eleven nunneries.

No. 22.

DIVISIONAL ORDERS.

Belvor, Dec. 1808.

The Commander of the Forces having noticed great irregularity among the troops at Toro, after tattoo, under pretence of drawing their wine, has directed that this may be prevented, by having the issues made at early and stated periods.

Lieutenant-General Hope therefore desires that Quarter-masters of regiments should draw their wine as soon as possible after their arrival in their new quarters; for which purpose *skins* have been provided; and Commanding Officers of regiments are to fix on a centrical situation for its issue; and to direct regular parties, from each company, to attend for their wine at an early and stated hour. The Officers sent forward to provide billets for their regiments, are to proceed as early as possible after the place where the regiment is to march to has been

notified to the several Commanding Officers; and when an Officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department has been sent forward for the same purpose, Regimental Officers are to apply to him for the quarters of their respective regiments.

No. 23.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

Bustillo, 18*th Dec.* 1808.

In future a bugle will remain during the night with the Brigade Picquets; and in case of any alarm, will sound the assembly, when officers and men will instantly turn out, and repair to their respective regimental alarm-posts.

It is, however, to be clearly understood, that this bugle is never to sound without an order from the officer commanding in the quarter where the troops may be.

No. 24.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Sahagun, 22d Dec. 1808.

The different attacks made by the cavalry upon those of the enemy, during the march, have given them an opportunity to display their address and

spirit, and to assume a superiority which does them credit, and which, the Commander of the forces trusts, will be supported upon more important occasions.

The attacks conducted by Brigadier-General the the Hon. C. Stewart, and the 18th Light Dragoons, when upon the Douro; and that by Lieut.-General Lord Paget, upon the enemy's cavalry at this place; are honourable to the British cavalry.

The Commander of the forces begs that the Lieut.-General and Brigadier-General will accept his thanks for these services; and that they will convey them to Brigadier-General Slade, and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, of the cavalry under their command, for their conduct in the different affairs which have taken place.

No. 25.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Sahagun, 23d Dec. 1808.

No. 1. The army will march in two columns by the right this evening, and is to be formed in close column of sections of five or six files; the Cavalry by two, clear of the cantonments upon the road, which will be pointed by the Assistant Quarter-Master-General of Divisions, at eight o'clock, in the following order —

RIGHT COLUMN.

1 squad. of 3d L. Drag. K. G. L. 2d Flank Brigade. Half troop of Horse Artillery. 3d Light Dragoons K. G. L. Half troop of Horse Artillery.	*Advance Guard.*

Lieutenant-General the Hon. John Hope's Division, with its Brigade of Artillery.

18th Light Dragoons.

Lieutenant-General Frazer's Division, with its Brigade of Artillery.

LEFT COLUMN.

1 squad. of 7th L. Drag. 1st Flank Brigade. Half troop of Horse Artillery. 7th Light Dragoons. Half troop of Horse Artillery.	*Advance Guard.*

Reserve, with its Brigade of Artillery.

Brigadier-General Slade's Brigade.

Lieut.-General Sir David Baird's Division, with its Brigade of Artillery.

The spare ammunition waggons will follow their columns in the order of their respective brigades. A company with the ten rounds per man of the spare musket ammunition. The carts with regimental medical stores. The mules with camp-kettles (of such only as are required for carrying pro-

visions for officers) in the order of their respective regiments. The entrenching tools attached to divisions will march with the brigades of artillery. The Staff Surgeons attached to divisions, with their equipment, will march in the rear of their divisions. The mules with regimental entrenching tools, and and surgeons' field-chests, only are to march with the regiments. The rear-guard of each column will consist of a battalion and a squadron of cavalry.

The army is to receive provisions for to-morrow, to be cooked this afternoon. Those regiments which have been supplied with skins for carrying their wine, will receive one day's allowance, and the Commissary is, if possible, to carry a day's allowance for the remainder.

The sick will be left in the cantonments of Sahagun, Gregel, and Villada, and be sent to-morrow morning to Sahagun, when the Inspector of Hospitals will make provision for their reception, and will direct what medical aid shall be left. A return of the sick of each division is to be sent to the Inspector of Hospitals as soon as possible. The baggage is also to be left in the present cantonments, under a small guard, and be in readiness to follow to-morrow, on the order being sent. Lieutenant-Generals will be pleased to desire General Officers commanding brigades, and Officers commanding regiments, to direct the necessary precautions to be taken for preventing any confusion, or the possi-

bility of any separation of the columns during the night march.

Major-General Manningham will direct one battalion of his brigade to remain at Sahagun, until further orders.

The extra reserve ammunition, over and above the ten rounds per man, in the possession of those regiments which joined the army with Lieut.-Gen. Sir David Baird, is to be delivered to the brigade of Artillery, at two o'clock this day, in the Square of Sahagun. The mules which are allowed to march in the rear of the columns, are solely for the purpose of carrying provisions for officers; and the Commander of the forces desires that as few as possible may be so employed.

No. 26.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Benevente, 27th Dec. 1808.

The Commander of the forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops of late—at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are the most requisite. He is the more concerned as, until lately, the behaviour of that part of the army at least

which was under his own immediate command, was so exemplary, and did them so much honour.

The misbehaviour of the troops on the march from Valderas to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers: it is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention.

The Commander of the forces refers to the General Orders of the 25th of October and 11th of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing to them, but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel nothing towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties; or towards soldiers who disgrace their country by acts of villainy towards the country they were sent to protect.

The Spanish forces have been overpowered, and until such time as they are re-assembled, and ready again to come forward, the situation of this army must be arduous, and such as to call for the exertion of qualities the most rare and valuable in a military body.

These are, not bravery alone, but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardships, obedience to command, sober and orderly conduct, firmness and resolution, in every different situation which they may be placed.

It is by the display of such qualities alone the

army can expect to derive the name of *soldiers*, that they may be able to withstand the *forces* opposed to them, or to fulfil the expectation of their country.

It is impossible for the General to explain to the army the motives of the movements he directs. The Commander of the forces can, however, assure the army, that he has made none since he left Salamanca which he did not foresee, and was not prepared for—they have answered the purposes for which they were intended.

When it is proper to *fight* a *battle*, he will do it; and he will choose the time and place he thinks *most fit*. In the mean time, he begs the officers and men of the army to attend diligently to discharge *their* parts, and leave to him, with the General Officers, their discretion on measures which belong to them alone.

The army may rest assured that there is nothing he has more at heart, than their honour and that of his country.

No. 27.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Astorga, 30th Dec. 1808.

The present is a moment when the army is necessarily called upon to make great efforts, and to submit to privations—the bearing cheerfully with which, is a quality not less estimable than valour.—

The good-will of the inhabitants will be particularly useful to the army, and can only be obtained by good conduct on the part of the troops. The Commander of the forces cannot impress too strongly on the whole army the necessity of this; and he trusts that the Generals and Commanding Officers will adopt such measures, both on the march and in the cantonments, as will ensure it.

It is very probable that the army will very shortly have to meet the enemy; and the Commander of the forces has no doubt that they will eagerly imitate the worthy example that has been set them by the cavalry, on several recent occasions, and particularly in the affair of yesterday, in which Brigadier-General Stewart, with an inferior force, charged and overthrew one of the best corps of cavalry in the French army. The Generals will immediately inspect the baggage of the brigades and divisions; they are held responsible that it does not exceed the proportion fixed by General Orders.

In the future marches, the baggage and women belonging to each division are to precede the troops two hours; and Generals and Commanding-Officers are held responsible that no articles of baggage whatever, except the surgeons' field-chests, and entrenching tools, march with the troops. If any cart or mule, carrying baggage, shall be unable to keep pace with the column, the soldier in charge of it is to immediately join his battalion.

General Officers commanding divisions will specify the strength of the baggage-guard, which is to be as limited as possible. The Officer commanding the baggage-guard of the division will appoint a rear-guard, the Officer of which is responsible that the soldier remains behind with baggage.

Commanding Officers will direct that Officers are quartered in the same houses with the soldiers.

No. 28.

DIVISION ORDERS.

Villa Franca, 1st January, 1809.

Lieutenant-General Hope desires to call the attention of every officer and soldier under his command, to the particular nature of the service in which the army is at present engaged. He is to lament that some instances of irregular conduct have occurred in his division; but when it is fully and fairly explained to the soldiers that such conduct must tend to their own most material disadvantage, as well as to the discredit of their characters as soldiers and Britons, he has too good an opinion of them to believe that such practice will be repeated.

Circumstances make it difficult to procure convenient accommodation, and render the supplying of the troops a matter of extreme difficulty.

They may rely upon it that every exertion will

be made to insure the best accommodation the country can afford, and to procure as regular supplies as possible; but they will be prepared to undergo, like men and like soldiers, any hardships or privations that may be unavoidable; and must never forget, any irregularity on their part, by exciting the hatred of the inhabitants, is the surest means of rendering fruitless any endeavour to procure regular and abundant supplies.

The Lieutenant-General trusts this division will be distinguished for its good conduct during what yet remains of the present march; that the officers, by their example, and by their unceasing attention to the men under their orders, will lend every aid to the service that depends upon them; and that the men, by the irregularity of their conduct, will not bring upon themselves an increase of inconveniency and hardship. In short, he indulges the hope, that the exertions of all ranks will be united in carrying on the service in the most advantageous manner.

No. 29.

DIVISION ORDERS.

Lugo, 4th January, 1809.

The division will march to-morrow morning, right in front, and according to route. The *generale*

will beat at five, the *assembly* at six o'clock, the march to commence at seven. The baggage to follow in rear of each brigade; the place of assembly will hereafter be notified to commanding officers of brigades. A field officer from the division, and a captain from each brigade, with a subaltern from each regiment, and a small proportion of non-commissioned officers, are to remain here, for the purpose of collecting and hereafter proceeding with the men left behind. An officer from each brigade will also remain in charge of the sick. The field officer will call this evening at the Assistant Adjutant-General's for instructions.

Major-General Hill's brigade will furnish the field officer. The surgeon's field medicine chest will proceed with each regiment, but the waggons with medicines are to be left in charge of the medical officer who remains behind with the sick. The sick of the several regiments are this evening to be given over to the medical officer of each brigade who remains behind, and their subsistence to the 24th will be handed over to the field officer of the division.

The spare ammunition and mules are to be divided, and half given in charge of each brigade, which is to be kept under a sufficient guard; and the greatest care must be taken to prevent the mules from escaping.

As the division is to march in two columns, an

officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department will be attached to each, who will guide to-night. No carriages are to proceed with the troops, and all public waggons are immediately to be given over to Mr. Cooke, the resident Commissary, who will grant a receipt for them. Commanding officers are particularly directed to send the mules under a sufficient guard.

No. 30.

MORE DIVISION ORDERS.

Lugo, 5th January, 1809.

The cavalry, and Lieutenant-General Hope's division, are to *halt* here till further orders. Colonel Harding has already received instructions respecting the proportion of artillery which is to remain. The whole of the women, sick, and baggage are to march by brigades to-day, provided with two days' provisions, and according to routes, which will be transmitted under a captain per brigade, a subaltern per regiment, a small proportion of batmen; and a medical officer from each brigade will also attend the sick. General officers commanding brigades will see that the whole is off before twelve o'clock this day.

The sick which may arrive this day are in like

manner to be sent off at an early hour to-morrow. Officers commanding brigades are immediately to inspect the state of the ammunition of the troops under their command, and which is, during the course of this day, to be completed to sixty rounds and three flints per man, on application to Colonel Harding, through the Assistant Adjutant-General; independent of which, each soldier will have to carry ten rounds and a spare flint in his *pack*, also to be obtained this day from Colonel Harding.

No. 31.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Lugo, 6th Jan. 1809.

Generals and commanding officers of corps must be as sensible as the Commander of the Forces of the complete disorganization of the army. The advance guard of the French are abroad, close to us, and it is to be presumed the main body is not far distant. An *action* may therefore be hourly expected. If the generals and commanding officers of regiments, feeling for the honour of their country and of the British arms, wish to give the army a fair chance of success, they will exert themselves to restore order and discipline in the regiments, bri-

gades, and divisions which they command. The Commander of the Forces is tired of giving orders which are never attended to; he therefore appeals to the honour and feelings of the army he commands; and if that is not sufficient to induce them to do their duty, he must despair of succeeding by any other means. He was forced to order a *soldier to be shot* at *Villa Franca*, and he will *continue* to *order all others* to be executed who are guilty of similar enormities. But he considers there would be no occasion to proceeed to such extremities, if the officers did their duty, as it is chiefly from *their negligence*, and from want of proper regulations in the regiments, that crimes and irregularities are committed in quarters. And upon the march, commanding officers will make a minute investigation of the state of their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, and give directions for their being put into the best possible state for service which the present instance will allow. Regiments are directed to send a serjeant to the main guard, to receive stragglers which have been confined this day. A return of the spare ammunition in possession of each battalion, over and above sixty rounds per man, to be immediately sent to the Adjutant-General's office in the Catnedral Square.

No. 32.

AFTER DIVISION ORDERS.

Lugo, 7th January, 1809.

The army must see that the moment is now come, when, after the hardships and fatiguing marches they have undergone, they will have an opportunity of bringing the enemy *to action.*

The Commander of the Forces has the most perfect confidence in their valour, and that it is only necessary to bring them into close contact with the enemy, in order to *defeat them;* and with a defeat, if it be complete, he trusts will, in a great measure, end their labour. The General has no other caution to give them, but not to throw away their *fire* at the enemy's *skirmishers,* merely because they fire at them, but to reserve it at all times till they can give it with good effect.

No. 33.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Corunna, 12*th Jan.* 1809.

Commanding officers of regiments stationed without the town, are directed to give strict injunctions that no men are sent into town, except on

particular business. They must in that case be furnished with a pass, signed by the commanding officer, or accompanied by a non-commissioned officer; and care must be taken that men, so permitted, are men that can be depended on.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Corunna, 13th Jan. 1809.

Regiments will immediately apply to the commanding officer of artillery, at No. 2, Calle de la Armaquia, to complete them to seventy rounds per man. The 95th will be provided with Spanish rifle ammunition, on application to Mr. Assistant Commissary Stowe, at the same place, who will likewise issue the arms wanting to complete the several corps.

No. 34.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Corunna, 15th Jan. 1809.

The army will hold itself in readiness to embark; the time and place will be communicated by the Quarter-Master-General. The regiments will embark with their camp kettles, and commanding officers will take care that they are deposited in a place of safety, in case they should be again re-

quired. The following proportion of horses will be allowed to be embarked—Lieutenant-General and Staff, Major-General and Staff, 4; Brigadier-General and Staff, 3; Adjutant-General, 2; Quarter-Master-General, 2; Assistants and Deputy Assistants of the Adjutants and Quarter-Master-General's Department, 1; Regiments, each, 4; Heads of Departments, 2; Majors of Brigades, each, 1. It is expected that the horses will be the *boná fide* property of the persons in whose name they are embarked: no mules or country horses of little value will be allowed to embark.

Such of the sick whose cases admit of it, will embark with their respective regiments. Surgeons of regiments will report verbally, and without delay, to Dr. Shapter, the number of those whose situation requires that they should be separately embarked.

Staff officers, attached with divisions, will embark with the divisions; staff officers, who are unattached to divisions, will embark with the regiments to which they belong. Those officers' horses, which were delivered over to the Commissariat, will be allowed twenty-five dollars each on application to the Commissary in Chief.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
TUESDAY, JANUARY 24.

Downing Street, January 24.

The Hon. Captain Gordon arrived here late last night, with a dispatch from Lieut.-Gen. Sir David Baird to Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy.

" *His Majesty's Ship Ville de Paris, at Sea, January* 18.

" My Lord,

" By the much-lamented death of Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Moore, who fell in action with the enemy on the 16th instant, it has become my duty to acquaint your Lordship, that the French army attacked the British troops in the position they occupied in front of Corunna, at about two o'clock in the afternoon of that day.

" A severe wound, which compelled me to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of Sir John Moore, obliges me to refer your Lordship for the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contested, to the inclosed report of Lieutenant-General Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions, in direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his Majesty's troops, is to be

attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack.

"The Honourable Captain Gordon, my Aid-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will be able to give your Lordship any further information which may be required.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"D. Baird, Lieut.-General."

"*His Majesty's Ship Audacious, off Corunna, January* 18.

"Sir,

"In compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna on the 16th instant. It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front. This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the

rapid and determined attack which he made upon our division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the Commander of the forces, and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannot-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention.—The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and 1st battalion 52d regiments, drove the enemy before

him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line, than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy

confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the picquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations. Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who, from his numbers and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late Commander of the forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked, having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourbood of Corunna. The picquets remained at their respective posts, until five on the morning of the 17th, when they were also with-

drawn with similar orders, and without the enemy having discovered the movement.

" By the unremitted exertion of Captains the Honourable H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrel, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the Royal Navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of Rear-Admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service of embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by Commissioner Bowen, Captains Bowen and Shepherd, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the Army was embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day-light.

" The brigade of Major-Gen. Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-General Hill was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.

" The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, their being no apprehension

that the rear-guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three in the afternoon; Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is so well known to yourself and the whole army, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish Governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one this morning.

"Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequence to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success.—It must be, however, to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction,

than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the South of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the North of Spain.

" You are well aware with what diligence this system has been pursued.

" These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna, for a time, had rendered indispensable to assume, the native and undaunted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me, in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under

Major-Generals Lord William Bentinck, and Manningham and Leith; and the brigade of Guards under Major-General Warde.

"To these Officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-General Hill and Colonel Catlin Craufurd, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81st regiments, with parts of the brigade of Guards, and the 26th regiment. From Lieut.-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General, and the Officers of the General Staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret, that the illness of Brigadier-General Clinton, Adjutant-General, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to Brigadier-General Slade during the action, for a zealous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.

"The greatest part of the fleet having gone to sea yesterday evening, the whole being under weigh, and the corps in the embarkation necessarily much mixed on board, it is impossible at present to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say that I believe it did not exceed, in killed and wounded, from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown, but many circumstances induce me to rate it at

nearly double the above number. We have some prisoners, but have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, 92d regiment, Majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Winch, 4th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Fane, 59th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Griffith, Guards, Majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.

"To you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the conversation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that, after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death, that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the pros-

pect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolfe, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.

"It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to the service of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less able hands.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN HOPE, Lieut.-Gen."

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY OF TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1809.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 24.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Michael De Courcy, Rear-Admiral of the White, to the Hon. William Wellesley Pole, dated on board his Majesty's ship the Tonnant, at Corunna, the 17th and 18th instant.

"*January* 17, 1809.

"SIR—Having it in design to detach the Cossack to England, as soon as her boats shall cease to be essential to the embarkation of troops, I seize a moment to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the

ships of war, as per margin *, and transports, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood and Commissioner Bowen, arrived at this anchorage from Vigo on the 14th and 15th inst. The Alfred and Hindostan, with some transports, were left at Vigo, to receive a brigade of 3,500 men, that had taken that route, under the Generals Alten and Crawford.

" In the vicinity of Corunna, the enemy have pressed upon the British in great force. The embarkation of the sick, the cavalry, and the stores, went on. The night of the 16th was appointed for the general embarkation of the infantry; and, meantime, the enemy prepared for attack. At three, P. M. an action commenced; the enemy, which had been posted on a lofty hill, endeavouring to force the British, on another hill of inferior height, and nearer the town.

" The enemy were driven back with great slaughter; but very sorry am I to add, that the British, though triumphant, have suffered severe losses. I am unable to communicate further particulars, than that Sir John Moore received a mortal wound, of which he died at night; that Sir David Baird lost an arm; that several Officers and many men have been killed

" * Ville de Paris, Victory, Barfleur, Zealous, Implacable, Elizabeth, Norge, Plantagenet, Resolution, Audacious, Endymion, and Mediator.

and wounded; and that the ships of war have received all such of the latter as they could accommodate, the remainder being sent to transports.

"The weather is now tempestuous, and the difficulties of embarkation are great. All except the rear-guard are embarked, consisting, perhaps, at this moment, of 2,600 men. The enemy having brought cannon to a hill overhanging the beach, have forced a majority of the transports to cut or slip. Embarkation being no longer practicable at the town, the boats have been ordered to Sandy Beach, near the light-house; and it is hoped that the greater part, if not all, will be embarked, the ships of war having dropped out to facilitate embarkation.

"*Jan.* 18.—The embarkation of the troops having occupied the greater part of last night, it has not been in my power to detach the Cossack before this day; and it is with satisfaction I am able to add, that in consequence of the good order maintained by the troops, and the unwearied exertions of Commissioner Bowen, the Captains, and other Officers of the Navy, the Agents, as well as the boats' crews, many of whom were for two days without food and without repose, the army have been embarked to the last man, and the ships are now in the offing, preparatory to steering to England. The great body of the transports having lost their anchors, ran to sea without the troops they were or-

dered to receive, in consequence of which there are some thousands on board the ships of war. Several transports, through mismanagement, ran on shore. The seamen appeared to have abandoned them; two being brought out by the boats' crews of the men of war, two were burnt, and five were bilged.

"I cannot conclude this hasty statement, without expressing my great obligation to Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, whose eye was every where, and whose exertions were unremitted.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"M. De Courcy."

"Hazy weather rendering the Cossack obscure, I detach the Gleaner with this dispatch."

THE END.

Printed by Ellerton and Byworth,
Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London.

ERRATA.

Page 21, *for* fourteen, *read* twenty-four.

Ditto, *for* four hundred, *read* four thousand.

Page 112, *for* Astorga, January 4, *read* Villafranca, January 1.

From the last line but one of page 151, to the middle of page 153, ought to follow page 149.

Just published,

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