

Bardaxi was declared minister for foreign affairs; Don Raymond Felix, for the interior; Don R. L. Pelegrin, for the provinces beyond sea; Don V. C. Manuel, for justice; Don Antonio Barrata, for finance; Don Thom. Moreno y Daoix had the department of war; and Don F. Escudero, that of the marine. This list included men of all parties.

In the mean while, the cortes had prepared their reply to the king's speech. They stated, in reference to the expressions that his majesty had used in the conclusion of his discourse, that, faithful to the Constitution, they should never behold with indifference any act not conformable to that principle which considers the royal person as sacred and inviolable; and they expressed their firm confidence, that the king, as supreme and sole head of the executive, and concentrating in himself the power of causing the laws to be executed, would give orders for repressing with energy any excess contrary to the institutions, by the means prescribed by those institutions themselves.

The reports upon the state of the kingdom, external and internal, which had been prepared by the late ministers, were now laid before the chamber. That of the minister for the foreign department was presented by M. Andnaga, who was charged, *pro tempore*, with the portfolio of the department. It began by stating the final ratification by the king, of the cession of the Floridas to the United States. Adverting to the affair of Naples, it was observed, that the king, perceiving that the principle of the Spanish revolution was attacked by the measures of interference about to be adopted against Naples, had represented to some cabinets officially, and to others confidentially, that he could not acknowledge any such right of interference on the part of any power; and had further inquired, how far it was intended to apply the same principle to the case of Spain. The great powers, however, had acknowledged, that, in the causes in which the Spanish revolution had originated, and in the unanimity with which it had been received by the nation, they found legitimate grounds for confidence and security; and several of the cabinets had already given positive assurances that they had no intention of interfering in any way in the domestic affairs of Spain. The conduct of

the government, in this respect, was strongly approved of by a resolution of the cortes on the 3d of April: a motion made by M. Romeo Alpuente, professing to call on the king to mediate with the great powers, in favour of Naples, was at the same time rejected.

The subject that next occupied their consideration, was, the internal regulation of the chamber itself. Among the rules laid down under this head, was the exclusion of women from the galleries, and the power given to the president to punish the violation of order on the part of any member, by enjoining the offender to quit the chamber during the rest of the sitting. Much discussion took place on the subject of allowing the presence of the ministers during the deliberations: it was at length determined, that they might assist at the public sittings, for the purpose of giving explanations, but they were not allowed to vote, nor was any particular bench assigned for their convenience.

On the 20th of March, M. Calatrava gave in the report of the special commission which had been charged to inquire into the state of the internal safety of the kingdom. The report stated, without hesitation, that there existed a plot for the overthrow of the constitutional system. This plot, it said, was directed by a superior junta, and many of the higher clergy took part in it. It had broken out on various occasions, particularly at the beginning of the session, upon the dismissal of the late ministry. That ministry had vigorously exerted itself for the detection of the conspiracy; and its fall had, therefore, been hailed as a triumph by the disaffected. Among the papers of Vinuesa, had been seized a plan of counter-revolution, written in his own hand. The object of this scheme seems to have been the destruction of the existing Constitution, the arrest and punishment of the principal leaders of the Liberal party, and the re-establishment of every thing on the footing of the 6th of March, 1820, with the exception of the convocation of the cortes, as formed by the states-general of the kingdom. The commission, in concluding their report, proposed, among other measures, that public thanks should be given to the army and militia, for their faithful attachment to the Constitution; that the sale of national property, and

the suppression of the convents should be accelerated; and that the political chiefs of the several provinces should be called upon to give information respecting the conduct of the bishops. The general tone of this paper was in evident disapprobation of the conduct and principles of the present ministers, as compared with those of the last. Its conclusions, however, were adopted by the cortes, which, on various occasions, manifested a similar distrust of the new councils of the king.

When the news of the fall of Naples arrived, it was decided, that succours should be afforded to such of the Neapolitan deputies and generals as should take refuge in Spain: at the same time, it was ordered, that a message should be sent to the king, to concert with his majesty such measures as might appear necessary in these circumstances. A violent debate arose, on the question, whether the ministers should be present at the conference of the deputation with the king? and it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one vote only.

Measures were now taken for strengthening the military force of the kingdom. The regular army had been fixed at about 67,000 infantry, and nearly 8000 cavalry: by a new decree, all Spaniards, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, were liable to be called upon to defend the country; and the kingdom was divided into eight military divisions. With a view to the more decisive suppression of the proceedings of the counter-revolutionary party, it was decreed, that all persons accused of conspiring against the state and the Constitution, should be subjected to the jurisdiction of a council of war, except in cases where the delinquents had been arrested by the civil powers. As soon as the political authorities should have learned of the existence of any band, or unlawful assembly, they were to publish a proclamation, summoning the parties to disperse to their several homes; and all persons, who, after a certain interval, should be found collected, in contravention of this order, should be subjected to the judgment of the military tribunal.

The adoption of these measures was more immediately suggested by the disorders which continued to prevail in

various parts of the kingdom. In the province of Alava, the curate of Merino had entered Salvatierra at the head of nearly eight hundred men, and overturned 'the stone of the Constitution.' After defeating the national guards of Vittoria, which had come out against him, Merino marched upon that town: he was met, however, at Ochandiano, by the captain-general of the province, Don Lopez Banos, and, after a short contest, the insurgents were dispersed. About five hundred prisoners were taken, and sent to Pamplona; and the leaders, who were commonly monks or curates, were tried by a court martial, and immediately executed.

Upon the motion of the deputy Sancho, a committee was appointed by the cortes to consider of the measures necessary to be adopted for the repression and punishment of such ecclesiastics as endeavoured to involve the country in a civil war. On the 29th of April, a series of propositions were adopted, upon the report of the committee, the main tendency of which was to make the higher clergy responsible for the conduct of their inferiors. In the mean time, the unhappy Vinuesa had been brought to his trial; and, on the 3d of May, he was condemned to serve for ten years in the galleys of Africa. This sentence did not satisfy the populace, and they determined to take into their own hands the execution of what they thought to be justice. On the following day, the prison in which Vinuesa was confined was surrounded by an immense multitude: a party provided with crows and mallets forced the gates of the building, and, making their way to the chamber of the victim, they with the same instruments put an end to his existence. A portion of the mob then proceeded to the royal palace, and vociferated the most insulting expressions respecting the king and Don Carlos. In the evening, a meeting took place at the Fontana de Oro; and it has been said, though the fact has never clearly appeared, that lists of proscription were formally drawn up, in which about twenty obnoxious individuals were marked as fit objects for similar inflictions of popular vengeance. The king sent a messenger, next day, to the cortes, pointing out the danger and the disgrace to which the government would

be subjected, if such an atrocity was not punished in the most exemplary manner. All parties in the cortes concurred in expressing their horror of the deed; and the opposition attributed its perpetration to the unpardonable remissness of the ministers themselves. An inquiry was ordered; but nothing satisfactory resulted as to the individuals who had planned or executed the murder: there could be little doubt, however, as to the class of politicians with which it had originated; and the parties were henceforth distinguished by the name of "the *martillo* (or hammer) faction," in allusion to the instrument by which the massacre of the unhappy canon had been effected. The party in question did not seem disposed to quarrel with the name; and it became a practice with the mob, to express their displeasure at the conduct of any individual by beating hammers against the pavement under his windows; an intimation sufficiently significant of the punishment prepared for such as had incurred the enmity of the rabble.

It was about this time, that Morillo returned from his command in South America. The reputation for talent and energy which he had so justly acquired, during the period of his government in the New World, pointed him out as the fittest person for the military command of the capital, during the present distempered state of the popular mind. After some hesitation, he was induced to accept the place of captain-general of Madrid; and the military force in the neighbourhood was increased to 12,000 men. Orders were issued, at the same time, that all persons should quit Madrid, who could shew no particular business to justify their stay. On the 28th of May, the tribunal of Valencia condemned to death the celebrated General Elio, for having conspired to destroy the constitutional government in 1814. Of the fate of this individual, who had rendered himself universally detested for his ferocious cruelties, particular notice will be taken in the sequel of this history.

The troubles still continued in the provinces, particularly in Navarre and Old Castile. The indefatigable curate, Merino, notwithstanding his late defeat, had soon taken the field again, and continued to baffle all the efforts of his enemies to circumvent or take him. An act of reprisal

committed by this chief upon a detachment of the regiment of Catalonia, which he had surprised at Torduelles, excited the peculiar indignation of the cortes; and it was proposed, at the moment, to give unlimited powers to the military commanders of the several provinces to which the insurrection should extend: upon cooler consideration, however, this project was abandoned.

As the legal duration of the session did not seem likely to give time for the completion of the several measures which had occupied the cortes, the king was induced to prolong their sitting for another month. That body proceeded to enact such laws as the state of the kingdom seemed urgently to call for, several of which were of a character truly important. A law was passed, subjecting ecclesiastics to the ordinary tribunals of the kingdom. The exportation of specie to Rome, for the purchase of bulls and dispensations, was prohibited; but an annual offering of 9000 piasters was assigned to the holy see, in compensation for this modification of its assumed rights. An allowance of 40,000 reals was assigned to the members of the legislature; who were, however, excluded from the enjoyment of any place, pension, or benefice, civil or ecclesiastical, during their deputation. An act of greater importance, was that by which it was proposed to abolish all seigniorial rights resulting from a feudal tenure. The second article of this law enjoined, that all persons possessing such rights should be compelled to produce the original title under which they held them. This condition was considered to be, in fact, equivocal to an act of abolition: it was made the subject of long and warm discussions in the chambers, and was finally carried by a majority of eighty-five members against sixty-seven. This measure, however it may be justified by the necessities of the state, or by the incompatibility of the exercise of those rights in a country where a popular government had been established, may be questioned in its policy. Against the enactment of this law, the king exercised his prerogative, for a time at least, by the interposition of his *veto*; while the aristocracy opposed to it all their influence. Hitherto, the Spanish nobility, as a body, had taken no decided part against the revolution; but this attack on

their dignity and consequence seemed likely to allow them no alternative but that of hostility to a state of things that involved the spoliation of their order.

On the 25th of April, a law was passed, suppressing the regiment of life-guards; in substitution of which, the care of the king's person was in future to be confided to a royal corps of cavalry. The contingents to be furnished for the recruiting of the army for the year were fixed at 16,595 men. The naval estimates authorized the keeping in pay of 3500 men, for the service of five ships of the line, four frigates, and a few smaller vessels. The general expenses for the year were estimated at 756,214,217 reals. The ordinary ways and means voted fell short of this sum by no less than 81,214,217 reals: this deficiency, together with that of the year preceding, was to be met by a loan of 361,800,000 reals, to be raised entirely in Spain. At the close of the year, however, the subscriptions for the loan did not amount to 100,000,000 reals.

It was now become obvious, that the affairs of the kingdom could not remain long in their present state, and that the nearly equally balanced state of parties would lead to a crisis which must terminate in the ascendancy of one or the other. Although the king was under the necessity of appearing to sanction the constitutional code, and adopt the sentiments and views of the cortes, yet the deeply-rooted principles imbibed by Ferdinand, and manifested on every occasion wherein he was free to act on his own election, allow the choice of no other decision, than that he secretly favoured those opposing themselves to the ruling power. This conclusion is no less manifest from his conduct previous to the revolution of March, 1820, than from the part he acted subsequent to the period now alluded to.

CHAPTER X.

Unpopularity of the Ministry—Failure of an Attempt to bring over the National Troops at Barcelona to the Government Party—Defection of the Military at Cadiz—Partial Change in the Ministry—Law for Restrictions on the Press—Popular Ferment at Madrid—Spirited Proceedings of the Cortes—Report of the Cortes on the Disturbances—Meeting of the new Cortes—Foreign Relations—Finances—Popular Commotions in the Provinces—French Cordon of Health—Report on the State of the Kingdom—Army of the Faith—Proclamation of La Trappe—Report of a special Committee—Address to the King—His Majesty's Reply—Character of the Spanish Nation.

ON the opening of the year 1822, the kingdom presented the greatest state of anarchy. The ministry was composed of men who, though they professed themselves friendly to the constitutional code, supported to the utmost extent of their limits the royal prerogative, and, by their moderation, excited suspicion of the soundness of their political principles. On the other hand, the cortes were loud and clamorous for their removal from power; and in this wish the great majority of the army, as well as the people, participated. In the mean time, the priesthood and the aristocracy* were

* Of the number and condition of the Spanish nobility, the following account is given by Mr. Blaquier.—“An excessive attachment to titles, ribbons, crosses, stars, armorial bearings, and all the other appendages of feudal institutions, formed a conspicuous trait in the Spanish character previous to the late change, and is still cherished by numbers, who have been brought up in the fatal belief, that the honours and rewards earned three hundred years ago are a sufficient excuse for their own sloth and inactivity. The proofs of this anxiety to derive importance from ancestry, are most conspicuous in Biscay, Asturias, and Navarre, where every one lays claim to nobility, and the very cottage-doors are surmounted with an immense escutcheon, to ornament which the whole animal and vegetable world has been put in requisition. The lovers of heraldry would do well to visit those provinces, in which a wide field is open to their researches: there never was such an abundant display of gules and quartering, lions rampant and couchant, tigers, cats, dogs, hawks, pigeons, &c. &c. The chief difficulty I found, was in ascertaining what the animals were meant to represent: it frequently occurred to me, that, if interrogated, the artists would themselves be somewhat at a loss

actively employed in efforts to widen the breach between these two parties, in hopes of taking advantage of their mutual broils, for the purpose of bringing the new system into disgrace, and effecting a restoration of the ancient government.

In Catalonia, the militia and a great part of the regular troops were on the tiptoe of actual rebellion. Early in January, the captain-general, Villacampa, was ordered to make his entry into Barcelona, for the purpose of bringing the disaffected forces into subjection, and to cause the authority of the government to be respected. With this view, he ordered two regiments of artillery, which remained at St. Andre, to hold themselves in readiness to proceed for that city, into which he purposed to enter, with drums beating and lighted torches, about four o'clock in the afternoon. These regiments, infected with the same spirit as the militia, on receiving this order, resolved not to execute it; and, in effect, they determined to arrive at Barcelona before the general, who had to travel from Vich to St. Andre,

on this subject. With respect to the rage for nobility, it was so great some years ago, that, according to the calculation of La Borde, made in 1788, all the families in Biscay and Asturias considered themselves as possessing noble blood. In the first-named province, there were 116,910 titles, amongst a population of 308,000 souls; while Asturias boasted no less than 114,740, out of 347,766, its total number of inhabitants. It should be observed, that titles were formerly to be bought here, as in Italy and Germany." The same writer estimated that there were 119 grandees, 535 counts, with marquesses, viscounts, &c. making a total of 478,716 nobles. The number of titles has been greatly increased during the reigns of Charles the Fourth and Ferdinand. The scandalous prostitution of honours and rewards, during the last forty years, in this country, by which riches and titles have been almost exclusively reserved for the most profligate and corrupt of the nation, is of itself a sufficient reason for the contempt into which titles and decorations have fallen. These, like laws, become ridiculous or contemptible, when unnecessarily multiplied: their number, and the facility of obtaining them in this country, have produced those very effects; while the extreme poverty into which some of the highest nobility have fallen from various causes, renders their titles only an additional source of unhappiness. The nobility of Spain would act wisely by bearing in mind a truth which is too generally disregarded, that titles are respectable only when accompanied by probity and virtue.

in order to defeat his intentions. At half-past twelve o'clock, the two regiments began their march, while an extraordinary courier was despatched to announce their approach, and the reason of their setting off before the appointed hour. The commander-in-chief of the national guard, M. Coste, ordered, on the reception of this news, a general beating to arms; and, soon after, no less than 6000 of the militia assembled on the promenade of La Rambla, a detachment from which body then proceeded from Porte Neuve, to receive the artillery regiments. On the other hand, General Villacampa reached St. Andre at the time when the two artillery regiments had commenced their march. He placed himself at their head, upon their advance, and asked of their commanders, why his orders had not been obeyed? He was answered by the colonels of these regiments, that it was because those orders did not please them. Indignant at such a reply, the general called on the authorities to support him: he then endeavoured, in vain, to rally the soldiers; but, being in personal danger, he retired from the scene. The general now hastened to the citadel-gate, where he met with the governor; to whom he appealed, and was admitted into the citadel. Knowing that the 6000 militia had rallied at La Rambla, he resolved to present himself to them, accompanied by the governor and some officers, and endeavour to recall them to their duty as citizen-soldiers. It was of consequence that it should be accomplished before the arrival of the artillery regiments; and therefore the general went to La Rambla, and asked the colonel whether he might, without danger, venture to penetrate the ranks? To this M. Coste replied, that he might, without fear, if he entertained the same sentiments as the militia towards the Constitution. The replication of the general was, "I would shed the last drop of my blood in its defence." M. Coste asserted, that this averment was not sufficient, and that it was necessary to make a solemn and authentic declaration, that, from that day, the whole of Catalonia would hold itself independent, till the ministry was changed; and also, that, unless the king should speedily change it, that province would remain quite independent of his government. General Villacampa restrained his indignation; but,

obliged to concede to an overpowering force, he limited his efforts to representing the dangers too likely to ensue from such a rebellion. He was then suffered to retire, without personal injury; while the troops subscribed a declaration to be presented to the king, entitled, "The glorious day of Barcelona."

The people and army at Cadiz and Seville were not less clamorous for the dismissal of the ministers than those in Catalonia. From the popular clubs, the most exciting speeches were sent abroad; till, at length, Ferdinand, who had tenaciously refused to hearken to the solicitations of the discontented by changing his advisers, became seriously alarmed. On the first day of the year, the political chief, Dauregui, convoked the chiefs of the garrison of Cadiz, and asked them if they were determined to second the inhabitants of that city and Seville? All, with the exception of the colonel of the regiment of the Princess, declared that they would shed the last drop of their blood in fight against the ministers. In consequence of this, a *plan de campagne* was traced; and the first operation decided upon was, to take possession of one of the passes in the Sierra Morena, and there defend themselves against a body of forces which the government had threatened to send against them. A great majority of the inhabitants of Cadiz, however, urged an opinion, that the army of Andalusia ought to proceed direct to Madrid, and re-construct the constitutional throne.

In this dilemma, the king, seemingly moved more by his fears than his inclinations, yielded so far as to dismiss, or rather to accept the resignation of four of his obnoxious servants: namely, Bardaxi, minister for foreign affairs; Felici, for the interior; Salvador, for the war-department; and Vallejo, for finance. His majesty accompanied the announcement of this measure with a declaration, in which he says, "These resignations I have hitherto declined to accept; but, considering the present circumstances, I have now allowed them to retire; acknowledging, however, that I am satisfied with their good services, their attachment to the Constitution, their loyalty to my person, and their zeal for the public good." The difficulty of filling up these

vacancies was severely felt by the king; and particularly as the change was partial, and by no means satisfied the wishes of a majority of the cortes, who were anxious for an entire change. In short, numbers of the popular leaders refused to accept the offices offered them, and they remained unoccupied for a considerable length of time.

There is nothing more difficult, in great political changes which favour popular feeling, than to restrain within due bounds intemperate excess. In their ebullition for public freedom, preceding legislators had established the liberty of the press, but had made its necessary restraints so lax and undefined, that this valuable adjunct to a free nation threatened the extinction of those blessings which it was designed to confer. It was now not only directed against despotism and oppression, but attacked all public men and measures that were not congenial with the taste of the mob, with indiscriminate violence. The cortes, in its aggregate capacity, and many individual members who had distinguished themselves as the firmest friends of the constitutional government, were frequently held up to public detestation. To remedy this evil, the project of a law was laid before the cortes, for the avowed purpose of restraining the licentiousness of the press. The favourable manner in which it was introduced, rendered its adoption by the assembly probable; but a furious spirit of clamour was instantly excited among the revolutionary party. On the 3d of February, when this projected law was to be discussed, the populace assembled in front of the legislative hall, exclaiming against "the treason of the cortes," and insulting such members as did not participate in their anarchical views. From thence they proceeded to the residence of Count de Torreno, who was a supporter of the law, against whom there is every reason to believe they intended personal mischief; but he had the good fortune to escape by a back door: they effected, however, a complete pillage of his house. They next hastened to the habitation of the deputy, Martinez de Rosa, where, to their disappointment, they found a regiment of infantry drawn up, between whom and the multitude some blows were exchanged. On the following day, similar scenes of tumult were renewed, and among the evil-disposed were

seen many of the military assembled, while loud cries were vociferated,—*Down with the cortes! Down with the king!*—with other offensive exclamations. The political chief of Madrid was also violently assaulted, and the king himself, and his brother Don Carlos, did not escape the popular rage.

On this occasion, the extraordinary cortes, which was then sitting, manifested a dignity and spirit which conferred upon their proceedings a character of exalted patriotism; and, what is a signal proof of the excellent disposition of the whole body, not a single individual was found among them to justify or extenuate the disgraceful outrage. In illustration of the eulogium bestowed on these legislators, I shall introduce the proceedings of the cortes, on their sitting of the day subsequent to the tumult, and which had the effect of preventing a repetition of such outrageous scenes.

The president having taken his seat, ordered two regulations of the cortes, in relation to the privileges of deputies, to be read, and then addressed the assembly as follows: “It is with much pain that I see myself under the necessity of recalling an article of your regulations; but the cortes and the public know how impossible it is to be silent on the events of yesterday. Let us undeceive ourselves!—the bulk of the Constitution, and of our liberties, is the cortes. There cannot be cortes without discussion; and there cannot be discussion, if the deputies are not free to express their opinions. What more could our enemies desire, than disorders of this nature? Placed in this chair for the third time, I may die; but I shall die bearing witness to the whole world, that if years of persecution for defending the liberties of my country had not made me succumb, neither would I succumb at the sight of greater risks. Unfortunate Spain, at a time when the persons of its deputies are not respected! If they are thus attacked, what shall we hope for? Those are declared enemies of the Constitution, who do not respect the national representatives. In these critical circumstances, the public ought to be informed, that, at the first noise in the galleries, I shall end this sitting: and I should likewise desire, that some member of the