

will be best described by the following report, made to the cortes by a committee of its own members, and read in that assembly in the month of May: "The special committee, charged to propose such legislative measures as the state of Catalonia may require, after hearing the secretaries of despatch, and examining the documents and statements communicated by them, find, as the result of the investigation, that the enemies of the constitutional system, (among whom are included some of the secular and regular clergy,) taking advantage of the distress of the said province, occasioned by the continued dry weather, and other circumstances, have seduced men, who, from their ignorance or fanaticism, or perhaps from criminal intentions, have taken up arms against their country. Among them are monks, and other persons, who, consistently with their character, ought to exhort to peace; but who have, on the contrary, taken advantage of it to preach sedition, pretending to the authority of divine inspiration and revelations. It has been attempted, on different points, to rouse the population to arms: hence has arisen the persecution of some distinguished patriots; whose property has been destroyed, and who have been obliged to save their lives by flight. The committee is therefore of opinion, that the said machinations present a character which calls for general and energetic measures, in order to terminate at once such enormous evils, and crush the offenders: for which reason, though the measures adopted by the government might prove efficacious, they think it necessary to make a proposition of a legislative nature, calculated to obtain the desired object. Setting out, then, from the principle, that all hope of impunity ought to be withdrawn from those who attack the laws, and are caught in the act, and convinced of the obstacles which would be opposed to the prompt punishment of the delinquents, if a process were instituted on account of each individual, the committee proposes the following measures."..... These measures were, the proclaiming of martial law, under certain regulations, and empowering the government to order the immediate departure of foreigners from the kingdom, against whom any suspicion exists.

From the period of this report to the latter end of June,

the affairs of the kingdom bore but few marks of general improvement, though it must be allowed, the cortes continued to display a magnanimity which entitles them to admiration and praise. On every side, they were assailed with the most appalling difficulties, and yet they seem to have maintained throughout, the firmest confidence in the triumph of the national energies. In most instances, we have referred the state of affairs to their own representation, as exhibited in their official communications; and we are not aware that we could have adopted any more acceptable data. Under this impression, we therefore adopt the following address of that body to the king, presented to his majesty on the 18th of June, with Ferdinand's reply.—

“SIRE,—The representatives of the Spanish nation, assembled in cortes for the present year, 1822, are overcome with grief at the prospect of the dreadful evils which afflict the country: it has honoured them with the greatest confidence, in entrusting to them the care of its destinies; and they would shew themselves unworthy of so high a favour, if they did not raise their voices to the august throne of your majesty, in order to unveil to the constitutional king, the dangers which menace this heroic nation.—The language of truth is the only one which ought to be addressed to kings who reign by the law, and who, bearing it always in their hearts, aspire to nothing but the happiness of those they govern. Sire, this heroic nation is already fatigued by the continual attacks of wicked men, and by the blows they unceasingly aim at its wise institutions. It does not fear any attack, in this respect: but it is irritated, it is exasperated; and the cortes and the constitutional king ought to tranquillize it, to secure its repose, to put an end to the conspiracies which are on foot, and to prevent the horrors that are meditated.—It is now two years, Sire, since your majesty, as the father of the people, determined to contribute to their happiness, swearing freely, and of your own will, to the political Constitution of the Spanish monarchy. On the memorable day when your majesty took a step so eminently glorious, all those Spaniards who love their king and their liberty delivered themselves up to the most flattering hopes: an event, as grand as unexpected,



astonished Europe, overthrew the enemies of mankind, and compressed the fiercest passions. Who was not then ready to believe, that it was the moment the best chosen, and the best combined, to secure for ever the felicity, the glory, the grandeur, and the power of the nation, which appeared to be dying and in despair?—But, Sire, we are, alas! very far from having reaped the advantages which that happy moment promised us. Soon was developed the dreadful design of arresting the progress of liberty and intelligence: the most innocent and the most legal assemblies were denounced as criminal, and the most illustrious patriots were persecuted with deadly hatred.—Sire, the Spanish nation regards its liberty as attacked, seeing with what slowness those who openly combated it are proceeded against, and the insolence of the enemies of its Constitution, in speaking openly of their sinister projects, and in chanting already their next victory.—Sire, the Spanish nation sees, with discontent and bitterness, the administration of some of its provinces confided to inexperienced hands, to individuals who are not liked by the people. The impunity of real criminals, the unjust and arbitrary prosecutions, produce great scandal, augment the anxiety of the good, and may have melancholy consequences. And what will be the danger to the public tranquillity, if to these distrusts which afflict the nation, to these fears which surround it, to these discontents which devour it, should be joined the machinations and the efforts of persons who unfortunately have most influence on the simple class, and deceive the nation?—The cortes point out to you, Sire, those ministers of the sanctuary, those ambitious prelates, those men, who, having quitted the world and its interests, to consecrate themselves to prayer and to virtue, now trample under foot the morality of the gospel, the spirit of true religion, and the doctrine of their divine Master, abusing the august and sacred functions of the priesthood, to sow superstition and disobedience.—All that we have stated to you, Sire, is but too fatally proved by the different factions which appear simultaneously in Catalonia; where the events are of such a nature, that it is horrible to recall them, and the pen refuses to narrate them.—When the tranquillity of the state is on the point

of being entirely annihilated, if any prompt and efficacious remedy can be suggested, the cortes would be wanting in the most sacred of their duties, which is to labour for the preservation and the happiness of the heroic and unfortunate nation which they represent, if they were not to address your majesty, with all due respect, but with the energy which is suitable to the deputies of a free people, to pray, that, with a strong hand, the roots of so many misfortunes, of so many dangers, may be torn up; giving, with all the vigour and the power granted by the law, a new and strong impulse to the government, in order that it may proceed with more harmony in unison with public opinion, which rules the world, and the progress of which men can never arrest.—To consolidate that opinion, Sire, which only now consists in loving the Constitution to which we have sworn, and which will be consolidated by frankness and good faith, all Spaniards should be persuaded that their government is identified with the cause of liberty, and that the throne and the national representation form an indissoluble league, a barrier of brass, against which would be broken the projects and conspiracies of all those, who, under whatever mask, wish to despoil us of the valuable treasure of our guarantees.—Let the people see power confided to men who love the public liberty; let the entire nation see that the title and virtues of a true patriot form the only right, the only way, to the presence of your majesty, to deserve favour and obtain honours; and that all the rigour of justice and royal indignation may fall on the wicked, who dare to profane your majesty's august and sacred name, to oppress the country and liberty. This is what the cortes expect and desire. They supplicate your majesty to cause those apprehensions to cease, of which we are the victims, and to prevent the evils with which we are threatened, by ordering that the volunteer national militia may be immediately augmented and armed throughout the kingdom; for the citizens, armed for the defence of their homes and their liberty, are the firmest supports of the Constitution; that, with equal promptitude, the permanent army may be organized, that army, so worthy of the gratitude of your majesty and of the country, and whose exploits and virtues

are the admiration of the universe. At the same time, the cortes hope that your majesty will make known to all foreign governments which directly or indirectly wish to interfere in our domestic affairs, that the nation is not in a situation to receive laws; that it has strength and resources to cause them to be respected; and that if it has been enabled to defend its independence and its king with glory, it is with the same glory, and with still greater efforts, that it will always defend its king and its liberty.—The cortes are persuaded that your majesty will adopt the most energetic measures to repress the misconduct of functionaries who trespass on and abuse their powers, and to exterminate the factious wherever they may appear. The cortes flatter themselves, that, with regard to ecclesiastics and prelates who preach fanaticism and rebellion, your majesty will take measures so energetic and so efficacious, that they will disappear, terrified, from the soil of Spain, never to return to blow the fire of discord and light up the torches of superstition.—The cortes supplicate your majesty to carry into execution these measures, which seem to them to be now indispensable, without prejudice to those which the attributes of your majesty may dictate, to secure public order, and consolidate the safety of the state.—The cortes hope, also, that your majesty will strictly unite yourself to the national representation, which is only actuated by the desire of rendering for ever stable and inviolable the throne of your majesty, and the Constitution which governs us, and which the general and extraordinary cortes promulgated in 1812. Strong by means of this union, let us labour in concert for the happiness of this heroic nation, and to render unalterable its repose, its holy laws, and its glory.”

The following is the reply of the king to the message of the cortes, presented by the secretary of state, in the sitting of the 20th of June.—

“I have received, with the greatest satisfaction, the message which the cortes have addressed to me, in which are combined their respect for the constitutional throne, and their desire to contribute to the happiness of the monarchy. The perspective which the restoration of the con-

stitutional regime in 1820 presented, was far from being flattering; but it was not difficult to foresee, by consulting the history of nations, that the distance was immense between the proclamation of liberty and the power of consolidating it, and that time alone, aided by prudence and constancy, could correct the accumulated abuses of ages, arrange under an uniform plan the different branches of the administration, and bring the opinions, the manners, and the interests of the nation, to the level of political institutions. It does not depend upon the government to precipitate the natural course of things, nor to avoid the evils which are inseparable from grave and difficult reforms: but I do not hesitate to assure the cortes, that I shall employ energetically all the means, faculties, and rights, which the fundamental law gives me, to secure its religious observance, and to smooth down the obstacles opposed to its consolidation. I depend upon the co-operation of the cortes, to attain an end so important,—upon the wisdom and perseverance which characterize the Spanish people—upon the enthusiasm and bravery of the army and the militia—upon the influence of public opinion, and the support of the immense majority of the nation;—viewing with satisfaction, amid the grief which is excited in me by the events which agitate some parts of Spain, that experience justifies the full motives of my confidence. I promise myself, with the resources which are decreed by the cortes, and the means which are within the power of government, to see, in a short time, tranquillity established in Spain, and the attempts of the enemies of the Constitution entirely frustrated. In this manner we shall prove the firmness of the constitutional regime, without having recourse to extraordinary means, often little necessary, sometimes dangerous, and always a proof of the impotence of the existing laws. In vain shall the sacred name of religion be invoked to seduce the foolish; in vain shall an attempt be made to confound the banner of loyalty with the standard of rebellion: the people will be docile to the voice of the monarch; and, on the contrary supposition, the sword of the law will drive within the path of duty those who would persist in a criminal error. The cortes may rest assured, that, while I shall labour for the maintenance of

tranquillity, the principal foundation of the internal prosperity of states, I shall cause to be respected its dignity and its rights in our external relations, being convinced that it is impossible to attack the independence of a nation, without leading to disastrous effects on the power and honour of the sovereign. I am supremely happy, that, in present circumstances, while the spirit of sedition is active in all senses to mislead the simple inhabitants of our plains, and to provoke dangerous altercations, that the message of the cortes has produced me a public and solemn occasion to reiterate the expression of my sentiments, that the Spanish nation may consider the rights of the constitutional throne as a sure guarantee of its liberty and its glory.—FERDINAND.”

From the general tenor of the above communication, made by the cortes to the executive, it seems evident, that they were apprised of the magnitude of the dangers with which they were surrounded, as far at least as respected the machinations of the avowed enemies of the Constitution. It does not appear, however, that they apprehended the explosion which in a few days was to burst over their heads; I allude to the events of the 1st of July, when the troops surrounding the king's person were to make a direct attack on the liberties of the country. This must be considered a remarkable epoch in the history of the Spanish revolution; but before I enter upon it, and to relieve the monotony of a narrative whose general features present but few incidents which command striking variety, I shall introduce, in the close of the present chapter, a portrait of the Spanish nation, drawn by a distinguished foreigner, who lately visited that country, and had an opportunity of painting from the life.

“Every country possesses a number of *originals*; but the people of Spain are all original: they resemble no other nation, nor is it possible to define them. The European public fancy they can become acquainted with the Spanish character by the perusal of histories and romances, although both have given but very imperfect notions on the subject. Don Quixote and Gil Blas may be said to describe the manners and customs of the people, rather than their real character; while the history of Spain, like all other histories, portray the bad passions of princes,

rather than the qualities of their subjects. Who does not expect to find hypocrisy, espionage, and superstition, deeply rooted amongst all classes of a people which has been governed by priests and the Inquisition for the last three hundred years? Yet this is very far from being the case: it would be difficult, if not impossible, to name a country wherein so few hypocrites are to be found, if we except such places as the royal chapel, where sinners meet to beat their breasts in token of false contrition, under the very eyes of the sovereign. Even the monks have more ferocity than deception. As to spies and informers, they are held in the greatest abhorrence here. The late infamous government was extremely anxious to organize a police system on the model of various others scattered about Europe, more especially that of France and Austria; but the plan could not be carried into effect, for want of instruments sufficiently base and abandoned to put it into execution. Almost all writers represent the Spaniards as being ridiculously superstitious: this opinion is about as well-founded as would be that of a reader of 'Don Quixote' who supposed every body in Spain was a knight-errant. Great care should always be taken to distinguish between superstition and intolerance: if the latter error, or rather crime, be laid to the charge of Spain, I am sorry I cannot defend her. There are, unhappily, too many witnesses to prove the fact; Moors, Jews, Americans,—nay, the Constitution itself, which declares Catholicism to be *the only true religion!* The legislators of 1812 were obliged to pay this humiliating tribute to universal prejudice.

“ There are now (1821) no less than a hundred and eighty churches at Madrid, ninety at Seville, and an equal proportion in all the other large cities; there were also above three thousand convents in Spain; and yet the people are not so full of religious habits as in Italy. You do not, for instance, see half so many Madonnas, saints, angels, and devils, at every corner, in the towns of Spain, as are so conspicuous at Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, and Venice; nor so many sanctuaries, crosses, and crucifixes, on all the paths and highways, as in Lombardy. On Sunday, the people do not go and shut themselves up in church-yards

and chapels, as in England; nor do they count half so many rosaries as in Italy. Having seen the ceremony of *Corpus Domini* since my arrival at Madrid, I can assure you that the most brilliant public walk of Italy is neither so gay nor amusing: the devotion might have been inwardly felt, but it certainly did not appear in the countenances of the multitude. I should even have been almost justified in accusing the patron saint of vanity, for he was placed in the midst of an elegant parterre of flowers, ornamented with festoons of silver lace, as if the pageant had been intended for the celebration of a wedding. When the monks excited the people to rise against the French, in 1812, by declaring them heretics, the former were abolished by the cortes, and both them and the people were tranquil. Lately, when the pope refused to grant bulls to the two bishops named by government, a statesman, who was well acquainted with his country, said, 'The court of Rome had better take care; it does not perhaps know, that the people of Spain may, before ten years elapse, end by shaking off the papal yoke altogether.' I again repeat, that this nation is undefinable.

"Who would not also imagine, that, after having lived under a despotic sceptre ever since the reign of Charles the Fifth, the people of Spain were become mean, corrupt, and grovelling? Such a supposition would be as incorrect as the former: the Spaniard has lived as proudly under slavery as Charles the Twelfth at Bender, and has emerged from it more pure than any nation of Europe. A Spaniard will bow to one who is richer than himself, from politeness, but never through a feeling of inferiority. When he goes before a person of rank, you do not see him bend to the earth, nor is he either embarrassed or confused; he proceeds as every one ought who feels the dignity of his nature. There are many parts of the Peninsula, in which the ears of a Spaniard were never struck by the sound of '*your excellency*.'

"The same difficulty of communication that impeded the circulation of knowledge, also prevented the progress of corruption. Excepting a few grandees, scarcely any of the rich live in the villages; so that the eyes of the poor are

not offended by the presence of luxury and parade. Thus it is, too, that the people are not accustomed to the language of arrogance and pride so prevalent in other countries. I once ventured to raise my voice a little above the ordinary pitch to a postilion, who seemed to be as indifferent about the safety of my neck as his own; when his companions immediately reminded me, that I was no longer in Italy, where the people are treated like negroes. It is needless to add, that I took the hint. A peasant who had furnished some supplies to the British army during the late war, one day attended at the head-quarters of the English general Beresford, to be paid. After having dismissed several other Portuguese claimants, this officer told the Spaniard, who came last, to withdraw, for he had no time to attend to him. Scarcely had the mandate escaped his lips, when the enraged Iberian drew a poniard from under his cloak, and flew at the general, who would infallibly have perished, had it not been for the prompt interference of those present.

“That prodigious difference between the higher and lower classes, observable in some countries, is altogether unknown in the Spanish provinces. Here there are no exclusive privileges for the rich and great in society. Spain has its follies, like other countries: there is still a good deal of Mahometan blood to be met with; and as to *genealogical*, they are much more numerous than *fruit*, trees: but you look in vain for what is called the *fashionable circle*. Thus it is, that the less custom withdraws us from our natural wants, the less inequality do we find among mankind. The cloak, oil, segar, *siesta*, and bull feasts, place all the inhabitants of Spain nearly on a level.

“Those travellers who represent a Spaniard enveloped in his cloak up to the eyes, with a frowning aspect, and silent, as one who meditates some act of vengeance against a rival, have formed an erroneous opinion. It is true, revenge is not only a pleasure, but also a duty; since he who suffers an affront to pass unpunished, becomes himself an object of public scorn: but revenge is not that which engrosses his thoughts. When I see a Castilian, wrapped up in his mantle, and standing still for several hours without speaking,

or appearing to suffer the least tedium, I am rather inclined to regard him as a being who depends neither on men nor events; who, though he may despise nothing, is yet indifferent to fate, and a stranger to fear. Neither honorary decorations, fine uniforms, laced coats, nor powdered wigs, excite his notice or respect; woman alone is an object of curiosity and homage with a Spaniard.

“Spanish pride is neither the vanity of France, the bombast of Germany, nor the feudal ferocity of Russia. It is not exercised by one class towards another; it does not exist among any particular cast, but is general throughout the whole population. The royal family, grandees, and ministers, are alike affable; it is the people who are proud: so that what is a vice in an individual, becomes a virtue in the nation. Spaniards will not yet admit having discomfited Napoleon by the assistance of the English: they are more ready to praise the valour of their enemies than that of their allies. In 1808, Spain was nearly overrun by the French armies; Cadiz and Corunna were the only points that resisted. There were neither troops, arms, nor money, when General Moore presented himself before these places, with twenty thousand men, and ten millions in specie: yet his proffered aid was rejected at both places. Where, except among the heroes of Ariosto, are such romantic acts to be found? The Romans boasted of selling the camp of Hannibal, while he besieged the city: in 1811, when Cadiz was closely invested by a French army, the cortes discussed and completed the constitutional code, although the enemy's shells were falling at the doors of the legislative chamber!

“One of the most extraordinary circumstances connected with the national character of Spain, is the state of abandonment in which the past fame and glories of the nation are left. There is scarcely a single history, nor even any memoirs of the late war, so prolific in great actions: people speak of it as of a matter that is out of date. It would seem, in fact, that, in the eyes of the nation at least, the traits of valour, unexampled sacrifices, and sufferings of every kind, so widely extended and patiently borne during the war of independence, were concerns of the most natural

and ordinary description. Spain has required no other recompense, nor given itself any title but that of *heroic*. This appellation is perhaps somewhat gigantic, but it offends no one; on the contrary, when France styled itself *la grande nation*, it wounded the self-love of all others, which, by a parity of reasoning, then became petty states."

CHAPTER XI.

Formidable Appearances against the Constitutional Government—Fracas between some of the Guards and a Militia-man—Close of the Cortes, his Majesty's Speech, and the President's Reply—Bad Conduct of the Royal Guards, and the murder of an Officer in the Palace—Mutiny of the Guards on the 1st of July—Noble Conduct of General Morillo—The insurgent Guards encamp at the Prado—Patriotism of the National Militia—Perturbed State of the Capital from the 2d to the 6th—Alarming Rumours—Intercourse between the Cortes and the King—Movement of the Guards on the 6th repulsed—Attack upon the Capital on the Morning of the 7th—Account of the sanguinary Conflict—The Mutineers overthrown—Pursuit—Inquiries into the Causes of the Rebellion—Address of the Municipality of Madrid to the King—Note of the foreign Ambassadors concerning the personal Safety of the King, with an Answer to it.

ALTHOUGH it had, during the progress of the revolutionary struggle, been decidedly clear, that the great body of the Spanish people were friendly to the constitutional code, it must again be repeated, that numbers of the aristocracy, and a still larger proportion of the clerical orders, were inveterately opposed to it. New life and vigour were given to the hopes of the latter, by the events which had appeared during the spring, and early part of the summer. A formidable body had been organized, under the appellation of the Army of the Faith, who, it was morally certain, received secret encouragement from the French court, and were assisted with the aid of French gold. It was still more palpable, the court of the Thuilleries were actuated by an unfriendly policy towards the new order of things, from the undissembled patronage which was given in France to Spanish refugees, who had fled their country to escape the punishment due to their political offences, and, especially, by the French govern-