

those whom we wish to render odious to your majesty: they are beings debased by despotism, and who endeavour to render odious the best of causes. Your majesty may rest assured, that none of the latter will be found, at the moment of peril, in the ranks of the gallant men who defended liberty the day before yesterday. Disdain not, therefore, Sire, to join with those who have proved that they will be able to defend you. Your majesty perceives what little reliance can be placed on those who pretended to be exclusively devoted to your interests; as if among perjured men we could expect to find any devotion but to their own selfishness and vanity. Your majesty has seen, that the defenders of their country, even in the intoxication of victory, respected, as an inviolable and sacred asylum, the precincts of your majesty's palace, where fled the infamous aggressors of a people the most sensible to honour on the face of the earth. Your majesty can yourself attest this truth. Be assured, that, by the measures which the municipality have the honour of proposing—measures which the indefatigable exertions of the last few days give them a right to propose for the preservation of their constitutional king—your majesty will see order and tranquillity re-established in the monarchy, the state resuming new life, the laws recovering their ancient vigour, and the throne again surrounded with that brightness and splendour with which it shone before it was sullied by a despot from the north, who enervated the forces of a nation the most powerful in the time of the Ferdinands and Alphonsos." (Here follow the signatures.)

During the commotions in the capital, and while it was yet difficult to say to what extent the popular violence would rise, notes were addressed to the executive, by the foreign ambassadors, declaring, that their courts would regard any attempt on the person of the king as an act of hostility; and, on the 8th, Martineez de la Rosa addressed to each of them the following document, which, under the delicate circumstances in which ministers were placed, must be admired for the clearness of its reasoning, and the justness of its decisions.—

"SIR,—We know sufficiently the deplorable events that

have happened within these latter days; since a respectable corps, destined especially to the guard of the sacred person of his majesty, has proceeded, without any order, from its quarters, has abandoned the capital, and established itself two leagues from Madrid, in the royal residence of the Prado. This unexpected incident has placed the government in a position as difficult as it is singular. It found itself thus deprived of one of the principal supports which enabled it to maintain public order: the force destined to aid the execution of the laws, has shaken off the yoke of subordination and obedience; and soldiers, charged with the sacred care of his majesty's person, have not only abandoned it themselves, but fixed public attention on the palace of his majesty, which continued to be occupied by their companions in arms. In such circumstances, the government saw the necessity of directing its attention to two principal objects: first, that of preserving, at all hazards, the tranquillity of the capital, without giving occasion to those disorders which the state of alarm, and the irritation of the passions, threatened; secondly, that of endeavouring, by every means of peace and conciliation, to bring back to their duty the misguided corps, without being obliged to resort to force, or to proceed to the melancholy extremity of shedding Spanish blood. With respect to the first object, the measures of government have been so efficacious, that the state of the capital, in days so critical, has presented a striking example of the moderation and wisdom of the Spanish people. We have not even seen the breaking out of those slight disorders, which, in ordinary and peaceable times, are so frequent in capital cities. As to the second, the dispositions of the government have had a less happy result, owing to the obstinacy of the seduced forces. In vain were employed all the conciliatory measures which could be dictated by prudence and the most ardent desire to avoid deplorable consequences: the means of dissipating the grounds of alarm and distrust, which served as a pretext to the mutinous corps, had been exhausted. The government had given them thrice, and on three distinct occasions, an order to march upon two points, which were assigned them for quarters; the council of state thrice consulted, pointed

out ways of conciliation, which were all adopted; finally, the ministry extended so far its condescension, that it proposed to the troops of the Prado to send officers of its choice to hear from the mouth of the king himself what was his wish, and what were his desires: all this took place without producing the effect which was intended. In spite of all this, the government, forced to take the necessary precautions, had so little deviated from the line of moderation, that it not only did not employ against the mutinous soldiers the troops which garrisoned the capital, but, to avoid every hostile preparation, employed no other resources but those which were at its disposal, and which it might properly employ, since its orders had not been obeyed as they ought. But so many threatenings on the part of the government, instead of bringing back to their duty the misled battalions, had no other effect than to encourage them in the culpable projects which they have since endeavoured to put in execution, by surprising the capital. Their hostile invasion is too well known; their fruitless attempts to surprise and to beat the gallant troops of the garrison, and the national militia, are likewise well known; and the issue of their temerity is before the public. In the midst of this crisis, and of the irritation which an aggression of this nature must produce in the public, we witnessed with astonishment the soldiers and the militia preserving the most severe discipline, without abusing their triumph, and without appearing to forget for a moment that the authors of this fatal event were Spaniards. After what had occurred, it was neither prudent, nor would it have been possible, to keep the aggressors in the capital, and to continue in their charge the protection of the royal person—the object of veneration and respect to the Spanish people. They therefore entrusted this precious deposit to a regiment which had been the model of subordination and discipline; and the troops and the people acknowledged and respected the immense distance which separates a mutinous royal guard, responsible to the laws, from the august person of the king, declared sacred and inviolable by the fundamental law of the state. Never did his majesty and his august family receive more proofs of attachment and respect than in the crisis of yesterday: never did the Spanish

people exhibit greater evidences of its loyalty and its virtues! This simple relation of facts, notorious in their own nature, and capable of being supported by so many witnesses, renders all further reflections on your note unnecessary. The government of his majesty cannot fail to appreciate worthily its sentiments, and to acknowledge that its object is in every respect as useful as interesting. I renew to your excellency the assurances of my high consideration," &c.

CHAPTER XII.

Assembling of the Insurgents—Sanguinary Conflicts in Catalonia, Arragon, and Navarre—Sanguinary Conduct of the Constitutionalists—Trial and Execution of General Elio—The French Cordon Sanataire converted into an Army of Observation—New Spanish Ministry, and State of Parties—Popular Societies—Proceedings of the Landaburian Club—Ferdinand strictly guarded—Royal Excursion—Description of a Bull Fight—Financial Embarrassments—Congress of Verona—Deceptive Conduct of the French Ministry.

WHETHER the mutiny of the royal guards was actually connected with the machinations of the enemies of the Constitution on the frontier provinces towards France, or not, has never been fully ascertained; but the assembling of large bodies of men in Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, immediately after that event, seems to justify the affirmative part of the question. It was likewise suspected, with every appearance of justice, that the Duke of Angouleme, who was at the head of the ultra-royalist party in France, had contrived to supply the leaders of the factious with money, arms, and clothing. Large bodies of men were collected in the three provinces above named, put under regular discipline, and assumed the name of "*The Army of the Faith.*" To these, regular military commanders were assigned; at the head of whom was the Baron D'Eroles, and under him Quesada, the Trappist, and Merino. Having made themselves masters of Seo D'Urgel, a strong fortress in Catalonia, they spread themselves into the neighbouring provinces, and presented a formidable force to the constitutional government. In the month of August, a few distinguished Spanish

refugees, who had received the most friendly reception in France, passed the frontier of that kingdom, repaired to Seo d'Urgel, and assumed to themselves the supreme government of the country, under the name of "The Regency." The Marquis of Mata-Florida was declared to be the head of this regency; and on the 14th this body was formally installed. Their first act of sovereignty was the proclaiming of Ferdinand, with all the ancient solemnities; and their next was the issuing of a proclamation, in which they demanded the submission of the whole country to their authority.

The strength and consistency which had been acquired by the Army of the Faith, required all the force and energy the cortes could employ for its subjection. Numerous battles were fought, with varied success: the towns and villages which formed the scene of operations were desolated; and all the horrors of civil war, always more sanguinary and destructive than a warfare carried on between contending nations, spread themselves throughout the three provinces. Mina commanded against the rebels in Catalonia, where the self-constituted authority had its seat; Torrijos, a young soldier of courage, but sanguinary in his temper, headed the constitutional forces in Arragon; and Carlos Espinosa in Navarre. These conflicts continued till nearly the conclusion of the year, when the Army of the Faith was entirely destroyed or dispersed, and all the members of the regency driven within the French frontier, where they sought and received a safe asylum. If we are to give credit to a late historian, who professed to be no way ill-disposed towards the constitutional government, the Spanish commanders are chargeable with the most sanguinary conduct. "What," observes he, "is to be said of the commander, who, after receiving prisoners upon the usual understanding that their lives should be spared, selects a certain number, and orders them to be shot? Not only was this barbarous outrage upon humanity perpetrated by the constitutional chieftains, but, in more than one instance, they took out unarmed inhabitants from their houses, and, upon mere oral information that they were factious, without a trial, or a legal inquiry of any sort, commanded them to be put to death.

It was no uncommon circumstance, to read in the provincial papers, that such a person was shot, in such a village, at 'the request of the people:' that is to say, a mob raised a clamour against an individual, and, without ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, the authorities ordered the sentence to be executed. And these facts were related, without a single observation expressive of surprise or sympathy, as if they were in the common course of justice."

It must, however, be allowed, that, throughout the popular commotions in Spain, very few instances occurred, in which the sanguinary proceedings of a neighbouring country were imitated. Banishment to some of the provinces remote from the capital, or, at most, to the fortress of Ceuta, was, in general, the extent of punishment inflicted for political offences. One exception to this procedure occurred in the case of General Elio, the man who had been the principal instrument in inducing Ferdinand to reject the Constitution, on his return from captivity, and who, up to the period of the revolution of March, 1820, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the constitutionalists by his violent and sanguinary conduct. From the month of May in the preceding year, he had been shut up in prison, in Valencia, and there did not appear to be any serious intention on the part of the government to bring him to punishment, until after the memorable events of the 7th of July, when the popular voice loudly demanded his being brought to suffer for his offences. After being tried before an ordinary court-martial, at which General Villa Campa presided, he was, on the 27th of August, adjudged to the most ignominious death known to the Spanish laws, that of the *garotte*. This sentence, submitted to the auditor of war to be revised, was not only approved by him, but its immediate execution was demanded, conformably to the martial law of 1821. The arrival of Brigadier Espina, who was provisionally invested with the military command of the district, was regarded as the signal for the execution; and if it had been much longer retarded, it is more than probable he would have fallen a victim to popular fury. On the 4th of September, the general terminated his existence at Valencia on a scaffold, to which the populace accompanied him, with shouts of

"To death with Elio! His blood will cement the constitutional edifice!" He met his fate with a firmness worthy of a better cause than that which he had zealously promoted; repeating the cry, "Long live the king, and religion!"

In the months of August and September, though the relations with France underwent no formal alteration, it became obvious that preparations of a hostile character were making by the French government. The sanitary cordon had still remained at the foot of the Pyrenees, after the cause on account of which it was collected had long ceased to exist. Even while it retained this inoffensive character, parks of artillery, bridge-equipages, and supplies of all kinds of provisions, had been collected at Bayonne; materials which were no way necessary to guard against the introduction of the yellow fever into France. Abandoning, therefore, so thinly disguised a pretext, the French government, towards the latter end of September, issued an ordinance, by which the name of sanitary cordon was changed into that of an army of observation, whose professed object was to provide for the protection of the inhabitants of that frontier against the unsettled state of the Spanish neighbouring provinces. It is not unworthy of remark, that this change took place just at the time when the Holy Alliance was about to assemble at Verona, where France had already decided that the affairs of Spain should form a subject of deliberation.

This may be a proper place to view the state of parties in the Peninsula, and especially the character of the men who formed the ministry, and directed the affairs of government. At the time of the meeting of the royal guards, the ministry of Martinez de la Rosa was in power, but it immediately after lost its influence, and the confidence of the people, in consequence of a general impression, though there never appeared sufficient reason to justify such a suspicion, that it favoured that movement. On the change that followed, Evaristo San Miguel was placed at the head of the new ministry. In the army of the Isla, he had been chief of the staff, and performed his duties to the satisfaction of the government. Subsequently, he became one of the leading members of the party of freemasons,

to which he was indebted for his elevation. It may be here observed, that this party was originally formed in Cadiz, in the year 1812; and, in the beginning, they adopted the same system of toleration and philanthropy which is held by all the freemasons of Europe. Upon the return of Ferdinand, and the re-establishment of the monstrous tribunal of the Inquisition, they were persecuted with unsparing violence by the adherents of the king. Notwithstanding this, by means of their well-arranged organization, they kept up a secret communication, formed the design of restoring liberty, and strenuously exerted themselves for the accomplishment of that object. The unsuccessful risings of Porlier and Lacy, already detailed, were planned and supported by this association. In the famous revolution of the Isla, they were, at last, successful: the operations of the army which proclaimed the Constitution were directed by the lodges, and every measure carried into effect through the medium of freemasonry.

San Miguel is a young man, who transacts business with apparent gentleness, though reputed to be extremely irritable, and impatient of censure; he possesses but little political knowledge, and is very superficially conversant with the tact of diplomacy. He has been charged with great partiality in distributing the various offices attached to his department; a charge, indeed, to which every minister may be liable, because he naturally selects for coadjutors those with whose characters and abilities he is most conversant, and in whom he can place the greatest confidence. San Miguel has preserved his situation of foreign minister from the memorable epoch of the mutiny, in July, 1822, through all the stormy period of public affairs, down to the removal of the king to Cadiz; which indicates an ability which some political writers are unwilling to concede to him.

The war-minister, Lopez Banos, was also one of the generals who commanded in the army of the Isla. In the first instance, he discovered some reluctance in joining the constitutional party, but has steadily supported their measures with undeviating fidelity. He is not remarkable for skill in what may be called the scientific division of his department, but enjoys the undisputed character of a good soldier.

Navarro, minister of grace and justice, is remarkable as a declared enemy to the abuses and usurpations of the court of Rome. He is well versed in the canon law, of an intelligent mind, but said to be deficient in that general reading which is requisite in a man who would express himself in a lucid and impressive style. He is rather a logician than a statesman; and labours under the disadvantage of an austere, unamiable disposition.

The minister of the interior, Gasco, has proved himself to possess active habits, is passionately devoted to the liberty of his country, and is decided and firm in his character. By profession he was an advocate, a rank which in Spain is comparatively obscure, as the courts are not founded on a public basis; which precludes the most splendid talents from making any considerable figure: besides, Gasco never rose to any eminence as a lawyer. His character for probity is highly respectable; and he acquires popularity in the discharge of his official duties, by his affability and condescension.

Egea, as the finance-minister, bore the character of a scrupulously honest man; is well acquainted with the routine of office; has good intentions, but little resolution. He views the modern science of political economy as a mere chimera.

Vandillo, the ultramarine-minister, is well grounded in political economy; a man of literature and knowledge. He was an advocate at Cadiz; is blamed as too docile, and incapable of firmness. He has written some excellent works on the advantages of a free trade, for which he is a zealous partisan. He is reputed a man of moderation and virtue.

Capaz, the minister of marine, stands next in point of weight and influence to San Miguel. To this minister is chiefly to be ascribed the infatuated policy pursued by the present government against South American independence. Such was the preponderance he acquired in the direction of public affairs, that not a few of his party secretly desired his fall, that they might have at least a chance of succeeding him.

Among the leading men in the cortes may be numbered Canga and Augustin Arguelles, Galiano, Isturitz; and a great

majority of that body are of the party called freemasons: and although there appeared among the heads of parties an opposition and rivalry which frequently embarrassed the operations of government, yet, the moment it became apparent that the great powers of the continent threatened the national independence, they magnanimously sacrificed their personal resentments on the altar of their common country. It has justly been considered a misfortune in the constitution of the present cortes, that a great number of deputies have little or no property, their principal support depending upon their stipend, which amounts to about five dollars a day. It would be a wild theory to maintain, that a man, because he has but a small estate, is incapable of being a good legislator; but when it is considered, that property is, immediately or remotely, necessarily affected by laws which a country enacts, it is highly desirable that those who legislate should feel a personal interest in its protection and security. It is true, that the ninety-second article of the Constitution provides, that, in order to qualify a candidate for a seat in the cortes, he must be possessed of a proportionate yearly income; but a subsequent article suspends this wise provision, until a future legislature should determine the amount of the income, and the nature of the property from which it should arise.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, which preceded the present, and the party which supported it, was composed of men rather aristocratical, and consisted generally of the higher classes of the nobility. The general opinion of these men has been, that they were strongly impressed in favour of certain modifications in the Constitution, and especially in the necessity of forming a chamber of peers. It is even said, that some hopes had been given by this ministry to the courts of Russia and France, that such modifications should be adopted. Whether this was actually the case or not, there is no certain data on which to form a decision; but if such was the fact, the intention was effectually defeated by the events of the 7th of July, which threw all political power into the hands of men, who were resolutely bent on making no concessions to the demands of foreigners.

From the period just adverted to, the new ministry exerted all their efforts to rouse the national feeling in their favour. The cortes passed a law for the re-opening of popular debating societies; and, in the capital, about one hundred individuals associated together under the name of the Landaburian society, for the avowed purpose of instructing the people in their rights. I shall not enter into an account of the speeches delivered in this society; but simply submit the proceedings of one of their sittings, as given by an English gentleman at Madrid, as tending to elucidate the opinions and genius of that party which is the most enthusiastic, or, according to the prevailing phrase, the most *exalted*, in favour of the Constitution.

“ In the early part of December, a meeting of the society took place, which, under all its circumstances, was rather a remarkable one, inasmuch as, at one period of it, it was feared that the people would have rushed out into the streets, and have raised the standard of sedition. It must be premised, that, during the evening, there was a report busily circulated in Madrid, that the chiefs of the mutiny of the 7th of July were released from prison by order of the ministers, and that they were already several leagues from the metropolis, on their way out of the Peninsula. The decision of the cortes, confirming the capitulation of Palarea and Placentia, by which the lives of those who surrendered to those constitutional chiefs were saved, seemed to afford some grounds for the rumour: but, though the lives of the leaders comprehended in these capitulations were thus protected, it was not doubted that they would be tried, and subjected to degradations, confiscations, and long imprisonments in African or South American *presidios*. Besides these, there were several leaders in custody, who were not comprehended in any capitulation, and who, it was as little doubted, would suffer death. The report stated, that the leaders of these classes were set at liberty, on condition of quitting Spain without delay. It was true, that the ex-political chief, San Martin, had been just liberated from prison, as there was no distinct charge found against him: but the rest of the rumour was a mere exaggeration, got up very probably for the purpose of impelling the meeting

to violent measures. The business of the night was opened by Citizen Oller, who was followed by Citizen Romero; but they were scarcely attended to, so busy were the people in communicating to one another the rumour of the hour. In proportion as it was circulated, the exasperation of the crowd began to shew itself in a very unequivocal manner. In the midst of this agitation, Citizen Floran ascended the tribune.—‘What is it,’ he asked, ‘that agitates you? We ought, all of us, to be prepared to follow the march of things. What do you fear? Are you ignorant, that in the midst of you are to be found the sentinels of liberty? Are you not well assured that we would every one of us perish before we should see this sacred temple of freedom profaned? What has happened to alarm you?’ [Several voices answered, ‘Nothing: nothing can alarm us; we fear nothing.’] ‘If I had not that confidence in you,’ continued the orator, ‘never, never should I have appeared in this tribune. I know well, that, when summoned to defend your liberties, you are lions: but I have particular reasons for requesting the strictest order. This night, citizens, let us swear once more before the tomb of the hero who died for liberty, *The Constitution or Death!*—Do you swear?’ [Yes! yes! we do swear!] answered the whole crowd unanimously.] Tranquillity, however, did not follow this artful diversion: on the contrary, the music which was struck up after Floran left the tribune could scarcely be heard, so loud were the vociferations, and the expressions of indignation, that arose from several groups in the hall.

“Citizen Oller again mounted the tribune; but his efforts to calm the mind of the multitude were to little purpose. ‘Who is there amongst us,’ said he, ‘who would not shed the last drop of his blood in defence of our liberties, if they were in danger?’ [‘Yes! they are in danger,’ exclaimed many voices.] ‘Have the goodness to hear me. I trust that to-morrow we shall be able to acquire authentic information with respect to the intelligence which has excited your indignation. (*Vuestra exaltacion!*—I know no English word equivalent to the latter: it signifies a passionate, an enthusiastic state of mind, which is not understood by the English word *exaltation*.) For the rest, it is absolutely

necessary that your conduct should support these tribunes, which we have recovered with so much difficulty.'

"Still the agitation continued. In the midst of it, Citizen Floran again appeared in the tribune. '*Viva la exaltacion!*' said he; 'without it, we should never have fully vindicated our liberties! Assuredly we now feel how much our inactivity has cost us: but, citizens, there never was an occasion when we ought to conduct ourselves with greater prudence than on this night. It is rumoured, in substance, that San Martin is, or is about to be, set at liberty; that Castro Terreno is, or is about to be, set at liberty.' [The indignation of the audience here rose to such a height, that some cried out, 'Let us go in a body, and ascertain the truth of this report: if it be true,.....' This movement, however, was opposed with effect.] 'Citizens,' continued Floran, 'I conjure you, in the name of that country which you adore, not to compromise this society. *Viva la Constitucion!*' [This cry was repeated by the multitude; while the band forced all their might into the instruments, that they might drown, with patriotic songs, the murmurs of the people: but all in vain; the *exaltacion* of the crowd rather increased than lessened.]

"In the midst of this confusion, Citizen Gorostiza ascended the tribune. He praised 'the noble fire' by which the meeting was animated; but, at the same time, conjured the people to wait until the morning, to ascertain the real extent of the rumours by which they were agitated. ['Yes, forsooth! by that time, the criminals will be a hundred leagues from the capital!'] 'Citizens,' he continued, 'I should be false to my principles, if I addressed you on a point upon which I have not sufficient data.' ['We have them.'] 'If any of you be fully acquainted with the facts, enter this tribune, and relate them: I shall yield it with pleasure.' [No answer was given to this invitation; and the orator digressed to the subject of the French army of observation, upon which he was heard with sufficient tranquillity.]

"Gorostiza was followed by Citizen Perez Ribas, who, unfortunately, went back to the topic of the rumours, which, he said, if they were true, afforded strong grounds for alarm.