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ment of their proceedings, despoiled me of the sovereignty which they had just before acknowledged, attributing it nominally to the nation, for the purpose of appropriating it to themselves, and then dictating what laws they pleased. Thus, without authority from province, place, or junta, and without the knowledge of those which were said to be represented by substitute members, they imposed upon the nation the yoke of a new constitution, wherein almost the whole form of the old constitution of the monarchy was changed; and, copying the revolutionary and democratical principles of the French constitution of 1791, they sanctioned . . . not the fundamental laws of a moderate monarchy, . . . but those of a popular government, with a chief or magistrate, their mere delegated executor, and not a King, although they gave him that name to deceive and seduce the unwary. They carried these laws by means of the threats and violence of those persons with whom the galleries of the Cortes were filled; giving thus the colour of the general will to what was in fact only the work of a faction. With the same want of liberty, the constitution was signed and sworn to; and it was notorious to all what had been the treatment of the respectable Bishop of Orense, and the punishment with which others had been threatened who refused to sign and swear to it."

He proceeded then to say in what manner revolutionary principles had been diffused in journals, some of which were edited by members of the Cortes; that king, and tyrant, and despot had been used as synonymous terms; that the army and navy and other establishments which used to be called royal, had been renamed national, in order to flatter the people, who, nevertheless, in spite of these arts, retained by their native loyalty the good feelings which always formed their character. "Of all this," he continued, "since I happily re-entered the kingdom, I have been acquiring faithful information, partly by my own observation,

and partly from the public papers, in which, up to this day, representations of my coming and of my character are circulated, so false and infamous in themselves, that even with regard to any other individual they would be heavy offences, worthy of severe exposure and punishment. Such unexpected circumstances have filled my heart with bitterness, which has only been tempered by demonstrations of affection from all those who hoped for my arrival, that my presence might put an end to these evils, and to the oppression in which those were held who preserved the remembrance of my person, and desired the true happiness of their country. True and loyal Spaniards, I promise and vow to you that you shall not be deceived in your noble hopes! Your sovereign wishes to be so for your sake; and in this he places his glory, . . . in being the sovereign of an heroic nation, who by immortal deeds have gained the admiration of all, and preserved their liberty and their honour. I abhor and detest despotism: the intelligence and cultivation of the nations of Europe do not suffer it now; neither in Spain have its Kings ever been despots, nor have its good laws and constitution authorized it, though by misfortune there may have been from time to time there, as every where, and in every thing human, abuses which no possible constitution can entirely preclude; and these were not the faults of the constitution, but of individuals, and the effects of melancholy but very rare circumstances which gave occasion to them. Yet to prevent them as far as may be by human foresight, preserving the honour of the royal dignity and its rights (for rights it has) and those which belong to the people, which are equally inviolable. I will consult with the *procuradores* of Spain and of the Indies, and in a Cortes, legitimately assembled, composed of both, as soon as they can be brought together, (order having been restored, and the good usages in which the nation has lived,

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CHAP. and which with its accord the Kings, my august predecessors,
XLVI. have established) every thing that can conduce to the good
1814. of my kingdoms shall be firmly and legitimately established,
May. that my subjects may live prosperously and happily under a
religion and a government closely united in an indissoluble tie,
wherein and wherein alone consists the temporal happiness of
a King and a kingdom bearing for excellence the title of Ca-
tholic. Immediate preparations shall be made for assembling
these Cortes. Liberty and security, individual and royal, shall
be firmly secured by means of laws, which, guaranteeing public
tranquillity and order, shall leave to all that wholesome liberty,
the undisturbed enjoyment of which distinguishes a moderate
government from an arbitrary and despotic one. This just
liberty all, likewise, shall enjoy to communicate their ideas and
thoughts through the press, that is, within those limits which
sound reason prescribes to all, that it degenerate not into
licentiousness; for the respect which is due to religion and to
government, and that which men ought mutually to observe
towards each other, can under no civilized government be
reasonably permitted to be violated with impunity. All sus-
picion, also, of any waste of the public revenues shall cease;
those which shall be assigned for the expenses required for the
honour of my royal person and family, and that of the nation
which I have the glory to govern being separated from the
revenues, which, with consent of the kingdom, may be assigned
for the maintenance of the state in all the branches of its
administration. And the laws which shall hereafter serve as
a rule of action for my subjects shall be established in concert
with the Cortes; so that these bases may serve as an authentic
declaration of my royal intentions in the government with which
I am about to be charged, and will represent to all, not a despot
or a tyrant, but a King and a father of his subjects.”

He went on to say, that having heard complaints from all parts against the constitution, and against the measures of the Cortes, . . . considering also the mischiefs which had sprung therefrom, and would increase if he should sanction that constitution with his consent, . . . acting, moreover, in conformity to the decided and general demonstration of the wishes of his people, wishes which were just in themselves and well founded, he declared that he would not swear to the Cortes, but that he annulled it, and abrogated all such of its acts as derogated from the rights and prerogatives of his sovereignty established by that constitution and those laws under which the nation had so long lived. And he declared all persons guilty of high treason who should attempt to support them, and to excite discontent and disturbance in his dominions, whether by writing, word, or deed. The administration was to go on under the present system till the old one could be restored; and the political and administrative branches till the future Cortes should have determined upon the permanent order of this part of the government. But from the day on which this his decree should be published and communicated to the President of the Cortes, the sittings of that Cortes should cease; all their papers should be delivered to the officers charged with the execution of this decree, and deposited in the house of the *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid, and the room in which they were deposited be locked and sealed up; and whoever should obstruct the execution of the decree should be deemed guilty of high treason, and punished with death. All proceedings pending for any infraction of the constitution were to cease; and all persons imprisoned for such infraction to be set at liberty forthwith. "Such," the King concluded, "is my will, because the welfare and happiness of the nation require it."

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By another decree of the same date, Ferdinand conferred upon

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*Ferdinand
sets out for
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the capital, in testimony of his esteem and gratitude, and in earnest of some more signal favour, the privilege of adding to its appellation of the "right noble, loyal, and imperial town of Madrid," that of "heroic" also; and upon its *Ayuntamiento* the title of "excellency." In this decree, also, he ordered an hundred doubloons to be distributed in each of the parishes of Madrid, on the day when he should make his entrance; and he regretted that circumstances did not allow him to give greater proofs of his natural bounty. On the following day he departed for Madrid. Such were the multitudes who came from far and near to obtain a sight of their King, that one continued concourse of people lined the whole way from Valencia. Every village devised some means of displaying its loyalty; some by erecting triumphal arches, such as their abilities could afford; others by strewing the road with branches and flowers for miles together. The Cortes, as he approached, could no longer dream of resistance; the decree which abrogated their constitution and put an end to their authority was posted in the streets of Madrid, countersigned by General Eguia, as Captain-General of New Castille, and Political and Military Governor of the Province, now by the King appointed; and deputations from its Audience and its *Ayuntamiento* went to meet him at Aranjuez, where he halted two days, and where the rejoicing of the inhabitants, and the illuminations which they exhibited, and the confluence of visitors, contrasted strangely with the devastation that the French had committed there; for they had stripped the gardens of every thing which could be carried away, and had destroyed or mutilated the statues and the fountains.

*He enters
Madrid.
May 12.*

Such members of the Cortes as were marked for the King's displeasure were arrested on the night before his arrival by General Eguia. On the 13th, Eguia went out with the grandees in procession, habited in the ancient costume, to meet him. The

Majorcan division lined the Prado, from the Puerta de Atocha, at which he entered, and the Calle de Alcalá to the Puerta del Sol, . . . not to overawe the people (for a corporal and four soldiers might have repressed any discontent that appeared that day) but to increase the pomp and splendour of the festival. In the highest part of the Calle de Alcalá, . . . and no scene could be better suited to such a pageant, . . . a triumphal arch had been erected, as imposing in appearance as if it had been of durable materials. The balconies were hung with silk of various colours, fringed with gold and silver; and Ferdinand made his entrance amid the salute of cannon, and the sound of bells from all the churches, and the shouts and acclamations of an innumerable multitude rising above all. Their invaders had been totally defeated and expelled; their strong places were recovered; their national independence had been gloriously vindicated and established; the tyrant who had deceived, and outraged, and insulted them had been beaten from his throne; the Intruder whom he had set over them had been hunted out of their land; their King, . . . their legitimate, their popular, their beloved King was restored! Greater joy could not have been expressed, greater happiness could not have been felt, if that King had been in all respects deserving of the generous enthusiasm which was that day manifested for his sake.

If Ferdinand had now performed the promises which were distinctly made in his declaration, he might have averted much, if not all, of the subsequent danger which he incurred, and the just reproaches which will be attached to his name in history. It ought not to be said that in making those promises he had no intention of fulfilling them; for though he scrupled at no dissimulation when under duress, they were voluntary in this case, and the temper of the nation, then unequivocally declared, was such, that no purpose was to be gained by it. Ferdinand

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*Subsequent
conduct of
the people
and of the
government.*

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was a person of narrow mind, and his heart seems to have been incapable of generous feeling; but he was not a wicked man; nor would he have been a bad King, if he had met with wise ministers, and had ruled over an enlightened people. On the two important subjects of civil and religious freedom he and the great body of the nation were in perfect sympathy, . . . both, upon both subjects, imbued with error to the core; and the popular feeling in both cases outran his. The word Liberty (*Libertad*) appeared in large bronze letters over the entrance of the Hall of the Cortes in Madrid. The people of their own impulse hurried thither to remove it; they set up ladders, forced out letter by letter from the stone, and as each was thrown into the street, the spectators renewed their shouts of exultation. They collected as many of the journals of the Cortes, and of the papers and pamphlets of the *Liberales*, as could be got together; formed a procession in which the religious fraternities, and the clergy regular and secular, took the lead; piled up these papers in one of the public squares, and sacrificed them there as a political *auto-de-fè*, after which high mass was performed and *Te Deum* sung, as a thanksgiving for their triumph. The Stone of the Constitution, as it was called, was every where removed, and replaced as it had been at Valencia. The people at Seville deposed all the existing authorities, elected others in their stead to all the offices which had existed under the old system, and then required those authorities to re-establish the Inquisition. In re-establishing that accursed tribunal by a formal act of government, in suppressing the freedom of the press, which had been abused to its own destruction, and in continuing to govern not merely as an absolute monarch, but as a despotic one, Ferdinand undoubtedly complied with the wishes of the Spanish nation. He did these things conformably to his own misguided conscience and weak judgement, as well as to his

inclinations; and for so doing he was, by the voice of the people, a patriotic and popular King. In all this he cannot justly be charged with any thing worse than error of judgement; fearfully injurious indeed in its consequences, but in the individual to be pitied as well as pardoned. But, in his treatment of the more conspicuous persons among the *Liberales*, whom he condemned to strict and long imprisonment, many of them for life, he brought upon himself an indelible reproach, and incurred the guilt of individual sin. Quintana, who, more than any other person, contributed by his eloquent writings to excite and sustain the national spirit, and awaken the sympathy of other nations, was one of the victims thus sentenced; and his life is said to have been not the only one which was shortened by severe confinement.

But the peninsular war concludes with the return of Ferdinand to Madrid; and its history may best be concluded with the return to his own country of the General by whom it was brought to this triumphant termination. A dukedom was conferred upon Lord Wellington, £300,000 were voted by parliament for the purchase of an estate suitable to the dignity, and such an additional grant of income as made up the annual amount of his parliamentary allowances to £17,000. He had not been in England since he was raised to the peerage; and thus it happened that, when he was introduced into the House of Lords to take his seat, his patents of creation as Baron, Earl, Marquis, and Duke were all to be read on the same day. No ceremony of honour was omitted on this occasion; the Duchess his wife, and his mother, the Countess of Mornington, were present to behold it, being seated below the throne. After the oaths had been administered, and he had taken his seat, the Lord Chancellor Eldon addressed him for the purpose of conveying the thanks of the House, which had been voted to him on the preceding evening,

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Lord Wellington returns to England.

*He takes his seat in the House of Lords.
June 28.*

The Lord Chancellor's speech.

CHAP. for the twelfth time. In performing this duty, Lord Eldon said,
 XLVI. he could not refrain from calling the attention of his Grace, and
 1814. of the noble Lords present, to a circumstance singular in the
 history of that House, . . . that upon his introduction he had gone
 through every dignity of the peerage in this country which it was
 in the power of the crown to bestow. These dignities had been
 conferred upon him for eminent and distinguished services ; and
 he would not have the presumption to attempt to state the nature
 of those services, nor to recapitulate those brilliant acts which
 had given immortality to the name of Wellington, and placed this
 empire on a height of military renown of which there was no ex-
 ample in its history. He could not better discharge the duty which
 had devolved upon him than by recurring to the terms in which
 that House had so often expressed their sense of the energy, the
 unremitting exertions, the ardour, and the ability with which
 the noble Duke had conducted the arduous campaigns of the
 Peninsula, . . . exertions and ability which finally enabled him to
 place the allied armies in the heart of France, fighting their
 way there through the blaze of victory. The glorious result
 of his victories had been to achieve the peace and security of
 his country ; while, by his example, he had animated the rest
 of Europe, and enabled her governments to restore their ancient
 order. The Lord Chancellor then expressed his own satisfaction
 in being the instrument of informing the Duke that the House
 unanimously voted their thanks for his eminent and unremit-
 ted services, and their congratulations upon his return to his
 country.

*The House
 of Commons
 congratulate
 him on his
 return.*

The House of Commons in voting their thanks had voted
 also that a committee of the House should wait upon his Grace
 to communicate the same, and to offer him their congratulations
 on his return. The Duke in reply signified that he was desirous
 of expressing to the House his answer in person. He was