

cortes would excite its zeal by a proposition on the insult offered yesterday to the national representatives, not only with a view to the preservation of their persons, which would be of small consequence, but to preserve the national representation and the Constitution."

Senor Garcia Page submitted the following proposition: "In consideration of the events which happened yesterday, I request the cortes to order, that the secretaries of state be called immediately to congress, to give information on the means taken by government to avoid the result of these events, and the precautions that have been enforced to maintain the public tranquillity, and to agree to those which belong to the power of the cortes." This proposition was not admitted to discussion.

Senor Cepero then introduced the following: "That a despatch be sent to ministers, requiring their immediate attendance, to inform the cortes of the occurrences of yesterday on the rising of the sitting, of the insults offered to various deputies, and of the means which had been taken to prevent their repetition." Its author then said, "Though the proposition of Garcia Page has not been admitted to discussion, I shall use the freedom of speech allowed me by your regulation, and shall express the motives which have induced me to make the proposition which has just been read. Before this epoch, I had been elected a deputy, and had the misfortune to see our fundamental law abolished. Then, I saw not only my opinions despised, but found myself thrown into a dungeon; but, till this sanctuary of the laws was shut, my person was religiously respected. During the course of yesterday, I was witness to a scene which exceeds all the horrors I have ever seen; and in the midst of my misfortunes, which are well known, I never experienced a pain like that of yesterday. I saw, in some sense, my country threatened with slavery; for what can be hoped for the preservation of freedom, when the national representation, to which the public have entrusted their rights and liberties, is trampled upon. Let it not be supposed, that I blame the Spanish people, or even the people of Madrid: they are not capable of an outrage of this nature. The deputies who have received the powers of the nation, have

not contracted any greater obligation than to preserve the Constitution; and how can they do so, if they may be trampled upon with impunity? Those deputies who were yesterday insulted, exposed their breasts to the daggers of assassins, out of love for their country; but can all the members of the cortes be supposed to possess the same firmness of character? As for me, I shall act freely, because dangers do not alarm me. But are all the deputies actuated by the same courage?—some of them feeble through age, and others weak from physical constitution. Those who brought about the scandalous scene of yesterday are declared enemies of their country, and have inflicted a deeper wound on it, than the rebels who lift their hands against it. I cannot but recall the indignity committed in the house of the widow of Porlier—of that hero who sacrificed for his country, and whose name is written in this august place, as a testimony of national gratitude. That house was pulled down, because it sheltered Count Torreno—the illustrious deputy, whose sacrifices and services need no praise of mine!” The honourable deputy concluded, by proposing the resolution stated above.

Senor Sancho said, “All the national representatives were insulted, in the indignity offered to their colleagues yesterday. It is as much an insult to shout ‘viva’ to a deputy, for his opinions, as to cry ‘death’ to him; and therefore, satisfied with the approbation of my conscience, I equally despise both. If the deputies are not free to express their opinions, there is no longer a Constitution. But are the cortes really without liberty? I am far from being of this opinion. Because a dozen or two persons, paid to commit this excess, (for they were heard to say they had received such and such sums,) insulted the two deputies, the national representation ought not to be considered as deprived of all freedom: but, at the same time, I am of opinion, that the cortes cannot but take cognizance of this occurrence; since, although freedom still exists, it may be lost, if an event of this kind be viewed with indifference. The cortes ought also to consult its own dignity, as well as its freedom, and to exterminate a miserable faction, which is only of importance in proportion as it excites disorders.” In the



opinion of this deputy, the infliction of punishment was more necessary than the calling for information from government. He concluded with the following motion: "That a commission be appointed, which, after consulting with the government and the competent authorities, may propose to the cortes such measures as it may think proper, with respect to the occurrences of yesterday."

Senor Quiroga strongly inveighed against the scandalous disorders of the previous day. *Vivas* had been shouted to the freedom of the press, and to Riego; but they had likewise heard *vivas* to an absolute king, and cries of "Death for Riego and Quiroga!" He ascribed all this to the feebleness of government, who had taken no precautions to prevent, on the previous day, scenes similar to those which had occurred three days before. He declared his respect for Count de Torreno; and said, that, as soon as he heard of the insult offered him, he sallied forth from his house, determined to die by his side. "As a deputy, and as Quiroga," said he, "I cannot but declare it as my opinion, that the cortes should instantly direct the authorities to fulfil their duties, and to procure respect for the laws."

Senor Martinez de la Rosa said, that he would not have spoken on this occasion, were it not to testify to the zeal with which the authorities acted in extending their protection to him. So much were they disposed to afford him all the defence in their power, that he was himself obliged to countermand the troops they were sending to guard his house. He did not, however, think, that the cortes ought to entertain the question, unless submitted to them by government. If they went into it as a legislative question, it would be attributed to the fear they entertained of their own safety. The cortes (he said) possessed fully the freedom of deliberation; and, as the best proof they could afford of the fact, they ought immediately to enter on the discussion of the project of law which formed the order of the day. The occurrences of the preceding day had sufficiently shewn the weakness of the disorganizing factions, which had no other means than their audacity. They would disappear before firmness and prudence.

Conde de Torreno.—"My view of the subject is the



same as that expressed by Senor Martinez de la Rosa. It is certain, that our persons alone were insulted; but in them an insult was offered to the whole of the national representation. The house of a citizen—of a deputy—which formed the asylum of the widow of a Porlier, has been forcibly entered: some of my servants were maltreated and wounded. Perhaps those who committed this attack have been instigated by some of the persons who contributed to the tragic end of Porlier, and by whom I was prosecuted even in a foreign land. I might name some chiefs of assassins, whom I know; but what can the cortes do in this affair? On this point, I think with Senor Martinez de la Rosa; but I do not concur in his declaration, that he should present himself unarmed to the poniards of the assassins. If they return to attack my house, they shall not enter it unless they take it as they would a fortress. Let us then proceed tranquilly with the discussion of the law-project. If there should be any doubt of certain abuses, in which the press has no slight part, the events of yesterday must remove it. I must add, that I have nothing to complain of any of the authorities, since they all did their duty. I know not what was the intention of the mob, but it is certain that they had purchased ropes to bind me with. The thing, however, being past, I do not believe that I have any personal danger to fear: the authorities have sent more troops to my house than are necessary to repress any disorder.”

Senor Sancho.—“I envy the virtue of Senor Martinez de la Rosa and the Conde de Torreno; for certainly there is great virtue in disdaining popular fame, and in that firmness of character which they exhibit. It is not, however, a personal question with them, but with the cortes. Yesterday, the whole national representation, not single deputies, was attacked; and the cortes is bound to shew the interest it takes in seeing the Constitution and the national representation respected. I could wish to have my head organized in a different manner, and to see things under a different point of view from that in which I do see them, in order that I might vote to-day against what I defended yesterday. In saying this, I think I sufficiently manifest the contempt I entertain for this faction: but, notwithstanding this con-

tempt, I insist that the cortes cannot look on this affair with indifference. It is said, that the cortes have not failed in their duty; but, though this should be the fact, it is not the less necessary to investigate the origin of the evil. I attribute no weight to what has been said by Senor Martinez de la Rosa and the Conde de Torreno, against my proposition, because I perceive that their opposition arises from delicacy. The cortes are bound, for the protection of their inviolability, and for the sake of decorum, to investigate the matter. This they are even bound to do, that they may not become responsible to future cortes for a negligence which may be to them of serious importance."

Senor Calatrava.—“The cortes must not delay the adoption of energetic measures. I, who consider it a disgrace to have maintained an opinion conformable to that which the authors of this outrage affect to entertain, solicit and demand such measures as are absolutely necessary. There exists among us a liberticidal faction, which serves the views of foreigners, and labours, in their pay, to destroy the Constitution of Spain. This faction must be extinguished; for, if that be not done, great will be the hazard which the country will have to run. When two illustrious deputies, who have done so much for the cause of liberty in Spain, are insulted—when the whole national representation is insulted—what is not to be feared, if such excesses be not repressed? Yet those men who yesterday committed so horrible an outrage, have the audacity to call themselves Liberales! What, they Liberales? Infamous wretches! The Liberal man respects the laws; but they have openly violated them. What Liberal would break into the house of a citizen—of a representative of the nation—in which a person so respectable as the widow of General Porlier resided? They Liberales! Be they who they may, they are traitors; for such the law declares all those to be, who in any way attack the liberty of the cortes! What ingratitude does this outrage manifest! To attack the house of a deputy who has a thousand times exposed his life for the cause of liberty, and in which the widow of him who died so boldly for the cause of liberty had taken up her abode! I

hope the motion will be approved; if not, I will propose another."

Senor Zapata.—“They who, while they invoke liberty and the Constitution, endeavour to destroy both, are the greatest traitors. Those vile assassins who yesterday insulted the cortes, and in particular two of its most distinguished members, have been instigated by some ambitious man, destitute of talents or virtue; for such alone could engage in similar disorders. They wish, by disorder, to destroy the present cortes, because they have the audacity to found the most foolish hopes in the next. Yesterday, I heard from the base mouths of some of them, the cry, ‘Live the next deputies!’ I consider it to be the duty of the cortes to take the most efficacious measures for repressing disorders so fatal to liberty.”

Here the discussion was closed, and the motion of Senor Sancho approved.

Such was the termination of this memorable sitting of the cortes; in which patriotism, good sense, and moderation, were eminently combined. On the 7th of February, the assembly resumed the discussion on the law restricting the press; when its various articles were adopted. Two resolutions were then carried, of the following purport: 1. That the preparatory meeting of the new cortes being about to take place, the present should close their labours.—2. That a commission should be appointed to represent to his majesty the mode and the time of doing so.—Before the conclusion of the sitting, the commission appointed to inquire into the mode and time of terminating the present session of the cortes, delivered their report, which embraced these three articles: 1. That it may be decreed, that the extraordinary cortes close their session on the 14th instant.—2. That, in conformity with the rules of the cortes, a deputation of twenty-two members may be appointed to communicate to his majesty, that, on the said day, the present cortes end their labours.—3. That this commission fulfil the object of its appointment on the 10th instant.

On the 9th, the special commission nominated on the 5th, to inquire into the circumstances of the outrage committed on the 3d and 4th, presented its report, after having

heard the king's ministers and the authorities. It declared its satisfaction with the zeal and the activity of government, its conviction that the riotous assemblage exercised no influence on the freedom of debate necessary to the existence of the deliberative powers of the cortes, and its knowledge that the persons who committed the excesses were few in number, and contemptible in character. Madrid (it said) was the centre of the people most disposed to disorders and commotions. The inexplicable conduct of some of the diplomatic agents of foreign countries, and the want of vigilance at Madrid, had given occasion to plans of subversion, and opportunities to foment dissensions by means of direct or indirect emissaries from abroad. As means for preventing similar disorders, the commission recommended to the next cortes to conclude the criminal code, to take into consideration the state of the police, and to form a plan for improving it, and to create one or two subaltern political chiefs at Madrid.—The extraordinary cortes was then dissolved.

On the 1st of March, conformably with the constitutional code, which prescribes that day for the meeting of the cortes, that body assembled; when General Riego was nominated president. It is understood, that when a deputation waited upon his majesty to acquaint him with the election, he did not receive the intelligence without emotion, but replied with much calmness, "I shall go, accompanied with my family, to open the session." The session was accordingly opened with a speech from the throne; but it contained nothing remarkable: no allusion was made to the appointment of Riego; who, in his reply, spoke chiefly of the obstacles which the constitutional cause still experienced, and of the firm determination of the cortes to remove them. When his majesty retired from the hall, the assembly resounded with cries of "Long live the cortes—the constitutional king—and the Spanish nation!"

In the sitting of the 3d, the reports of the ministers of foreign affairs and the interior were read; the former of which gave a satisfactory account of the amicable relations of Spain with foreign powers. This document is of considerable interest, inasmuch as it shews, that, up to this

date, no hostile demonstrations had been made by any member of the Holy Alliance; at least, none beyond what was comprehended in France having formed a cordon of troops on the frontiers, which professed to have no other object than to prevent the introduction of the contagious disease into France which had for some time previously afflicted the province of Catalonia. "In Russia," says the report, "the Spanish ambassador has been officially recognized by his imperial majesty; and the most perfect harmony reigns between the two governments. In noticing the national relation with France, the report thus proceeds: "The peace with France has suffered no alteration. In consequence of the epidemic, a cordon was formed along the frontier; but as the cordon still exists, though the contagion has ceased, his majesty, through the medium of his ambassador, required positive explanations on this point from the court of France. The same step was taken with respect to the refugees, and the relief given to the factions of Navarre: in consequence, the French ministry has issued orders, prohibiting the exportation of arms and warlike materials for the use of the said factions."

The minister of finance laid before the cortes, on the 5th of March, an estimate of the expenditure and income of the year; from which it appeared, that the former amounted to 861,591,645, while the latter only reached 664,162,913 reals, leaving a deficit of 197,828,732 reals. Notwithstanding the apparent magnitude of this sum, it was stated by the minister, that perhaps the revenue would be sufficient to cover all the charges, after the retrenchments that might be made, and which the government would propose to the cortes. On this occasion it was announced, that the deputies of the present cortes, desiring to contribute to the alleviation of the public wants, had unanimously conceded, in favour of the nation, one-fourth part of the allowances allotted to them by the former legislature. At the same time, Senor Seravia, one of the deputies, observed, that, convinced of the state of the nation, and the impossibility of its discharging its obligations, from the want of means, he would gladly surrender up, for the public benefit, 2620 reals velon, due to him in consequence of the settlement



of accounts ordered in the preceding year: he then handed to one of the secretaries the document which certified this debt against the state. Notwithstanding the voluntary sacrifice on the part of the cortes, and the praiseworthy patriotism of individuals, they tended but very immaterially to relieve the pressing necessities of the country.

Besides the dilapidated state of the finances, several other circumstances combined to render the kingdom distracted and unhappy. During the month of March, serious commotions occurred in several of the provinces, which kept the government forces in continual motion, and became the source of incessant anxiety. At Burgos, Pampeluna, and Valencia, the populace broke out into the most criminal excesses; in some instances assaulting the civil authorities, and in others bidding defiance to the military. What rendered these disorders more difficult to contend with, was, that the authors of them assumed the character of zealous patriots, affected the most ardent love for the Constitution, and, in fact, founded their discontent upon the plea, that the government did not carry the popular parts of the constitutional code to its natural extent. In these conflicts, it very commonly happened, that both soldiers and citizens lost their lives.

Another source of alarm and discontent arose from some demonstrations on the part of France, which gave cause for suspicion that that power had an hostile intention. On the one hand, the French government had surrounded the frontier with a large military force, under the plausible character of a cordon of health; but, long after the cause which had drawn these troops to this point ceased to exist, they still maintained their station in the neighbourhood of Bayonne: on the other hand, the Spanish government had every reason to believe, that the Spanish malcontents were supported in their treasons by the gold of the cabinet of St. Cloud; and that, in fact, the factious bands were organized within the French territory. These two topics formed prominent parts of a memorial of the Spanish executive, addressed to the cortes in the month of March, an extract from which is subjoined: and although the subjects are touched upon with a delicacy characteristic of state docu-

ments, it is obvious the court of Madrid was not without serious apprehensions. After allusion to various other topics connected with the state of the country, the memorial proceeds thus: "Our relations of friendship and good harmony with the court of France have not suffered the slightest alteration. The yellow fever, which last year afflicted some of the provinces of Spain, and more particularly Catalonia, induced the French government to place a military cordon of health on the frontier; which, although it has occasioned some irregularities in the communications and mercantile relations between the two countries, afforded no ground for complaint, considering the right which belongs to every nation, above all things, to attend to its own preservation. It appeared natural, however, that the cordon should be removed, when it was known that the contagion had ceased. This has not been done; perhaps from an apprehension that the disease might re-appear: but various representations have been made on this point to the French government; and our minister at Paris has been instructed to demand explanations on the subject. The government of his majesty being informed that some Spaniards, whose impotent attempts to subvert the constitutional system had experienced the disastrous result which was to be expected from such schemes, had taken refuge in France, solicited and obtained from his most Christian majesty, that these factious persons should be sent into the interior, and distributed in different points. The French government asked, in return, that measures of reciprocity should be adopted in Spain, and that we should order to withdraw from our frontier a few individuals of that nation, who excited apprehensions in France: his majesty was pleased to accede to this demand, founded, as it was, on principles of mutual convenience. The late events in Navarre attracted some seditious Spaniards to our frontiers, doubtless with a view of assisting the movements of the factious. His majesty immediately transmitted orders to our plenipotentiary at Paris, that he should demand the removal of those persons into the interior; and the French government gave the orders which were desired. His majesty has also ordered his minister in France, to state to the government of his most Christian majesty, that

he hopes succours will not be afforded to the factious refugees in that country, and that means will be adopted for preventing the introduction into Spain of arms or ammunition of war, destined for the supply of the seditious. The abuse which has been made by some French journals, of the liberty of the press, to attack our wise institutions, and to give an unfavourable idea of events in Spain, has also been made a subject of representation to the French government: that government has promised to take the subject into consideration, but, in general, has excused itself from adopting energetic measures against those abuses, by stating, that the censorship which it exercises is chiefly limited to the internal affairs of the kingdom, and that it is not easy to restrain the indignation which the censors and journalists of France feel at the gross insults frequently given to French public functionaries by the periodical papers of Spain."

Notwithstanding the Spanish government affects, in this document, to be satisfied with the explanations given by France in reference to the subjects to which it refers, yet it was impossible for the former not to be kept in a state of jealous apprehension. Every subsequent attempt to effect the removal of the French troops from the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, proved ineffectual; and the events which afterwards occurred justify the inference, that the cabinet of Louis meditated hostilities against their neighbours. From this period to the memorable occurrences at Madrid in the following July, it became daily more palpable, that secret encouragement was afforded by France to the royal faction, which was meditating mischief against the constitutionalists of Spain.

It has often been remarked in the progress of this work, that the clergy, rendered desperate by the immense sacrifices which the new order of things had imposed upon them, both in respect of emolument and influence, were the most inveterate and powerful enemies of the Constitution. The distracted state of the country, the violence of opposing parties, with the support they met with from the quarter I have just adverted to, encouraged them to raise the standard of open revolt; and, collecting all the disaffected they

could assemble, they embodied different bands, under the appropriate denomination of the *Army of the Faith*. That the grandees and their followers, including a large portion of the legal and military professions, who had been bred up in a belief that the people were destined to be little better than the beasts of the field, should have joined the clergy, is not a matter of the smallest wonder; nor is there any doubt, but that they would have made some efforts to resist the system, even without the instigation of the hierarchy. It may, however, be confidently asserted, that, had the clergy not organized the peasantry and appeared at their head, neither the civil aristocracy, nor the few military men who dishonoured themselves in joining the seditious bands, would ever have taken an active part in promoting rebellion.

Of the success of what was termed the *Army of the Faith*, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; in the mean time, it may be observed, that the means employed to set the Peninsula in a blaze, were of a character the most infamous and diabolical. There were, doubtless, thousands, who would gladly have seen the Holy Office, and its gorgon terrors, restored; and this assertion cannot be better proved, than by transcribing one of the innumerable proclamations with which Spain was inundated at this period. The following address was circulated through Catalonia, in the early part of May, by a monk of La Trappe, named Antonio Maranon,\*

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\* The biography of this incendiary is shortly as follows:—Having been appointed a lieutenant of the regiment of Murcia in 1817, he was entrusted with a sum of money which belonged to the battalion; and having lost it at play, he deserted, to avoid the consequences. Becoming a Trappiste soon after, he appeared to conform to all the outward austerities of the brotherhood, till its suppression by the late cortes. Our hero then sought an asylum north of the Pyrenees: his reception there was not less cordial than that of all the bigots and knaves who had preceded him. When a plan of future operations was settled, Brother Antonio set out, supplied with the principal *materiel* of war—gold; and, crossing the frontier near Jaca, was seen to enter Reus in April, having two mules, well laden, in his suite. Nothing more was heard of the reverend father, until his proclamation was seized, and himself put to flight, together with his deluded followers, about two hundred peasants, by a small party of national militia. This took place at the end of June.

whose character will be best designated by his infamous production.—

“*Proclamation.*”

“Soldiers and Children in Jesus Christ!—By the aid of the Lord, you have just gained a degree of glory equal to that which your ancestors and forefathers acquired over the impious Moors, in favour of our holy religion. The bells of the temple of the Lord have called forth your valour and love for the triumph of the faith. Ye have taken up arms; and God will protect your salutary intentions. Ye have begun these glorious feats for exterminating the troops of the line, militia, and constitutionalists; continue, therefore, in your firm will and resolution, and you are more than a match for these perverse wretches: or rather, you will imitate your fathers, who elevated the cross on the Spanish soil, which you worthily occupy, in sign of the total destruction of the Moorish race. A new sect, still worse, is doing its utmost to conquer, on the ruins of the sacred temples, which you see shut up, or annihilated, daily. If you wish to be pure, and to conquer the road to heaven, follow my example, which will shew you that of victory; and the standard of the crucifix, that I bear in your front, shall be the fundamental base, and unerring guide, of all your actions. The Lord is pleased with sacrifices: being, as you are, Christians, and I being at your head, I depend upon you, in order to gain the end so much desired. Maranon directs you to fresh victories, like that which you have just gained; and our enemies, as well as those of religion, the spouse of Jesus Christ, will be saved only through our generous exertions. Let us therefore swear and declare, before the heavens, and in the presence of the image of the Lord, not to lay down our arms before they are exterminated: I mean, the *philosophers*, troops of the line, and militia. Unanimously, and with one accord, let us cry, ‘Long live our Redeemer!’ ‘Long live our absolute king!’ and, for the safety of these, ‘Blood and flames to every constitutionalist!’—LONG LIVE THE FAITH!”

The light in which the efforts of the Army of the Faith was viewed, and the measures adopted for its annihilation,