

The regency were anxious to justify themselves to the king and the nation, for their rejection of the treaty with

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he received lessons in military tactics from Colonel Maturana, an officer of artillery, and a highly meritorious character. Scarcely had he surmounted the dangers of infancy, than he began to experience the hatred vowed to him at an early period by his mother! This hatred was inspired by the Prince of Peace, who saw an insurmountable obstacle to his ambition in the heir apparent. Although his youth was passed amidst the tribulations of an implacable persecution, Ferdinand was never observed to betray the most trifling anger or resentment against his parents. He was, for several years, deprived of all communication and correspondence, except with the few imbecile courtiers who were placed to watch his person. It is a well-known fact, that all those to whom he shewed any particular token of kindness, were marked out, and given up to persecution. He was married, in 1804, to Maria Antonia de Bourbon, an infanta of Naples: this princess was highly accomplished. Possessing an elevated mind, and great independence of character, she soon opened the eyes of her husband to the scandalous proceedings of the court. The destruction of this amiable woman was soon decided: after a most difficult labour and long sickness, during which they were so barbarous as to separate her from her husband, she fell a victim to a violent remedy in 1806. An apothecary of the court shot himself some months after, leaving a written paper, in which he declared the part he had taken in the death of the princess. From that time till the famous affair of the Escorial, his life presents no event of importance. Stimulated by his own feelings, and urged on by some individuals of the court, in 1807 the prince determined to throw himself at the feet of Charles the Fourth, and represent the hatred of the whole people against Godoy, the disorders of the finances, and all those other evils which oppressed the nation. The paper composed by him on this occasion, and written in his own hand, was a masterpiece of reasoning, filial tenderness, eloquence, and patriotism: this document is unfortunately lost. Ferdinand entreated his father to drive from his palace the man who dishonoured him; also, that he should immediately assemble the cortes, and, though late, listen to the voice of the people. Escoiquiz and the Duke del Infantado were the principal actors in this business: they calculated on the support of France, which had been promised by Count Beauharnois, the ambassador of Napoleon. The project being discovered, it was frustrated; and a petition on the subject, drawn up by Escoiquiz, and written by his pupil, was found in the lining of the latter's coat. Nothing could exceed the rigorous treatment of the prince, on this discovery: Escoiquiz was sent to a convent, and Infantado exiled; while the servants who happened to be concerned in keeping up the communication were condemned to the gallies. It is from this moment you may date the species of idolatry which the peo-

Napoleon at Valençay ; and, in a public address, ably exposed its incompatibility with the honour and interests of Spain.

ple paid to the Prince of Asturias; hence, too, arose the events at Aranjuez, where the people rose, and seized the Prince of Peace, who must infallibly have perished, had it not been for the timely intercession of Ferdinand. Nothing could exceed the joy of the nation, on hearing that the king had abdicated in favour of his son. The short reign of Ferdinand was marked by various acts of justice and magnanimity: one of his first measures was to recall from exile the ministers disgraced by Godoy; more especially Jovellanos, Azara, O'Farril, and others. An unaccountable fatality seemed to take possession of Ferdinand and his advisers soon after: the journey to Vittoria was decided on; you know the rest.—Ferdinand's stay at Valençay is a remarkable period of his life. Firmly believing that he could never return to power, he resigned himself to this thought with the fortitude of a Stoic. Applying himself to literature, he formed a superb library; and filled up a portion of his leisure in translating several Spanish works into French. His benevolence knew no bounds: and his departure is still regretted by the whole department, and will long be lamented by the poor and indigent.—A person, or rather a monster, named Ameraga, nephew of Escoiquiz, having joined the train of Ferdinand when he was passing through Biscay on his way to Bayonne, accompanied him to that place, and contrived to introduce himself into the court of Napoleon. Being appointed superintendant of the household at Valençay some months after, and chief keeper of the prince, he acquitted himself of the charge like a true tyrant, treating the young king with so much insult and cruelty, that the latter was forced to represent his conduct to Napoleon; upon which, an immediate order was sent, directing Ameraga to quit the palace instantly. Throwing himself at the feet of Ferdinand, and soliciting forgiveness, the prince, moved by his tears, made him a present of a valuable estate on the banks of the Loire.—Several writers have reproached Ferdinand with his blind partiality to Napoleon, and entire submission to his orders, as well as the cession made of all his rights into the hands of the conqueror. If you ever publish this, compare the conduct of Ferdinand with that of Alexander at Tilsit, and of Francis at Schöenbrunn: do not fail to represent the fact of his having passed the whole of his life in a state of abject slavery, without ever being allowed the smallest interference in political affairs. I cannot add any thing more to your stock of information, as to the public history of Ferdinand; perhaps you would like to hear one or two anecdotes relative to his private life.—On his return from France, and while proceeding from the frontiers to Saragossa, he read the Constitution with San Carlos and the famous General Palafox. Ferdinand expressed the highest opinion of the new code, and even traced its analogy to the ancient laws of the monarchy.



While the correspondence between Ferdinand and the regency was carried on, Buonaparte, relying on the com-

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Whenever either of his companions made a remark on its extreme liberality, he proved, by quotations from various historians, that such had been the genuine spirit of our early institutions. It was at a village between Saragossa and Valencia, that a deputation of bishops inspired him with his first scruples against the code: this is an important fact, but little known even here. Notwithstanding the persuasions of those pious fathers, Ferdinand hesitated a long time; nor was it till some days after his arrival at Valencia, that he would sign the fatal decree. If the nations of Europe knew the threats and subterfuges of every kind put in practice there, they would acquit Ferdinand with one accord. I have frequently told you, that foreign influence had a very large share in destroying our liberties: I need not remind you, that your own ambassador was amongst the first visitors; and there are those who do not hesitate to say, that a distinguished military chief gave his voice in favour of the proposed measure. Without vouching for the truth of this statement, you are aware that a British general headed the cavalry which escorted the king into the capital. Some persons go so far as to say, that this officer told those who suggested fears for the result, that he would answer for the conquest of Madrid, and securing the cortes. This is also a report, of which I do not pretend to affirm the authenticity.—With respect to the personal qualities of Ferdinand, I am bound to say, he is the best of sons and husbands. He carried on a regular correspondence with the late king for many years before his death. Ferdinand is adored by his domestics. I have seen him enter the room of a sick servant, and present the medicines himself, shewing him as much attention as if he had been a brother. A person whom you know, being once closeted with him, refused to give some explanation demanded by his majesty; upon which, the latter observed, ‘You are not addressing your king, but a Spanish gentleman!’ Ferdinand has committed many faults; but there is not one of them that was not the effect of his inexperience, and of the ignorance in which he has been kept. He was surrounded in such a manner, that it was totally impossible for the truth to approach; when left to himself, he sought the goddess with the most impatient avidity. A person said one day, ‘Your majesty has ordered me to read this paper: it contains very serious accusations against some one who enjoys your whole confidence.’ ‘No matter,’ replied the king, ‘read on.’ After hearing the document read, with the greatest attention and composure, he took it from the secretary, without saying a word more, looked over the paper again, and then put it into his pocket. In a few days after, the accused person got leave to retire from the court!—When Porlier’s unfortunate affair took place, one of Ferdinand’s servants fell at the feet of his master, and said, ‘Sire, I also

plaisance of the former, decided, that he should have perfect freedom to return to his dominions, without any other

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am guilty, but your majesty is generous; I therefore implore my pardon: I am an accomplice of the general.' The king asked, whether any other person knew of his crime; and being answered in the negative, ordered the culprit to maintain a profound silence on the subject; adding, 'Be cautious that none besides myself becomes the confidant of your weakness.' The servant not only retained his place, but was raised to another of still greater importance.—You wish to be informed of the mode of life which Ferdinand leads at present. The following details are from one who lives in the palace. He rises at six, and devotes a part of the morning to religious duties. After breakfast, which is taken in company with the queen, and during which he converses familiarly with his medical adviser, the captain of the guard, or some of the attendants, he gives up an hour to the regulation of domestic concerns, and general affairs of the household. This duty performed, he takes an airing in his berlin, attended by a single person, without any escort whatever. While absent from the palace, Ferdinand generally visits some public establishment, or calls at one of his country houses. It sometimes happens, that this part of the day is given up to receiving foreign ambassadors, grandees, or other visits. He dines at four, without the least etiquette; and all the members of the royal family meet at dinner; during which, the king jokes with his brother's wife, or sisters-in-law, not unfrequently addressing some jocular remark to the servants who are in attendance. After dinner, he retires, smokes a segar, gives his orders to the valet-de-chambre, and then enters the state-carriage with the queen, when the whole family go out in the usual order. After the evening's airing, public audience is given: this has never been omitted for a single day. Every class of persons are admitted at this hour: I have even seen beggars there! Ferdinand listens to each with the greatest patience, and as soon as the hall is empty, passes into his closet with a secretary, to decide on the petitions presented, or requests that may have been made. Not a day passes without *despacho*, (transacting public business.) He is often engaged with two ministers at a time. The remainder of the evening is passed in reading, music, or in the society of his family.—*Madrid, Nov. 22, 1820.*—To the above sketch, which, as I have before observed, obviously savours of a favourable partiality, I shall add the remarks of the author of the 'Historical Review' himself, on the character of Ferdinand, and of some other individuals of the royal family.—“I have already had occasion to allude to the personal charms of the young queen; who, like most Saxon beauties, has light-coloured hair, and a remarkably fair complexion; forming a striking and agreeable contrast with her sisters-in-law, Donna Carlota and Donna Francisca, both distinguished for those jetty locks, large dark eyes, and plump forms,

guarantee for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty, than his own personal assurances. Thus released from a captivity of six years, the young monarch, in company with his brothers, a confessor, and several of his attendants who had shared with him the miseries of banishment, reached the Catalonian frontier on the 24th of March, 1814. Marshal Suchet was charged with the safe-conduct of the king to the frontiers; and on the latter's arrival on the limits of the Spanish territory, he was received by the Spanish general in chief, Don Francisco Copons, who immediately communicated to him the decree of the cortes, and the orders of the regency.

Up to this moment, nothing was observable in the conduct of the king, to excite the slightest suspicion of his

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which mark the fascinating brunettes of Spain and Portugal. The greatest harmony is said to prevail amongst all the members of the Spanish royal family: their dining, and generally appearing in public together, is the best proof I can offer of this assertion; it is also an example which ought to put some other families to the blush. Although there is nothing in Ferdinand's exterior that would be likely to captivate the female mind, and that her Catholic majesty is nearly twenty years younger than her husband, (Ferdinand was born in 1784,) yet there is every reason to believe she is warmly attached to the king, and that this results from his unexceptionable conduct as a married man, never omitting those little attentions, which, though trifling in themselves, are a sure title to affection with women. A personal attendant of her majesty has informed me, that Ferdinand passed a great part of the day with his wife, and was remarkably attentive to her wishes on the most trivial points.—In noticing the qualities of Ferdinand, I regret not to be able to extend the same praises to his brother, Don Carlos, who is exceedingly unpopular, arising in a great measure from his intimacy and too ready compliance with the suggestions of priests and bigots. Nothing but the strangest fatality can induce this prince to follow a course so diametrically opposed to his real interest; and I am sure it would be impossible for his best friend to render Don Carlos a greater service than to remind him, that the royal heirs apparent of the present day, who disregard public opinion, are incurring risks which I dread to name.—Don Francisco de Paula forms a striking and most agreeable contrast to his brother: his popularity with all parties is the best panegyric of this prince, who is, in fact, looked up to by the constitutional party. If kings and princes could know how easy it is to be popular, and consider what a very moderate share of virtue satisfies their subjects, surely they would be greater favourites throughout Europe!"

disinclination to conform to the present order of things. During his journey, nothing could exceed the amiable and paternal tone of Ferdinand: he gave the most unequivocal assurances, that, as the common father of his people, he had determined to collect the members of every party under the royal mantle, and to form of them but one party. He professed himself to be perfectly satisfied with the arrangements that had been adopted respecting his approach to the capital, and the restrictions imposed for his conduct; nor did he exercise a single act of sovereignty, while he remained in Catalonia. Taking into view the liberal professions made by Ferdinand while on his way to the frontiers, with his subsequent conduct, it is difficult to ascribe to him any other motive than the basest hypocrisy.

The direct road prescribed by the cortes was through Valencia; but the king, instead of proceeding by that route, made for Saragossa, alleging, as the reason of this change, his anxiety to view the ruins of that celebrated city, and thus pay a compliment to its brave inhabitants. However plausible this reason may have been, this act alone was sufficient to excite suspicions of his sincerity; and many days did not elapse, before these were but too fatally realized. From some incidents that occurred in the above city, it soon became apparent, that the restored monarch was neither an admirer of those who framed the constitution of Cadiz, nor a convert to its institutions. At length, however, he proceeded to Valencia, where he fixed his abode, avoiding Madrid, and maintaining an alarming silence on the subject of the constitution which he had been required to accept. On account of the change in the king's route, the venerable Cardinal Bourbon, president of the regency, who had been appointed to meet the monarch with an express direction to obtain his signature and oath, did not see Ferdinand until he had approached within a few leagues of Valencia. Impressed with a due sense of their own dignity, the cortes had strictly enjoined the president not to conform to the old feudal ceremony of kissing the king's hand, which had formerly been the token of vassalage; and he faithfully promised to obey the injunction: but, on being admitted to an audience, Ferdinand insisted on his

conforming to the ancient usage; and, whether influenced by his fears, or deeming it of little importance to refuse, the cardinal yielded; thus betraying a want of firmness and dignity, at a time when both were so essential to the interests of the people. This ill-timed condescension, however, did not operate in favour of the royal uncle; who was subsequently not only sent into exile, but deprived of his ecclesiastical emoluments.

Ferdinand protracted his stay at Valencia for some time, with an evident view of drawing around him the dissatisfied nobles and priests, who were so much interested in the re-establishment of the powers of the ancient throne and church ascendancy. His calculations were not disappointed: many members of the cortes were among the numbers who repaired to Valencia; but those who remained continued unanimous in their resolution to receive and submit to Ferdinand in no other capacity than as the constitutional King of Spain. They reiterated their invitations to the king to come to Madrid, assume the reins of government, and restore, by his authority and wise measures, the happiness of Spain, and the peace of her colonies: but to these messages no answer was returned. The cortes even made some shew of military preparation; and General Lacy, distinguished in the Catalonian war, was placed at the head of the forces. But, as the influence of the grandees and dignified clergy was actively employed, and thrown into the scale of the monarch's pretensions, resistance was but feebly supported.

At length, Ferdinand judged himself strong enough to adopt decided measures against the body by which his authority had been so long administered. A proclamation, or rather a manifesto, was issued by the king, dated Valencia, May 4, which briefly retraced the history of the Peninsular war, and denounced the cortes as an illegal body, assembled in a manner unknown to the ancient laws and usages of Spain. It charged them with having formed a scheme of a constitution which was utterly subversive of the regal authority, and which a minority even of the cortes themselves had, by threats, shouts, and revolutionary measures of intimidation, compelled the rest to sanction.

This proclamation further upbraided them with having adopted the revolutionary principles of modern France, and attempted to establish, not a limited monarchy, but a democracy, having at its head a magistrate, whom, to conciliate the people, they permitted to retain the name, though without the authority, of a king. It was then faintly admitted, that some abuses had crept into the Spanish government, which might require regulation and correction; and the king promised he would, in due time, convoke the cortes in a legitimate form, and act in concert with them for these purposes.—“But concerning the labours of the present assembly, I declare,” continued the manifesto, “that my royal intention is, not only not to swear or accede to the said constitution, or to any decree of the general and extraordinary cortes, and of the ordinary at present sitting—those, to wit, which derogate from the rights and prerogatives of my sovereignty, established by the constitution and the laws under which the nation had lived in times past—but to pronounce that constitution, and such decrees, null, and of no effect, now, or at any other time, as if such acts had never passed; and that they are entirely abrogated, and without any obligation on my people and subjects, of whatever class or condition, to fulfil or observe them.”—The proclamation concluded by declaring, that the cortes should cease their sittings; that their place of meeting should be shut up, their books and papers placed in the town-hall of Madrid; and finally, that those opposing this royal decree should be held guilty of high treason, and punished with death!

If there was some truth in this proclamation, in so far as it imputes to the cortes a too great interference with the royal prerogative, it is not such as to qualify its gross falsehood in other particulars, and the deep and disgraceful ingratitude it displays in all. If the cortes were irregularly elected and convoked, the king ought to have remembered, that his own conduct, in truckling to the usurper of France, had placed the better part of the kingdom in the possession of foreign enemies, which impeded the regularity of elections: nor is it easy for any man to stifle his indignation, at observing, that this king, for whom Spain resigned all,



could not, while he dwells upon and exaggerates the errors of his temporary rulers, afford one atom of candid praise to their unparalleled exertions, or one word of sympathy with their unequalled sufferings. Yet this production was received, by a great portion of the people, not merely with passive obedience, but with enthusiasm!

At this most important epoch, several incidents occurred, which were calculated to encourage the king in his ungracious carriage towards the regency, the cortes, and the nation; and which, whether intended or not, had the effect of facilitating his return to the exercise of power, without giving his sanction to the constitutional code. No sooner was intelligence received at Madrid of Ferdinand's arrival in his dominions, than several of the foreign envoys joined themselves to his train: amongst the rest, the British ambassador went to congratulate his majesty; and a secret treaty was concluded between the two countries. Although the articles of this convention were never made known, they are considered as having embraced nothing more than a personal recognition of British claims, on the part of Ferdinand, for the supply of arms and money granted during the war: but in thus entering into negotiations with the king, while he had not yet conformed to the stipulations of the regency, the British ministry naturally and deservedly incurred a suspicion, that they felt no interest in the maintenance of the Spanish constitution, nor in the fate of those patriots who had long acted in union with England. A second circumstance favourable to the despotic views of the king, was the arrival of news, while he yet remained at Valencia, that Buonaparte had been compelled to abdicate his crown; and a calculation deduced therefrom, that the victorious allies would be inclined to favour his resistance to all political reforms in his dominions. As might be supposed, such a moment as this was not lost by the priesthood and grandes who had surrounded the king, and who, being deeply interested in the restoration of the old despotism, pressed its speedy adoption, and urged the present state of things as the most propitious for such a purpose. But another and still more powerful impulse was given to the destinies of Spain, by the arrival of a

deputation of *sixty-nine* deputies of the cortes. They were the bearers of a document to the king, which contained a virulent attack upon all the measures adopted by the cortes and the regency, whether for the defence of the country, or reform of public abuses, from the period of Ferdinand's departure until his return; and is justly designated as a monument of eternal infamy and crime, by those able writers who have so triumphantly refuted all its calumnies.\* These *sixty-nine* deputies had been returned to the cortes, on the express condition of adhering to the constitution, had solemnly sworn to preserve it inviolate, and yet were so lost to all sense of honour, as to put their names to an instrument in which the monarch was advised not to sanction the proceedings of their own body.

The plan of the king for re-establishing despotism was now apparent; to which General Elio, who commanded the troops assembled at Valencia, made himself a dishonourable instrument. This man, who had but a short time before sworn fidelity to the constitution, and been honoured with particular marks of favour by the regency, issued an order of the day, in which he congratulated the army on the king's return, talked of their attachment to his sacred person, and concluded by advising Ferdinand to govern in the manner of his ancestors. It was at this precise time that the king issued the manifesto, the substance of which is before given. It may be necessary to remark, that, in the intermediate time, between the king's arrival at Valencia and the publishing of his proclamation, the cortes had

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\* The composition of this scandalous paper, according to Mr. Blaquiere, is attributed to Bernardo Mozo y Rosales, who received, as the reward of his infamy, the dignity of a marquis, under the title of Mata-Florida, and filled offices of the highest order during the outrageous persecution of Ferdinand. Having formed part of the ministry whose power terminated with the events of March, 1820, he subsequently took up his abode at Bayonne, which, from its contiguity to the Spanish frontier, became the receptacle of those who were disaffected to the constitutional code. A most able and conclusive refutation of the false assertions and specious arguments of Rosales was published; which eloquent production, in addition to its having defended the cortes, and vindicated the nation, contains a great mass of valuable information relative to the ancient laws and customs of the Spanish monarchy.

addressed two letters to him, expressive of the state of doubt and agitation which was felt for his protracted stay in that city, and beseeching him that no time might be lost in his assuming the reins of government. The king's answers were respectful, but evasive: he generally affected an intention of compliance with their wishes, but carefully avoided explanations. Whether the cortes were now convinced of his insincerity, or, if so, whether they doubted their own inability to make an effectual stand against his machinations, is not very certain. At all events, they took no active measures to resist the more likely and the more dangerous conclusion. "It is true, however," says the authority on which these details are given, "that several of the chiefs, who had been most popular during the war of independence, offered to act against the traitors who surrounded the monarch at Valencia; and that nothing but the fear of plunging the nation into the horrors of civil war prevented those offers from being accepted. While the praise of their contemporaries, and the applause of posterity, are due to these real fathers of their country, they should have reflected, that those who erect an edifice of freedom do but half their office, in not taking precautions for its maintenance."

From the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of May, may be dated what has not unappropriately been denominated, *the reign of terror*. Elio's corps were directed to surround the capital. An order was at the same time forwarded to the agents of the police of Madrid, to arrest and imprison two of the most distinguished members of the regency, as well as all the ministers, the president and secretaries of the cortes, together with many of its members, and those who had *written* in favour of the constitution. On the night of the 10th and 11th of May, these arrests were actually effected. These *flattering* indications of a *patriotic* reign were followed, two days afterwards, by the entrance of the *beloved* Ferdinand into the capital. A large body of cavalry accompanied and graced the public entry; a circumstance which is not to be wondered at, considering the influence which Elio had employed over the soldiery: but that the king should be attended by all the ambassadors

of the European courts accredited to the regency, can be no other way accounted for, than that those courts were actually desirous that the king should resume his station as a despotic sovereign. Let the men who are incessantly crying up *legitimacy*, satisfactorily account for the conduct of those cabinets, on this occasion, which had previously acknowledged the Spanish constitution as established by the cortes.\*

No obstacles now seemed to stand in the way of the court faction, to prevent them from gratifying their base and cruel purposes against the adherents of the constitution. It immediately became obvious, that the proclamation of the 4th of May was only the precursor of measures the most oppressive and tyrannic that ever disgraced a civilized country. Royal orders and edicts were immediately published, in which all the beneficent acts of the regency and cortes were rescinded; and, as if the simple revival of the numberless abuses under the old regime were thought inadequate to mark the base disposition of the king and his ministers, all those who had contributed to their abrogation, or shewn the slightest predilection in favour of liberal institutions, were selected as the victims of a detestable persecution. This unhappy period, and several succeeding years, exhibited the features of despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, in all their native deformity.

All the other measures of the Spanish government kept pace with those which have been detailed. The liberty

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\* It is greatly to be regretted, that the British government is deeply implicated in this censure; and to this fact may be ascribed a feeling of resentment and jealousy which some of the leading men among the constitutional party in Spain entertain against England. "I have been told by an eye-witness," observes a competent authority, "that the celebration of Ferdinand the Seventh's return, by the English ambassador, lasted ten days, and that the expenses thus incurred could not have been much less than £20,000. It is also a remarkable fact, that the Spanish cavalry which escorted the king into Madrid was commanded by an English general, now a governor in one of our West India islands." It is also a notorious fact, that the Duke of Wellington arrived at Madrid from Paris on the 24th of May, to compliment the king; and is said to have experienced a most flattering reception from his majesty, as Duke of Ciudad-Rodrigo.