step. This was an unexpected and startling blow, for Spanish loyalty absurdly forbade the violation of the royal will or person, and yet the presence of the executive was indispensable both to the constitutional action of the legislature and the maintenance of its prestige. The Cortes were in great consternation, for the peril was imminent, and the briefest delay might be fatal. To the boldest and wisest there seemed no alternative but an immediate dissolution, which involved the utter overthrow of liberal institutions. At this critical moment, Galiano startled the chamber by the introduction of a resolution, which assumed, that, under the provisions of the constitution, the action of the king had vacated the throne. The proposition was a plank in their shipwreck, and was enthusiastically welcomed. Ferdinand, declared to be no longer king, was forced to conform to the will of the representatives of the nation. He was directed to prepare at once for the journey, and, as he was a coward, he obeyed. In a very few hours he was under escort to Cadiz, whither the whole government, executive and legislative, hastened. So narrow was the escape of the Cortes, and so fickle the temper of the multitude, that, the next day, the most important of the public archives were sacked and their contents thrown into the Guadalquivir, while the people ran loyally and madly through the streets, crying, "*Viva el rey disoluto!*" — "Long live the dissolute [absolute] king!"

Although the measure proposed by Galiano had no other effect than to save the legislature for the moment, and to prolong for yet a little while the ineffectual struggle of the liberal party with domestic treach-

ery and foreign arms, it, as a matter of course, rendered him one of the most prominent marks of royal persecution. Upon the surrender of Cadiz, he fled to England, where, under sentence of death at home, he displayed for many years the fortitude and resignation, in poverty and exile, which are the best tests of a large mind and a great heart. He devoted himself for his support to the teaching of his native language, and lightened the heavy moments of his leisure by the cultivation of his intellectual tastes. He made himself not only familiar, but learnedly and critically so, with the literature of England ; and his attainments in French and Italian scholarship are said to be equally profound and graceful. At the death of Ferdinand, he returned to his country, where his eminent services and sacrifices commended him at once to public confidence. Ten years of privation and reflection, however, with some practical experience of popular instability and the horrors of civil strife, had altogether changed his political philosophy. He attached himself, with many of the ablest of his liberal contemporaries, to the conservative cause, which he has since upheld with progressive enthusiasm, as minister, senator, and public teacher. Indeed, his views are yet more ultra in their new direction than formerly in their radical tendency; so that a humorous writer says, "He spent the earlier portion of his life in proving that the throne was a useless form, and would now, if possible, persuade the people that they ought to have two at the least." A change of opinion is, to vulgar minds, so sure an evidence of dishonesty, that nothing but Galiano's consistent poverty could have saved his reputation

from the obloquy which always follows apostasy, actual or imputed. After having sacrificed an independent fortune in the maintenance of his principles, he has been a minister and has not repaid himself. Even political slander is forced to respect the motives which have been proof against temptation, necessity, and opportunity. Had he been less an orator and more a statesman or even a demagogue, — less a man of books and more a man of the world, — Galiano would probably be now, with his ability and knowledge, one of the leading spirits in the politics of Europe. As it is, he is a man of genius, and lives in humble lodgings, — all Madrid flocks to hear him at the Athenæum, yet no one wonders when a cabinet, whose members might go to school to him, refuses him a petty pension to mend his broken fortunes !

The Athenæum is an excellent institution, established in a convenient building on the Calle de la Montera. It has a capital reading-room, where you can always find the British periodicals and reviews, with the leading journals from the Continent. Its library, which is quite large, is well selected, and the collection of coins and cabinet of minerals, though small, are beginning to be esteemed. It has several professorships, for the delivery of gratuitous lectures on scientific and literary subjects, and some of the chairs are filled by persons of conspicuous attainments and ability. When I was admitted to the privileges which are so liberally accorded by its rules to strangers, Galiano was in the midst of a course on modern history, and had reached the stirring times of the first French Revolution. The subject, always full of interest in itself, was of course

doubly attractive in such hands; and so general was the desire to hear, that, but for the personal kindness of the speaker, I should have been unable to find a place in the overflowing hall. It is impossible for me to recall the various occasions on which I thus availed myself of his good offices to sit under his instruction, without feeling that each gave me new and enlarged ideas of the power and charm of speech.

It was said of one Romero Alpuente, a prominent Deputy of the older constitutional days, and so justly said as to become proverbial, that he was "*feamente feo*," — "uglily ugly!" It would be scarcely fair to print the phrase in connection with the name of Galiano, were it not constantly and familiarly applied by his contemporaries to the disadvantages of feature and expression which he is able so signally to overcome. His stature is short, besides, and his gesture ungraceful. When I heard him, he had to struggle with the additional difficulty of speaking, literally *ex cathedra*, seated after the most orthodox professorial fashion, and with a table before him. Nor was there any thing in the theme which enabled the speaker to establish that personal sympathy between himself and his audience which is the main-spring of oratorical power. It was a theme for disquisition, for analysis, for generalization, for high thought, but not for passion. Only a plain, old man sat before us, to work what wonders he could, simply with his mind and tongue. Yet, if eloquence consists in the ability to sway men's understandings and lead captive their wills by speech, — to make them lose themselves and their own thoughts in the orator and his, — I have no hesitation in saying, that, in spite of all the disadvan-

tages under which he spoke, Galiano produced on me more the effect of eloquence than any one I have ever heard. I cannot imagine any thing to surpass the magnificence of his occasional improvisations. The gorgeous language in which they were uttered may perhaps have led me away by its music ; but this seemed to be their least attraction, so striking were the thoughts which they embodied, so copious the illustrations, so full the whole of fire and light and genius ! There seemed something almost miraculous in the unfailing fluency, which, without the hesitation of a moment or the disarrangement of a word, went steadily through the most intricate phrases, the profoundest reflections, the freest range of imagination, never leaving the sense for an instant clouded, or the beauty of the diction sullied with one stain ! The enthusiasm of the crowd must have been indeed irrepressible, to have overcome, so frequently and enthusiastically as it did, the habitual decorum and self-restraint of a Spanish audience.

XVI.

THE EX-REGENT ESPARTERO AND HIS RIVAL, NARVAEZ. — THE CARLIST WAR AND ITS CONCLUSION. — DOWNFALL OF ESPARTERO, AND ITS CAUSES. — LOVE OF TITLES AND HONORS. — ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

THE decree which recalled the Ex-Regent Espartero from banishment, in 1847, created him at the same time Senator of the realm. Since his return, however, he has had the wisdom to take but little part in the political movements of the day, and although he is still recognized as the head of the *Progresista* party, his name is rarely mentioned in connection with actual public affairs. During my whole stay in Madrid he was absent from his seat in the Senate, and was devoting himself, as I understood, to the cultivation of his estate near Logroño, and the improvement of agriculture in his neighborhood. It is not singular that a man, whose experience of popular fickleness and ingratitude has been so melancholy, should prefer the quiet occupations and pleasures of rural life to a renewal of those struggles which have already cost him so much; but it is nevertheless greatly to be lamented that the nation

should be deprived of services so important as those which he has shown himself able to render. I believe that his retirement is a source of regret to the moderate and well-thinking men of all parties, for I am sure that I heard him spoken of more frequently with personal consideration and affection than any other public man in Spain.

In a former chapter, and in connection with the progress of constitutional government since the death of Ferdinand, I had occasion to speak of the downfall of Espartero as paving the way to the rapid and brilliant career of Narvaez. The characters of the two men are in strong contrast in almost all particulars except personal bravery, and the triumph of Narvaez over such an opponent is, of itself, as good a key to the spirit of Spanish politics as any that could be furnished. Down to the time of their conflict, there can be no doubt that Espartero stood far before his rival in his claims upon the gratitude of the country. Under circumstances of the most discouraging character, he had succeeded — partly by his conduct in the field, and partly by adroit negotiation — in putting an end to the cruel and desolating civil war which the adherents of Don Carlos had kept up so long. His political opponents, it is true, have sneered at the Treaty of Vergara, — by which the claims of the Pretender were extinguished in 1839, — as a bargain, corruptly purchased from the Carlist General, Maroto, and involving no high exercise of civil or military talent. Success is of course an uncertain criterion of merit, but the tale which events tell is very apt, nevertheless, to have some truth in it. For several years, the cause of the Span-

ish Pretender had held its own, against the best efforts of the government. The national treasury had been exhausted in vain, the best armies had been baffled, and the most distinguished generals, one after another, had returned from the inglorious field, unsuccessful at all events, if not disgraced. The trumpets of the rebels had been sounded at the very gates of Madrid, and their *guerrillas* had scoured the plains of Andalucia, La Mancha, and Castile. Until the intervention of Espartero as commander-in-chief of the national forces, there was as little prospect of a termination to the struggle, as when the banners of Don Carlos were first planted on the stubborn hills of Biscay. That the new leader, without any advantages which his predecessors had not enjoyed, should have been able to consummate what they had so signally failed in, is, of itself, some evidence that he had personal qualities superior to theirs. But that conclusion becomes irresistible, when it is considered that he did not assume the control of the government cause until after the spirit of its supporters had been broken by years of failure, — after the resources of the nation had been crippled by the long and costly maintenance of a large war establishment, — and after impunity, if not success, had given consistency and confidence to rebellion. That, after pressing the enemy so closely as to incline them from necessity to compromise, he should have chosen to finish the war by treaty rather than by bloodshed, would have been as honorable to his wisdom as to his humanity, had the contest been between strangers. But in a civil war, — a war which divided families, separated provinces, arrayed friend against friend and

brother against brother, in which neither party could be victorious without carrying desolation to the hearths of its own members, as sadly as to the homes of the vanquished, — only a savage would deny that the course which Espartero chose entitled him, in a tenfold degree, to the love and gratitude of his country. Still deeper and still stronger ought that love and gratitude to be, in contemplation of the fact, that the restoration of peace, by the *Convenio de Vergara*, removed the main impediment which, till that time, had arrested the progress of Spain in freedom, civilization, and development.

Whatever may have been the weakness of the Ex-Regent's civil administration, practically considered, I have found very few who have denied to him integrity of purpose. Indeed, so far as the causes of his downfall were intrinsic in his character and conduct, they appear to have depended mainly upon principles and feelings which do him infinite honor. It is said — and probably with truth, for his friends do not generally deny it — that physical infirmity and the luxurious habits contracted during his residence in South America, rendered Espartero personally inactive and indolent, when not under the influence of any duty which stimulated his energies. But this — though an unhappy defect in any statesman, and especially in a Spanish ruler — was not by any means the chief secret of his overthrow. He was unfortunate enough to have a conscience. He was at heart, and in all his heart's sincerity, a lover of constitutional freedom. He had fought to maintain the constitutional dynasty, and had sworn to support the constitution. Under no circumstances, therefore, could he be brought

to violate what he felt that he owed to the liberal institutions which had made him — the son of a Manchegan peasant — Duke of Victory and Regent of Spain. He felt the obligation of his trust, and he kept it sacred. Being a ruler with but limited prerogatives, he would not go beyond them, to advance the interests of his party or consolidate or preserve his own power. Throughout his whole administration, history will recognize a faithful effort to obey and execute the laws, in the true spirit of a liberal, an enlightened, and a conscientious patriotism.

That, even with such determinations and so much manly resolution to fulfil them, Espartero should have added another to the number of good men exiled by national ingratitude, will not surprise any one who has studied Spanish history and politics. Republican France was governed by the administrative system and ideas of the kingdom and the empire, — and constitutional Spain has not yet learned to discard the machinery and appliances of the despotism she has overturned. The court and the capital are still the fountains of power. It is there that ministers are made and unmade ; there that the springs are touched which move the army and the people. The habits of centuries have not given way, and cannot soon give way, before the institutions of but a few years. To suppress the intrigues which assail government, secretly and openly, the government must use despotic measures, or be itself suppressed. Nothing less decided is understood or felt, as yet. Public opinion cannot be concentrated with sufficient rapidity, and constitutional means cannot be directed with sufficient energy and promptness, to countervail sedition.

The evil is a practical one, dependent on circumstances not institutions, and has to be met practically. This, Espartero would not do. He had no talent for intrigue, and he would not usurp. That he fell was not therefore his fault, in a strict sense, although perhaps greatly so in the sense of that patriotism which impels an honest man, strong in his good motives, to violate the law in an emergency, in order that he may preserve the state.

But the Regent had other causes of defeat to struggle with. He was favorable to a reasonable modification of the tariff on imports, and this of course secured him the deadly hostility of Catalonia, — that fruitful nursery of dangerous and obstinate revolt. The apprehension of a treaty of commerce, which he was supposed to contemplate, with England, gave him the opposition of those of the commercial class, whose affinities were with France, and whose political economy was made up of French ideas. He was supposed to be, to a certain extent, under British influence, which animated the hostility of the whole *afrancesado* portion of the population. His humble birth and high position made him envied and hated, and his successful career against the Carlists had enlisted the whole legitimist feeling, almost undividedly, in opposition to him. Private jealousies, and the desire to supplant him in influence when his Regency should expire at the Queen's majority, made many of the leaders in his own party his opponents likewise. Against all these powerful elements in combination, what marvel that honesty and integrity should have proved insufficient to sustain him ?

It was of circumstances like these that Narvaez had the opportunity and the tact to avail himself. Bold, active, unscrupulous, able, he was the individual, of all others, for a crisis in which a man was needed rather than a constitution. He used his elements, in combination, to break down Espartero, and then he broke down, with the other elements, each of those that separately stood in his own way. According to the principles on which he obtained power, he exercised it. Through those principles he kept it, and will most probably return to it. Where there was an evil, he sought the appropriate remedy, — in the constitution and the laws, if he could readily find it there, but wherever else he could find it, if they did not contain it. He respected constitutional forms where they did not interfere with the substance of his authority, and he was always sure to adopt them if he readily could, when he found it necessary to invade the substance of the constitution. That he often did wrong, no one can doubt; that his principles and practices all tended towards the perpetuation of his own power, is just as indisputable. But it cannot be denied, I think, that he served his country far better in the main, than if he had confined his government within the appointed limits of the constitution. The evil of usurpation was for the time a lesser one than that of anarchy. He gave strength to the central power, where it was weak, and crushed almost to extinction the spirit of petty and local faction and insubordination. He repressed rivalries and suppressed revolts, which indecision would have nursed into civil war. By making his administration thoroughly national, he commanded respect for the government at home and the

nation abroad. Finally, and above all things, he kept the country at peace within and without, so that industry began to thrive, internal improvement to awaken, agriculture and commerce to start into new life. For the first time within the memory of man, the capitalists of the nation, and even of other nations, began to feel that investments were safe; that the confidence of to-day would not be turned to ruin by the revolution of to-morrow. Through his means the ground has thus been made more safe for constitutional rulers to come. He has extirpated the once prevalent idea, that constitutional government is only an organized license, and has given the people an opportunity of seeing and feeling, for themselves, that even arbitrary rule, if wise, is better than no authority at all. A gentler and weaker hand may now guide the wild horses which he has broken to the rein. The time may not perhaps have come, as yet, when the system of Espartero will altogether suffice for Spain; but the vigor of Narvaez has brought it much nearer than it would have been, after a quarter of a century of premature republicanism. Each of the rivals, in his way, has deserved well of his country; but to human eyes it would have seemed wiser had Narvaez preceded Espartero.

It will have struck the reader, probably, in going over these brief sketches of the men who rule the destinies or hold high places in the veneration of the Spanish people, that most of them have sprung from humble origin, and won their power and reputation for themselves. This is a significant fact, and shows, beyond dispute, that the popular element is fully at work in the

Peninsula, under all the shapes which political opinion may take. The court and army of Don Carlos, representing as they did the ultra-legitimist principle, would have furnished as palpable an illustration of the same fact. In speculating hereafter upon the political future of Spain, I may have occasion to recur to this, as giving some clew to her destiny. For the present, I only allude to it as in amusing contrast with the thirst for rank and title which seems to pervade all classes of political aspirants, and those, especially, whose elevation is least due to the distinctions of society. In the moment of triumph, the most radical party seems to forget its professions and the prestige which they gave. The *Progresista* progresses straightways into a countship, if he can, and the *Moderado* is moderate, if he asks no more than a marquisate. Crosses and decorations, ribbons and buttons, are sought and given without stint, — so that unlucky is the man of moderate pretensions in Madrid who has not a uniform, at least, to wear on gala-days. Knights of the royal orders are as plentiful as colonels in our Southern States. The list of Grand Crosses in the order of Charles the Third occupies eight pages of the Court Guide, — that of similar dignitaries in the order of Isabella the Catholic goes somewhat over ten. In the latter list the reader will be surprised to know that two respectable Turkish functionaries — Fuad Effendi and Seid Mohammed Emir Aali Bajá — have the pleasure of seeing their names enrolled! It would be curious if the orthodox queen, whose memory the order was designed to honor, could burst her cerements at Granada, and behold the cross she loved and worshipped resting, in her name, upon

the bosom of the infidel! Almost as curious it might be to know the infidel's own thoughts, as he puts on the emblem of a worship he despises, and reflects that the poor creature whose name it bears had no pretensions to a soul! But whatever the Turk might think, the Spaniard likes the cross exceedingly. "If we were to have a democracy in Spain," said my old friend, the Carlist general, "we should call each other *Serenísimo ciudadano! Ciudadano príncipe!* (Most serene citizen! Prince citizen!) at the least."

XVII.

LOYALTY. — THE QUEEN. — GUIZOT AND INFANTE. — REGICIDES. — NECESSITY OF AN ABLE PRINCE. — THE QUEEN'S EMBARAZO. — PUBLIC REJOICINGS AND CEREMONIAL. — DIPLOMATIC CONGRATULATIONS AND RECEPTION. — THE KING.

THERE is no trait more prominent in the national character of the Spaniards, than the loyalty with which they have always borne themselves towards their kings, even when it was least deserved and most ungratefully requited. Certainly no prince, whom history records, did more than Ferdinand the Seventh, to goad and irritate a people whom it seemed the business of his life to wrong. There were men, all through the nation, whom he had maddened into hatred of his person by the most ingenious refinements of insult and persecution. There were times, when only his personal prestige — indeed his personal existence — stood between the people and their permanent liberation from a despotism which shamed the vilest annals of the Roman Empire. No one ever had a better right than he to expect the vengeance of men, in anticipation of the justice of Heaven. But although his private habits afforded the

most frequent and favorable opportunities for assassination, while his public conduct was perpetually prompting and deserving national retribution, he passed through his tyrannical and vicious life without being once in peril of the dagger or the scaffold. The Spaniards are proud of this, and doubtless it does credit to their patience and forbearance; though, perhaps, it pushed these virtues almost into weakness. When Quiroga was in London, after the constitutional defeat of 1823, an eminent personage suggested to him, that, if the liberal party had dealt with Ferdinand as he deserved, they would have saved their country from oppression and themselves from death or exile. "It may be true, your ——," was the lofty answer, "but killing kings has never been a Spanish custom, — *Nunca ha sido uso en España, matar reyes.*"

But though it may have been "a large economy . . . . . to save the like," there was prudence as well as principle involved in it. The spilling of their monarch's blood would have precipitated on the Spaniards all the reactionary elements of Europe. The intervention, which afterwards disgraced France chiefly, would have been Cossack likewise. The darling project of the French, to make the Ebro the boundary of their dominions, would have been consummated, it may be, by the concession and the guaranty, to other powers, of beautiful and fertile Andalusia. Another dismemberment, like that of Poland, would probably have brought additional reproach upon the century, while all of Europe that pretended to be liberal would have looked on again with folded arms. It was well, therefore, for humanity and for the cause of freedom, not less than

for the weal of Spain, that Ferdinand was spared. Not long ago the Spaniards had an opportunity of using, with no small effect, the advantage which their history thus gave them over their less conscientious neighbors.

In 1842, I think, but certainly while Espartero held the regency, the *Moderados* and the French their allies attempted to create the impression, that the Infantas — now the Queen and the Duchess of Montpensier — were not personally safe in the hands of the *Progresistas*. By way of giving currency and effect to the imputation, M. Guizot took occasion to say, in the Chamber of Deputies, that France would regard as a cause of intervention any attempt to do violence to the royal persons. The insult was exceedingly gratuitous, and excited general indignation in Spain. It was especially ill-brooked at Madrid, and an admirable speech in which it was retorted, by Don Facundo Infante, a constitutionalist of the old school, shook the capital with applause. "The quondam Professor of Modern History," he said, "is ignorant, perhaps, that there is no such word as 'regicide' in our vocabulary. The thing which it signifies is not known to our history, and we have had no use for the name in our language.* There are, unhappily, some nations whose annals supply the deficiency of ours. It would be well if our neighbors would tell us, — before we trust them with

* Since the above was written, the attempted murder of Queen Isabella by the madman Gomez has made the honest boast of the orator no longer just. The outrage, however, did but elicit a burst of abhorrence so universal, as to show that the nation could neither have sympathy with the crime, nor be corrupted by the example of the assassin.

the guardianship of our monarchs, — how many of their own they can remember, from the days of Henri Quatre, who have not been the victims, or at all events the aim, of violence, or banishment, or murder ! "

The present Queen of Spain had obviously no dream of peril from her subjects, during the period of which I write. She mingled freely with them on the Prado and in the gardens of the Retiro every evening, — generally in an open carriage, and accompanied only by her servants, and a lady and gentleman or two in waiting. The simplicity of her *cortége* was strikingly in contrast with the array of cavalry and cocked pistols under the protection of which the President of the French Republic went out, at the same time, to fraternize with his fellow-citizens. Upon the promenade, and as she passed along the streets, the greeting of the people to Queen Isabella was cordial and apparently sincere. Her bearing towards all was full of kindness, in accordance with the thorough amiability which is remarkable in her disposition. Her face, though not regarded as attractive generally, has an expression of sadness, at times, which is very touching, and it is impossible, I think, to see her often, without being satisfied that palace-doors have not shut sorrow from her. That her domestic relations were far from being happy seemed to be generally conceded, and if, after having been made the victim of state policy and diplomatic intrigue, she were in fact mindless of obligations which were forced on her, it would be but what has happened a thousand times, where neither the temptations nor the opportunities of royalty were added to the recklessness of youth and disappointment. From all accounts,

she is entirely without ambition, and well disposed to part with any of her prerogatives as queen, which interfere with her leisure and freedom as a woman.

It would be well, indeed, for Isabella the Second, and signally a blessing to her people, if, even for the pride of governing, she could be brought to feel a graver interest in the responsibilities and duties of her station. At the present stage of Spanish affairs, the monarch should be something more than an estimable person or a respectable figure in a pageant. Not all the ability and energy of the most vigorous ministry can supply the absence of those qualities in the individual who holds the sceptre. Men, taken from the people and lifted suddenly to power, are followed necessarily by envy and resentment. They may make themselves dukes and marquises, but they cannot overcome the popular persuasion that the only sanction of their authority is the fact of their possessing it. Their measures will be scrutinized, at the best, with invidious acuteness; their motives questioned, with all the distrust of rivalry. They may use the name and lean on the prerogatives of the monarch, but if the people know that it is the ministers who govern, not the king, the moral strength of the government will fall as short of what it ought to be, as the prestige of a subject falls short of a king's.

As a matter of course, this is not meant to be said of all constitutional monarchies; for where the people govern through the legislature and the cabinet, the personal qualities of the monarch, provided they be tolerable, are of no particular importance. A responsible ministry is quite as good, in such case, as a wise

and vigorous king. But where, as in Spain, constitutional government has not yet grown into a habit, — where the influence of the people has not learned to make itself felt by concentration of opinion and unity of action, — the case is very different. There, the legislature has comparatively little to do with the direction of administrative affairs, and it is the executive government which actually governs. In such countries and under such circumstances royalty is a substantive thing, and has an opportunity of displaying itself in its most effective and useful phase as an institution. But, for that purpose, the individual who is invested with the royal prerogatives must be able to wield them himself. His personal and known and visible participation is indispensable, to save the state from those continual and embittered contests of private ambition, which are apt to be the bane of popular institutions in their earlier stages. Of the exercise of power, by the monarch, there may be question, so far as policy is concerned, but there can be no complaint as to its legitimacy. His dignity and superiority, being beyond cavil, cannot be the cause of jealousy. Any man may intrigue to be made a Secretary, in the stead of another whom he knows to have no better right than he ; but no man in his sane mind — unless he means to be a rebel — will endeavor to supplant his king. Even if the monarch steps beyond the line of his legitimate authority, his usurpation, whether for good or for evil, has at all events some pretexts and prescriptions, which make it comparatively respectable. A ministerial despotism, on the contrary, is not only bad in what it does, but in itself. It involves an insult as well as a wrong, and is hated and con-

spired against accordingly. In Spain, where the sense of personal equality among the people is as strong as their reverence for the throne and loyalty to him who fills it, this is particularly true, and the personal character of the monarch, and the share he takes in the government of which he is the head, are proportionally more important than in countries where those sentiments prevail less actively. Narvaez, born king of Spain, or representing the will of a prince who was known to have a will of his own, would have been able to do more in a single year for the welfare of his country, than in ten, perhaps, as prime minister in name, and dictator in fact. He would have had no palace intrigues to make him tremble for his place, no small cabals of *pretendientes* to silence or suppress, no envy or repining of other subjects at the power which he — a subject only — wielded. He would have gone on and would still be ruling, — sternly, and at all times despotically it may be, but still consistently and ably, — instead of being badgered and cross-questioned by Gonzalez Bravo and supplanted by Bravo Murillo.

But whatever may be the deficiency of Isabella the Second in the qualities which made illustrious the long-descended name she bears, and whatever may be the tone of the court gossip in regard to her conduct as a woman, she is, as I have said, certainly popular among her subjects. Identified as she is with the cause of free institutions, for which the nation has sacrificed so much, it is not strange that — other things apart — they should regard her person with something of the enthusiasm which rallied them around her rights and throne. During my visit, it was officially an-

nounced that the birth of an heir to the crown might be looked for in a few months, and the occasion developed a degree of earnest congratulation and solicitude throughout the realm, which left no doubt of the Queen's hold upon the popular affection. It may give the reader some notion of Spanish peculiarities, to describe the public manifestations which attended and followed so interesting a disclosure.

On the 14th of February, the Duke of Valencia, in full and magnificent uniform, arrested the attention of each branch of the legislature, separately, by reading a communication he had received from the proper officer of her Majesty's household, in which the state of the royal health was reported, from the certificate of the chief physician of the palace. The news could not have been very unexpected, for the subject had already been discussed in the fashionable circles and the newspapers. Indeed, for some time previous, the principal streets leading from the palace to the Prado had been sanded carefully for the comfort of her Majesty in driving, and the press had alluded to the fact, and the cause of it, without any reserve. The announcement, nevertheless, was received with great enthusiasm by the legislature. The Chamber of Deputies especially sent forth shouts of *Viva la reina!* which might have been heard almost in the royal apartments. Immediate steps were taken upon all sides to congratulate the Queen. The Chamber of Deputies disputed for some time as to whether they should present themselves in mass, or be represented by a committee. Sr. Olozaga, who is rather a stickler for the dignity of the representative department, protested against parading the whole

body, in its official capacity, through the streets. Narvaez had the tact to agree with him, and the matter was compromised by the appointment of a committee, with the understanding that all the rest of the members might go in company, if they chose. No one, of course, was impolitic enough to be absent, even if any one desired to be, which, in the general jubilee, I very much doubt. The Presidents of the two houses made fine speeches, her Majesty answered with great patriotism and amiability, and for the moment all party distinctions seemed to have been forgotten in the overflowing of loyal enthusiasm. The Cortes having set the example, there seemed, for a fortnight at least, to be a general descent, upon the palace, of all public bodies and functionaries who could lay the slightest claim to congratulatory privileges. Only the President of the United States, on his way to the Springs or to a railroad opening, was ever so overwhelmed with discourses; and although the subject was not one which afforded much scope, it was treated, nevertheless, in all the sublime varieties of what the Spanish grammarians call "figurative syntax." I was present at the demonstration made by the diplomatic corps, — having but a few days before been privately presented, — and although the grotesqueness of the idea could not but force itself upon me during the whole ceremony, I was impressed by its magnificence and the cordial spirit which seemed to animate all who took part in it.

Sir Henry Wotton says that "to make a complete staircase is a curious piece of architecture," and I was never more forcibly struck with the effect which that stately portion of an edifice may be made to produce,