

every thing calculated to pervert and restrain it. But to attain this end, it is especially indispensable that her King should be free, not only as regards that personal liberty which every individual may claim under the reign of the laws, but that liberty which a Sovereign ought to enjoy in order to discharge his high vocation. The King of Spain will be free from the moment that he shall have the power of putting an end to the evils which afflict his subjects, of restoring order and peace in his kingdom, of surrounding himself with men equally worthy of his confidence by their principles and talents, and finally, of substituting for a regime, acknowledged to be impracticable even by those whom egotism or pride still attaches to it, an order of things in which the rights of the monarch shall be happily blended with the real interests and legitimate views of all classes of the nation. When this moment shall arrive, Spain, wearied by long sufferings, may flatter herself with re-entering into full possession of the advantages which Heaven has allotted her, and which the noble character of her inhabitants insures to her; then will she be restored to those relations which unite her to all the European Powers; and his Imperial Majesty will congratulate himself upon having nothing left to offer her but the wishes which he entertains for her prosperity, and all the good services which he may have it in his power to render to an ancient friend and ally.

You will, M. Count, make of this despatch a use the most appropriate to the circumstances in which you may find yourself on receiving it. You are authorized to read it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as to give him a copy, should he ask it.

Despatch from M. the Count de Bernstoff to the Prussian Charge d'Affairs at Madrid, dated Verona, Nov. 22, 1822.

SIR,—Among the objects which fixed the attention and demanded the anxious solicitude of the Sovereigns and Cabinets assembled at Verona, the situation of Spain, and its relations with the rest of Europe, have occupied the first place.

You know the interest which the King, our august master, has never ceased to take in his Catholic Majesty, and in the Spanish nation.

This nation, so distinguished by the loyalty and energy of its character, illustrious from so many ages of glory and virtue, and always so celebrated for the noble devotion and heroic perseverance which made it triumph over the ambitious and despotic designs of the usurper of the French throne, possesses claims too venerable and too solid to the interests and regard of all Europe, to permit that its Sovereigns can view with indifference the miseries that actually oppress it, and those with which it is menaced.

An event the most deplorable has subverted the ancient basis of the Spanish monarchy; compromised the character of the

nation; and attacked and poisoned public prosperity in its very sources.

A revolution, which sprung from military revolt, has suddenly broken all the bonds of duty, overthrown all legitimate order, and dissolved the elements of the social edifice, which cannot fall without covering the whole country with its ruins.

It was thought possible to replace this edifice by extorting from a Sovereign, already despoiled of all real authority and of all free will, the re-establishment of the Constitution of the Cortes of the year 1812; which, confounding all elements and all power, and assuming only the single principle of a permanent and legal opposition against the government, necessarily destroyed that central and tutelary authority which constitutes the essence of the monarchical system.

The consequences have fully made known to the Spanish nation what are the fruits of so fatal an error.

The revolution, that is to say, the letting loose of every passion against the ancient order of things, far from being stopped, checked, or modified, has developed itself in a manner at once rapid and terrifying.

The government, powerless and paralysed, had no longer the means of either doing good or preventing evil. All its powers were found concentrated, accumulated, and confounded in one single Assembly; this Assembly presented only a conflict of opinions and views, of interests and of passions, in the midst of which propositions and revolutions of the most heterogeneous kind, were constantly produced, resisted, or neutralized. The ascendancy of the fatal doctrines of a disorganizing philosophy could not but augment the general delusion, until at last, as might naturally be expected, every notion of sound policy was abandoned for vain theories, and every sentiment of justice and moderation sacrificed to the dreams of fallacious liberty. From that moment institutions, established under the pretence of offering securities against the abuse of authority, became merely the instruments of injustice and violence, and the means of covering this tyrannical system with an appearance of legality.

Without the slightest hesitation the most venerable and sacred rights were abolished; lawful property was violated; and the Church was stripped of its dignity, its prerogatives, and its possessions. It may be thought that a despotic power, exercised by a faction only to the injury of the country, would soon have fallen to pieces, if delusive declamations from the tribune, ferocious outcries from the clubs, and the licentiousness of the press, had not kept down public opinion, and stifled the voice of that sound and reasonable part of the Spanish nation, which Europe was well aware formed an immense majority. But the measure of injustice was filled, and the patience of faithful Spaniards appeared

at length to be exhausted. On all sides discontents burst forth, and whole provinces became the prey of civil war.

In the midst of this dreadful agitation, the Sovereign of the country was seen reduced to an absolutely powerless state, deprived of all liberty of action and of will, a prisoner in his capital, separated from all his faithful servants, who still remained attached to him, loaded with insults and contumely, and exposed, from day to day, to attempts which, if the faction did not provoke them, at least they had retained no means of preventing.

You, sir, who have witnessed the origin, the progress, and the consequences of the revolution of the year 1820, can testify that there is nothing exaggerated in the picture of it which I have thus rapidly traced. Things have now reached that crisis, that the Sovereigns assembled at Verona at length feel themselves compelled to inquire what are now, and what will hereafter be, the nature of their relations with Spain.

It might have been hoped, that the dreadful calamity with which Spain was attacked would prove a crisis of a nature calculated to bring back that ancient monarchy to an order of things compatible with its own welfare, and with relations of friendship and confidence between itself and the other States of Europe. But this hope has been hitherto frustrated. The moral state of Spain is at the present moment such that her relations with Foreign Powers must necessarily be doubtful and uncertain. Doctrines, subversive of all social order, are openly preached and protected. Insults, directed against the principal Sovereigns of Europe, fill with impunity the public journals. The Revolutionists of Spain disperse their emissaries, in order to associate with themselves in their pernicious labours whatever conspirators may be found in foreign countries against public order and legitimate authority.

The inevitable effect of so many disorders has particularly manifested itself in the change of relations between Spain and France. The irritation which has resulted is of a nature calculated to create the most just apprehensions as to the maintenance of peace between the two countries. This circumstance alone would be sufficient to determine the assembled Sovereigns to break silence upon a state of things which every day threatens to compromise the tranquillity of Europe.

Is the Spanish Government willing, or is it able, to apply a remedy to evils so palpable and so notorious? Will it, and can it, prevent or repress the hostile consequences and the insulting provocations which arise with regard to Foreign Governments, from the position in which the Revolution has placed it, and from the system which it has established?

We conceive that nothing can be more contrary to the intentions of his Most Catholic Majesty, than to see himself placed

in a situation so extremely painful with respect to Foreign Sovereigns ; but it is precisely because this Monarch, who is the only authentic and legitimate organ of communication between Spain and the other Powers of Europe, finds himself deprived of his liberty, and restrained in his will, that those Powers consider their relations with Spain to be compromised and deranged.

It is not for Foreign Courts to judge what institutions would harmonize best with the character, the manners, and the real wants of the Spanish nation ; but it does indubitably belong to them to judge of the consequences which experiments of this kind produce with regard to themselves, and to regulate by those consequences their future determinations, and their future positions, with regard to Spain. Now the King, our master, is of opinion, that, in order to preserve, and re-establish on a solid foundation, his relations with Foreign Powers, the Spanish Government cannot do less than give to these last unequivocal proofs of the liberty of his Catholic Majesty, and an adequate guarantee of its disposition and of its ability to remove the causes of our regret, and of our too just inquietude respecting it.

The King orders you, sir, not to conceal this opinion from the Spanish Minister, to read to him this despatch, to leave a copy of it in his hands, and to request him to explain himself frankly and clearly upon the points to which it refers.

ANSWERS OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

To the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty at Paris, &c.

The Government of his Catholic Majesty has just received the communication of a Note sent by his Most Christian Majesty to his Ambassador at this Court, and of which your Excellency will receive a copy for your information.

The Government of his Catholic Majesty has few observations to make upon this Note ; but, in order that your Excellency may not be embarrassed as to the line of conduct you ought to pursue under these circumstances, it has deemed it its duty frankly to state to you its sentiments and resolutions.

The Spanish Government has never been ignorant that the institutions spontaneously adopted by Spain, would excite the jealousy of several of the Cabinets of Europe, and that they would be the object of deliberation at the Congress of Verona. But, firm in its principles, and resolved, at every sacrifice, to defend its present political system, and the national independence, it has tranquilly awaited the result of this Congress.

Spain is governed by a Constitution promulgated, accepted,

and sworn to in 1812, and recognized by all the Powers who assembled themselves in Congress at Verona.

Perfidious Counsellors prevented his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII., from swearing, on his return to Spain, to this fundamental Code, which the whole nation desired, and which was destroyed by force, without any remonstrance on the part of the Powers who had recognised it; but an experience of six years, and the general will, engaged his Majesty in 1820 to conform to the views of Spaniards.

It was not a military insurrection that established this new order of things at the commencement of the year 1820. The courageous men who so decidedly declared themselves in the Isle of Leon, and successively in other provinces, were only the organs of general opinion, and of the desires of the whole nation.

It was natural that a change of this nature should make some disaffected; it is an inevitable consequence of all reform which has for its object the diminution of abuses. In all nations there are individuals who can never accustom themselves to the yoke of reason and justice.

The Army of Observation, which the French Government maintains at the foot of the Pyrenees cannot calm the disorders which afflict Spain. Experience, on the contrary, has proved that the existence of this sanatory cordon (recently transformed into an Army of Observation), has only increased the hopes of the fanatics who have propagated the cry of rebellion in our provinces, by cherishing the idea of an immediate invasion of our territory.

The principles, the views, or the fears, which have influenced the conduct of the Cabinets which assembled at Verona, cannot serve as a guide to the Spanish Government. It abstains, for the moment, from making any reply to that portion of the instructions of M. the Count de Lagarde, which emanates and relates to the said Congress.

The days of calm and of tranquillity, which the Government of his Most Christian Majesty wishes to the Spanish nation, the latter does not less anxiously desire for herself and her Government. Both being persuaded that the remedy can only be the work of time and perseverance, they are, as they are bound to do, making every effort to accelerate their useful and salutary effects.

The Spanish Government appreciates the offer made to it by his Most Christian Majesty, to contribute all in his power to its happiness; but it is persuaded, that the means and the precautions which his Majesty adopts can produce only contrary results.

The aid which the French Government ought, at the present moment, to give to that of Spain is purely negative; to dissolve its Army of the Pyrenees, repulse the factious enemies of Spain who take refuge in France, and oppose itself, in the most energetic manner, against all those who indulge in defaming, in

the most shameful manner, the Government of his Catholic Majesty, as also the institutions of Spain and her Cortes. This is what the right of nations demands—a right respected by those States in which civilization reigns.

To say that France desires the welfare of Spain and her tranquillity, whilst firebrands like these, which feed the evils that afflict her, are kept continually flaming, is to fall into an abyss of contradictions.

Whatever may be the determination which the Government of his Most Christian Majesty may deem it expedient to come to under these circumstances, that of his Majesty will be to continue tranquilly in the path traced out to it by its duty, the justice of its cause, and the character of firmness and attachment to constitutional principles, which eminently distinguish the nation, at the head of which it is placed, and without entering, for the moment, into an analysis of the hypothetical and ambiguous expressions contained in the instructions sent to the Count de Lagarde, it concludes that the repose and prosperity of the nation, as also every thing which may increase the elements of her welfare, ought to interest no Power more anxiously than herself; that her motto and the rule of her present and future conduct are, constant attachment to the Constitution of 1812, peace with all nations, and especially the never admitting the right of any Power whatever to interfere in her affairs.

Your Excellency is authorized to read this Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to give him a copy, if he require it. Your judgment and prudence will suggest to you the firm conduct, a conduct worthy of Spain, which you ought to pursue at this moment.

Such are the communications which his Majesty orders me to make to you.

(Signed)

EVARISTO SAN MIGUEL.

The following "Circular," was sent to the Plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majesty, residing at the Courts of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg.

It would be unworthy the Spanish Government to answer the Notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, because they are only a tissue of lies and calumnies; it confines itself to making known to you its intentions.

1. The Spanish nation is governed by a Constitution which was solemnly recognised by the Emperor of Russia, in 1812.

2. The Spaniards, friends to their country, proclaimed, at the beginning of the year 1812, this Constitution, which was abolished solely by violence, in 1814.

3. The Constitutional King of Spain freely exercises the powers vested in him by the fundamental code.

4. The Spanish nation does not in any way interfere with the institutions and internal regime of other nations.

5. The remedy for all the evils which may afflict the Spanish nation only concerns herself.

6. The evils which she experiences are not the effect of the Constitution, but of the efforts of the enemies who endeavour to destroy her.

7. The Spanish nation will never admit the right of any Power to interfere in her affairs.

The Government will never deviate from the line traced out to it by its duties, the national honour, and by its unalterable attachment to the Constitution sworn to in 1812.

I authorize you to communicate verbally this paper to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Power to which you are accredited, and to deliver him a copy, if he require it.

His Majesty hopes that the prudence, the zeal, and the patriotism which distinguish you will suggest a firm conduct, such as is worthy of the Spanish name under present circumstances. This is what I have the honour to communicate to your Excellency, by order of his Majesty.

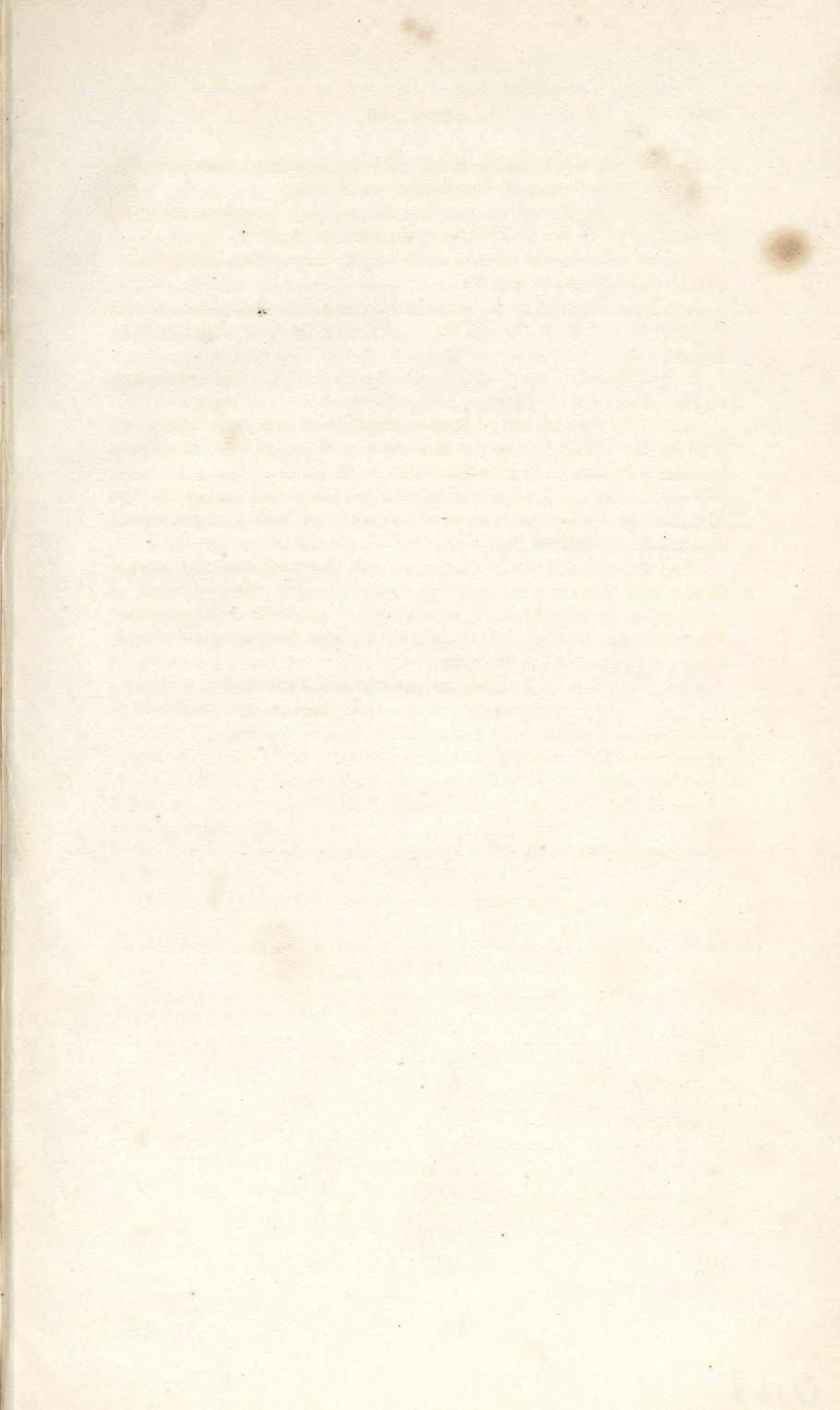
I renew to you the assurances, &c.
(Signed) EVARISTO ST. MIGUEL.

THE END.



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