

operations. At length we lost sight of them, and arrived at November.  
an auberge, called La Venta de Juanilla, a large house, standing by itself in the mountains, surrounded by a high wall, and well defended by large strong gates. The night was so cold, that our first impulse was towards the kitchen fire, where we found a great pile of wood burning: the hostess, a large, well-humoured looking woman, seated at one side, and at the other an old matron nursing an infant, her grey hairs scattered thinly on her forehead, her countenance deeply furrowed with age and hardened like parchment. We were told that she was nearly a hundred years old. The supper was not yet ready, and I went out to look at the mountains. They appeared desolate and cold, the moon shining on the virgin snow, that lay like a light cloud on their tops. Not another house was to be seen for miles around, nor was a sound to be heard, save the distant bark of the shepherd's dog, and the falling of torrents from the precipices.

We left the Venta of Juanilla at five o'clock in the morning, and pursued our way still through the Somosierra; and after passing through Buitrago and Lozoyuela, both in the province of New Castile, we traversed a country the most remarkable, perhaps, that is to be found in Europe. Immediately before us was a range of mountains, entirely composed of blocks of stone, without the appearance of a single foot of earth. Not only these mountains, however, but the whole country, as far as the eye can reach on either side, is covered with similar large stones, many of which assume the most grotesque forms. The peasants have names for several of them—one they call the Friars Coffin, one the Cap of Liberty, another the Miller's Sack, and so on, from resemblances more or less striking, which they have found in these stones to the objects after which they have named them. But the most curious circumstance belonging to these unhewn and extensive quarries is this, that the stones do not appear to have been arranged by the usual operations of 23d.

November.

nature; they seem many of them to have been thrown together by some violent revolution of the earth, many seem rounded by having been washed backwards and forwards for ages by the force of contending oceans. They are still undisturbed from the position which they first assumed after the disorders of the elements which placed them here were over, and they offer sources of the most interesting inquiries to the natural historian—sources which seem to have been hitherto left wholly unexplored.

We arrived for the night at the Venta of La Molara, another solitary auberge, in the midst of a wild and desolate heath. This posada is within eight leagues of Madrid, and yet, strange to say, it could only afford two beds. There was no supper to be had unless eggs and grapes,—a supper which more than one of our party would have every where gladly accepted. There was only one knife to be had, and that a rusty one; the spoons and forks were of wood! Slept in the voiture.

24th.

After leaving this miserable place, our route lay through Cabanillas, San Augustin, and Alcobendas. As we approached the metropolis, we found the lands on each side of the road rich and well cultivated, chiefly disposed in vineyards and corn-fields, but there was scarcely a tree to be seen any where, except at a distance of three or four leagues on the right hand, where is situated the Pardo—a country palace belonging to the King. When we arrived within about a league of Madrid, it suddenly presented itself to our view with its numerous spires and steeples, standing almost, like Palmyra, in the midst of a desert. No shady groves, no avenues, no country seats, bespoke the approach to a great capital. Not an object of any sort was to be met worth describing, until we entered the barriers, which we passed at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE HALL OF CORTES.—THE MINISTERS.—STATE OF PARTIES.

ONE of the first places to which I bent my steps, the <sup>November.</sup> morning after my arrival in Madrid, was the hall of the Cortes. It is of an oval form, and has very much of a scenic appearance. The throne is at one extremity, and so near the wall, that there is scarcely room for a person to pass behind it. It consists of a chair of state, supported by two bronze gilt lions; the back of which is composed of standards, made in the form of the Roman fasces. On the top of it is placed a baronial helmet, adorned by a large ostrich feather, which droops over the seat. Over the chair of state is the inscription "Fernando VII. Padre de la Patria."—Ferdinand VII. the father of the country. On each side of this chair are two figures of Cariatides, one representing South America, and the other the Peninsula, which support a square canopy, covered with purple velvet, and decorated by curtains, which are festooned with golden ropes and tassels. The throne is elevated on a platform, which is covered with a handsome carpet.

One step below this there is another platform, covered with a carpet of a different pattern, upon which stands an oblong table for the President and six secretaries of Cortes. The President sits at one end, his back to the throne; three secretaries occupy each side of the table; at the end opposite to the President stands a silver crucifix. A small silver bell is placed near him on his right hand, which he rings when he feels it necessary to call any of the members to order. Copies of the Evangelists, of the Constitution,

November. the Decrees of Cortes, and books of authority are arranged upon the lower end of the table, and under it, for convenience of reference. The table is supported by metallic gilt standards, made in the shape of the fasces. The platform on which it is placed is a step higher than the floor of the hall.

There are twenty-two benches for the deputies, arranged in equal numbers at each side of the hall, which are cushioned and covered with purple velvet. The floor is tastefully carpeted, and mats are placed for the feet. A considerable segment of the oval figure of the hall is railed off for the bar, the floor of which is covered with green baize. In the centre are two marble pedestals, which support two large and beautiful bronze lions *couched*. These grasp in their fore claws a thick gilt rod, which is removed when the king goes to Cortes, but on no other occasion. Below the bar is a lofty pair of folding doors, through which his majesty and the royal family and the officers of state enter. During the sittings, these doors are guarded on the inside by two sentinels, who are dressed in silk and gold lace, hats and drooping feathers, after the style of the ancient Spanish costume. They hold gilt maces in their hands, and are relieved every hour. They look more like a pair of stage mutes than the officers of a senate.

The hall is hung with six large lustres, the tin sconces in which mar the elegance of the glass manufacture. Immediately before the throne are four bronze figures, sustaining sockets for wax lights. There are also several side lustres. They are seldom used, as the Cortes rarely sit at night.

The decorations consist principally of a number of casts from statues, which are well executed. Two, representing Genius and Honour, stand on each side of the throne; and four, representing the cardinal virtues, are placed two at each side, lower down. There are affixed to the wall several

large marble slabs, on which are written in letters of gold the names of Alvarez, D. Felix Acevedo, D. Luis Daois, D. Pedro Velardo, D. Juan Diaz Porlier, D. Luis Lacy, and D. Mariano Alvarez, men who have distinguished themselves by their exertions for liberty. Behind the throne are two slabs, on which are written, in letters of gold, the names of several men who have been celebrated as the peculiar defenders of the rights and liberties of Aragon and Castile. There are two oblong recesses filled with bassos relievos of events connected with the regeneration of Spain, and two cartoons of a similar character. On the front of the lower gallery the third article of the constitution is inscribed, asserting that "the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and, therefore, to it belongs exclusively the right of making its fundamental laws."

The only source of warmth which the hall affords consists of a small stove behind the throne, and two or three *braseros*, which are arranged at intervals in the middle of the floor. These are brass pans, supported in circular wooden frames, by which they are raised a few inches from the ground. They are filled with ignited coals, formed of charred brushwood—a most unwholesome fire, which, in close rooms, is dangerous to life, and emits scarcely any heat.

Spectators are not admitted below the bar, nor into the space appropriated to the deputies. But they are amply provided for by two large galleries, one over the other, which are at the lower extremity of the hall, opposite the throne. On the right of the throne, about half way between the floor and the ceiling, there is a tribune for the ambassadors, opposite to which is a similar recess, for the use of the officers of the guard attendant on the Cortes. In the central part of the hall, nearly on a level with the floor, there is a tribune for the ex-deputies, into which the deputies have the privilege of introducing their friends. A

November. similar tribune, exactly opposite to this, is occupied by the short-hand writers to the Cortes. It is the duty of these gentlemen to take down every word that is spoken, both in the public and private sittings. Their notes are afterwards written out, and printed under the control of the assembly in the journal of the Cortes, together with all the documents appertaining to the proceedings. The reporters to the public press are stationed at the two extremities of the front bench of the lower gallery, where a sufficient space is railed in for their exclusive convenience.

The Cortes begin their debates usually at half-past eleven in the forenoon; and unless some very important subject occupies them, they seldom sit beyond three o'clock. The deputies rise and speak from their places, like the members of the house of commons; and generally without the aid of written notes. There is a handsome rostrum on each side of the chair, but they are resorted to only when a member has to state a proposition which he submits to the consideration of the Cortes, when any of the secretaries has to make a communication with respect to the routine of business, or when official documents are to be read. The Constitution provides that the ministers shall not have seats in the Cortes; but this body is authorized to request the presence of any member, or all the members, of the cabinet, as often as it thinks expedient. When a question is put to the vote, those who are for the affirmative stand up in their places, those against it remain sitting. The voices are thus easily counted, and during a division, strangers are not excluded. When the question is one of great importance, the names of the members voting on each side are taken down.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa having lost its moral influence in the country, in consequence of a general, though, perhaps, an unjust suspicion, that they favoured the mutiny of the royal guards on the 7th of July, 1822; a new mi-

nistry was formed, composed of men who were marked out November. for their determined zeal in support of the constitution. At the head of the new ministry is Evaristo San Miguel. He was chief of the staff in the army of the Isla, and performed his duties in a blameless manner. After this he became one of the principal members of the party of Freemasons, to which he owes his elevation. It may be here observed that this party was originally formed in Cadiz in the year 1812, and in the beginning they adopted the same system of toleration and philanthropy which is held by all the Freemasons of Europe. In 1814, upon the return of Ferdinand, and the re-establishment of the monstrous tribunal of the Inquisition, they were persecuted with peculiar malignity. But their internal organization serving them with the means of active secret communication, they formed the design of restoring liberty, and they exerted themselves strenuously to accomplish that object. The unsuccessful conspiracies of Lacy and of Porlier were planned and supported by this association. At last they were fortunate in the famous revolution of the Isla. All the operations of the Army which proclaimed the Constitution were arranged in the Lodges, and every thing done through the medium of freemasonry.

San Miguel is a young man who has acquired scarcely any political knowledge, and has not the slightest tact for diplomacy, extremely irritable, and impatient of censure, however gentle the form in which it may be conveyed. In distributing the various offices attached to his department, he has been charged with great partiality—a charge, indeed, to which every minister is liable, because he very naturally has the greatest confidence in those private friends with whose characters and abilities he is best acquainted. It is further charged against him, that he has not originated one single

November. measure which indicates a profound and happy genius, since he has been invested with office. He gets through the routine business with sufficient industry, but there is about him no attribute of a statesman. He was one of the editors of the journal called the *Espectador*, immediately before his elevation to office; and it is understood that he continues to support, as well as to control, that paper by his writings.

Lopez Banos, the Minister of War, was one of the Generals who commanded in the Army of the Isla. He evinced, however, some delay in joining the Constitutional party. He is considered a good soldier, but not skilled in what may be called the scientific division of his department.

Gasco, the Minister of the Interior, is considered to be a man of a firm and decided character. He is of active habits, and attached to liberty. He was an advocate, a profession comparatively obscure in Spain, because the Courts are not founded on a public basis; besides Gasco never acquired any eminence as a lawyer. It is believed that he has a sincere love for his country. He listens with affability to the advices which are occasionally given to him, but his great defect is, that he is not "up to the age."

The Minister of Grace and Justice, Navarro, is the declared enemy of all the usurpations and abuses of the Court of Rome. He is well versed in the canon laws, of an intelligent mind, but rather backward in that general reading which is necessary to a man who would express himself in Cortes in a lucid and impressive manner. He is of an austere, unamiable character, and rather a logician than a statesman.

Probity is a rare quality in the Spanish cabinet. It is affirmed, however, that the finance minister, Egea, is scrupulously honest. He works hard, is sufficiently acquainted with the routine of his office, has good intentions, but little



resolution. He considers the modern science of political economy as a mere farce. November.

Not so the ultra-marine minister, Vadillo, who is well grounded in political economy, a man of literature and knowledge. He was an advocate at Cadiz. He is blamed as too docile, and incapable of firm resolution. He has written some excellent works on the necessity of a free trade, for which he is a zealous partisan. He is considered a man of moderation and virtue.

The man who has perhaps acquired most weight in the ministry, after San Miguel, is Capaz, the minister of marine. When he was in Peru, he surrendered to Lord Cochrane the fine frigate of war the *Maria Isabel*, in a manner far from being honourable to his courage. It must, however, be observed, that most of the operations of this minister have been commented upon in violent, which is not always just, language. He is a decided enemy to South American independence, and to his representations is chiefly to be imputed the unfortunate policy which infects this, as well as the former governments, of sending out expeditions to the American continent. Report, perhaps calumny, says that these expeditions are not unproductive of gain to himself and his friends. Such is the preponderance which he has acquired in the state, that there are not a few of his party who desire his fall, that they may have at least a chance of succeeding him.

The treasurer-general, Yandiola, has no seat in the cabinet, but he is intimately connected with the present ministers, and generally consulted by them on all financial questions. He is rather a young man, forward, well educated; but though his manners are elegant and engaging, he has not been able to conciliate public opinion, which from the beginning has been adverse to him.

Besides the ministers, the leading men of Cortes, Augustin

November. and Canga Arguelles, Galiano, Isturitz, and a great majority of that body are of the party called Freemasons. It must be understood that in Spain the Society of Freemasons is chiefly of a political character. The members composing it are persons who co-operated for the restoration of the constitution in 1820; hence they were so closely connected with the troops, who assisted them with such effect on that occasion, that they naturally adopted principles which every day tended more and more to subject the country to the rule of a stratocracy.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, and the party which supported it, was understood to be of a character rather aristocratical. They were called *Anilleros* (men who wear rings), and they consisted of the higher classes of the nobility. It is believed that an opinion prevailed very generally amongst them in favour of certain modifications in the constitution, the principal of which was the establishment of a chamber of peers. Some hopes had been given, it is said, to the courts of Russia and France that the modifications which this party contemplated might be effected without the aid of foreign intervention. But those expectations were effectually frustrated by the events of the 7th of July, and from that period, it is added, the two powers just mentioned determined on compelling Spain by force of arms to alter her constitution.

The impulse which was communicated to the democratic principle of the constitution by the result of the events of the 7th of July gave birth to a third party, who called themselves *Comuneros*. The leaders of this party, Palarea, Ballasteros, Romero Alpuente, Morales, and others, who participated by their personal exertions in the victory which was gained over the royal guards, conceived that they deserved equally well of their country for having preserved the constitution, as the Freemasons did for having restored it.

They soon gathered around them a very numerous party, November. which assumed to itself an exclusive interest in the third article of the Constitution, that is to say, in the sovereignty of the people. Some time after the Freemasons came into office with San Miguel, the differences between them and the Comuneros grew every day more prominent. The latter outstripped the former in numbers, and drew up a regular constitution, which was calculated to organise a popular confederation throughout the Peninsula\*.

\* See Appendix, No. I.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE LANDABURIAN SOCIETY.

November.

AMONGST the officers of the royal guards who openly mutinied on the 7th of July was a lieutenant of the name of Landaburu. Animated by a fervent attachment to the Constitution, he refused, in the first moment of their proceedings, to take any part in them. I saw the stains of his blood on the pavement of one of the porches of the palace, where he was shot by one of his own company.

The Cortes, on the motion of Galiano, having recently authorised by law the re-opening of popular debating societies, about one hundred individuals of Madrid associated together for the purpose of informing the people of their rights, and instructing them in their duties. They elected for their president Romero Alpuente, a magistrate and an ex-deputy of Cortes, and they gave the name of Landaburu to their society.

The municipal government of Madrid assigned to their use the refectory of the suppressed convent of St. Thomas, an oblong hall, capable of accommodating four thousand persons. A third part of the hall is firmly railed in, and furnished with benches for the exclusive use of the members of the society and their friends; the remainder is fitted up with seats for the use of the public. At the end of that part of the hall which is appropriated to the members there is a painted cenotaph, on which is inscribed—*A la memoria del inmortal Landaburu*. Over the cenotaph is the following inscription:—*La soberania reside esencialmente en la nacion*—The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. Square

pieces of canvas are hung along the sides of the hall, on November. which are written several of the most important articles of the Constitution. On one of these, at the extremity, is written *Firmez y valor*—Firmness and courage; and on another, opposite to this, are the words, *Libertad y union*—Liberty and union. The rostrum is over the railing, and close by the wall, exactly in the form of a pulpit, and upon the front of it is written in large letters, *Constitucion o muerte*—The Constitution or death. The hall is well lighted; a guard of soldiers attends to preserve order, and a military band is present, which plays patriotic airs before the speeches commence, and in the intervals between them. The chairman sits under the cenotaph of Landaburu, and rings his bell when there is any disorder. The orator is generally a member of the society, and when he wishes to address the people, he must ascend the rostrum. A great number of the visitors consists of the fair sex, who are for the most part violent Constitutionalists—at least in Madrid. The meetings commence at seven, and terminate about half-past ten, on the evenings of Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Applauses are signified either by vivas or by clapping of hands. The meeting uniformly concludes with a general shout of *Viva la Constitucion*, or *Viva Riego*, which, in general acceptance here, are synonymous.

It is not within the design of this work to enter into an historical account of the speeches delivered in the Landaburian society, still less to justify the extremes of declamation to which the orators very frequently resorted. But perhaps a few specimens of their debates may not be considered altogether uninteresting, inasmuch as they tend to elucidate the opinions and genius of that party which is the most enthusiastic, or, according to the prevailing phrase, the most *exalted*, in favour of the Constitution.

On one of the first occasions that I attended this society, 24th.

November.

the tribune was occupied by the deputy Galiano. He maintained that the most important ends of these tribunes were to instruct the people in their duties, and also to censure the abuses of the Ministry. Upon the latter point he dwelt at some length, and enforced his opinion that the private lives of public men ought to be as much open to reprehension as their public conduct; for how, he asked, could a bad father, a faithless husband, and a false friend, be a good citizen, much less a good minister, or a good magistrate?—In a word, how could such a man be considered capable of discharging any one public duty towards the state? In his opinion, the popular tribunes ought to exercise a species of censorship over the morals of the community. He supported his doctrine by the maxim of Aristides, that, though a proposition were just in itself, and conducive to the welfare of the state, it should not be received when conveyed through a suspicious channel; and he cited several examples of censure on the private lives of public persons, from English and French writers. This doctrine was combated by Citizen Floran (such is the style), who contended that truth should always be respected, no matter how impure the mouth from which it proceeded.

Citizen Cortabarría said that, for his part, he would have nothing to do with the question which had been just discussed; his object was to call the attention of the assembly to another point of much greater interest for them,—namely, the armed intervention of the Sovereigns at Verona. Not that he believed they would dare to attempt any such thing, but that he might expose the probable result of such an intervention, upon the supposition that they had the audacity to direct it. After attacking the Northern Sovereigns, one after the other, for their ingratitude towards Spain, whose resistance to the tyranny of Buonaparte was the means by which they were raised from the dust, he

contended that the present French army was very different November. from the legions of Jena and Austerlitz, which, however, the Spaniards had vanquished; that the soldiers constituting the Army of Observation, as well as the majority of the French people, loved the Spanish Constitution, and that the agents of the present French Ministry were the only degraded beings who used every exertion in their power to excite others against a Constitution which they detested, because it was truly free. Thus he reasoned, that if an invasion should take place through the instrumentality of the French army, it would be fatal only to the aggressors.

This speaker was followed by Citizen Morales, who went back to the question of censures on private character, which he vehemently deprecated, as it would lead to a system of infamous calumny and private delation. The true censor of a free country was public opinion formed on public conduct. He then touched on the events of the 7th of July, and the Congress of Verona; as also did Citizen Romero Alpuente, after which the meeting separated with shouts of "*Viva Riego!*"

On a subsequent night two boys from one of the public schools sustained a dialogue (which, of course, had been prepared for them), in which they criticised the manner of conducting some of the newspapers of Madrid. They complained that the editors treated the most important political questions in such a way that nobody could understand what were their opinions concerning them; that they afforded no instruction to their readers, but threw before them a mass of matter which confused rather than enlightened the public mind. This dialogue caused a good deal of laughter.

26th.

The subject which most warmly engaged the attention of the meeting was the apprehended invasion. "The Sovereigns at Verona," said Citizen Morales, "threaten us with

November. an invasion in case we do not modify our Constitution. But not their menaces—no, nor an invasion supported by three hundred thousand of their slaves, shall ever bow down the heroism of the Spanish nation. What I fear is, that, backed by these menaces, there will not perhaps be wanting some pusillanimous Deputy, who, under the pretext of saving the country from the disasters of war, will propose to the Cortes the necessity of modifying the Constitution. Citizens! I have said, perhaps, because I cannot bring myself to believe it. The powers with which the Deputies are invested are no more than are necessary to make them the organs of their constituents—or, what is the same thing, the organs of the will of the nation, and that nation never will suffer the Constitution, to which it has sworn, to be altered in the most minute point. Citizens, the country might be in danger if such an invasion should take place, but not the Constitution—that shall remain inviolable—three hundred thousand arms are raised to support it.”—(Enthusiastic applause.)

This orator was followed by Citizen Muralejo, who poured out a violent philippic against the higher orders of the Clergy. He dwelt on their revenues, their inutility, and, above all, on their animosity to the Constitution; to oppose which they were, he said, uniting all their means, both in money and personal exertions. The Cortes, he added, could not be unacquainted with these things, and when they were employed in regulating the Clergy, they should have driven out these drones, as useless to the country as they were prejudicial to the cause of liberty.

Romero Alpuente, on ascending the tribune, was received with those marks of applause which are usually conferred on popular leaders. After dwelling some time on the reports of the approaching invasion, he thus proceeded: “During the war of independence,” said he, “we had in