

our favour the host of friars, who feared they should lose their revenues; but these are now our greatest enemies. We had also in our favour the aristocrats, who equally trembled for their riches and privileges; up to this time also, the men of literature and learning rivalled each other in supporting the cause of independence; but now—the thing must be openly confessed—now, some for one cause, some for another—all, all of these are our greatest enemies. What, then, is our remedy? Do you ask it? *We must annihilate them; we must do with them as was done in France, where, in one night, fourteen thousand were executed; then we shall be without serviles, without neutrals: all patriots, and patriots only, and we shall be again in the same situation in which we were in the year 8.*” The orator, after arguing that England was self-interested in preserving the independence of Spain, because if it was destroyed the preponderance of power would pass to Russia, which would be the same thing as if it had passed to Napoleon, concluded his harangue with *Viva la Constitucion*, which was enthusiastically repeated.

Thus it may be observed, the members of the Landaburian Society delivered their sentiments with unbounded freedom, not to say licentiousness. There was no topic afloat in the capital that was interesting to the people which they did not discuss in all its bearings. Every night fresh crowds filled the hall. Like all large assemblies, they seemed verging constantly towards extremes, denouncing those who did not meet their wishes in every point, impatient of moderate measures, fickle in their admiration, and atrocious in their hatreds. The orators who usually harangued them seemed to me to be men of violent opinions, little knowledge, great forwardness, and very limited talent. Citizens Galiano, Floran, Romero Alpuente, Mexia, and Morales, are ex

December. ceptions to this remark, as far as it regards knowledge and ability. These orators spoke with a fluency which was sometimes energetic, if not eloquent; they were the most popular, especially Alpuente, who is the idol of the *exaltados*. This expression is equivalent to that of our ultra-radicals; and considering his age, the enthusiasm of his manner, and the principles which he professes, Alpuente may be called the Major Cartwright of Spain.

3d. In the early part of December a meeting of the Society took place, which, under all its circumstances, was rather a remarkable one, inasmuch as, at one period of it, it was feared that the people would have rushed out into the streets, and have raised the standard of sedition.

It must be premised that, during the evening, there was a report busily circulated in Madrid, that the chiefs of the mutiny of the 7th of July were released from prison by order of the Ministers, and that they were already several leagues from the metropolis, on their way out of the Peninsula. The decision of the Cortes, confirming the capitulation of Palarea and Placentia, by which the lives of those who surrendered to those Constitutional chiefs were saved, seemed to afford some grounds for the rumour. But though the lives of the leaders comprehended in these capitulations were thus protected, it was not doubted that they would be tried, and subjected to degradations, confiscations, and long imprisonments, in African or South American *presidios*. Besides these, there were several leaders in custody who were not comprehended in any capitulation, and who, it was as little doubted, would suffer death. The report stated that the leaders of both these classes were set at liberty on condition of quitting Spain without delay. It was true that the ex-Political Chief, San Martin, had been just liberated from prison, as there was no distinct charge found against him.

But the rest of the rumour was a mere exaggeration, got up very probably for the purpose of impelling the meeting to violent measures.

The business of the night was opened by Citizen Oller, who was followed by Citizen Romero; but they were scarcely attended to, so busy were the people in communicating to one another the rumour of the hour. In proportion as it was circulated, the exasperation of the crowd began to show itself in a very unequivocal manner. In the midst of this agitation, Citizen Floran ascended the tribune.

“What is it,” he asked, “that agitates you? We ought all of us to be prepared to follow the march of things. What do you fear? Are you ignorant that in the midst of you are to be found the sentinels of liberty? Are you not well assured that we would every one of us perish before we should see this sacred temple of freedom profaned? What has happened to alarm you?”

Several voices answered, “Nothing—nothing can alarm us; we fear nothing.”

“If I had not that confidence in you,” continued the orator, “never, never should I have appeared in this tribune. I know well that, when summoned to defend your liberties, you are lions. But I have particular reasons for requesting the strictest order. This night, citizens, let us swear once more before the tomb of the hero who died for liberty—*the Constitution or death!*—Do you swear?”

“Yes—yes! we do swear!” answered the whole crowd unanimously. Tranquillity, however, did not follow this artful diversion; on the contrary, the music, which was struck up after Floran left the tribune, could scarcely be heard, so loud were the narratives and the expressions of indignation that rose from several groups in the hall. Citizen Oller again mounted the tribune; but his efforts to calm the mind of the multitude were to little purpose.

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“Who is there amongst us,” said he, “who would not shed the last drop of his blood in defence of our liberties, if they were in danger?—[Yes! they are in danger, exclaimed many voices.] Have the goodness to hear me. I trust that to-morrow we shall be able to acquire authentic information with respect to the intelligence which has excited your indignation—[*Vuestra exaltacion*—I know no English word equivalent to the latter—it signifies a passionate, an enthusiastic state of mind, which is not understood by the English word “exaltation.”]—For the rest, it is absolutely necessary that your conduct should support these tribunes, which we have recovered with so much difficulty.”

Still the agitation continued. In the midst of it Citizen Floran again appeared in the tribune. “*Viva la exaltacion!*” said he; “without it we should never have fully vindicated our liberties! Assuredly we now feel how much our inactivity has cost us; but, citizens, there never was an occasion when we ought to conduct ourselves with greater prudence than on this night. It is rumoured, in substance, that San Martin is, or is about to be, set at liberty; that Castro Terreno is, or is about to be, set at liberty.”—[The indignation of the audience here rose to such a height, that some cried out, “Let us go in a body and ascertain the truth of this report—if it be true—— * * * * * This movement, however, was opposed with effect.]—“Citizens,” continued Floran, “I conjure you, in the name of that country which you adore, not to compromise this society. *Viva la Constitucion!*”—[This cry was repeated by the multitude; the band forced all their might into the instruments, that they might drown with patriotic song the murmurs of the people, but all in vain; the *exaltation* of the crowd rather increased than lessened. In the midst of this confusion, Citizen Gorostiza ascended the tribune.] He praised “the noble fire” by which the meeting was animated, but

at the same time conjured the people to wait until the morning to ascertain the real extent of the rumours by which they were agitated. (Yes, forsooth! by that time the criminals will be a hundred leagues from the capital.) "Citizens," he continued, "I should be false to my principles, if I addressed you on a point upon which I have not sufficient data. (We have them.) If any of you be fully acquainted with the facts, enter this tribune and relate them—I shall yield it with pleasure." [No answer was given to this invitation, and the orator digressed to the subject of the French Army of Observation, upon which he was heard with sufficient tranquillity.] He was followed by Citizen Perez Ribas, who unfortunately went back to the topic of the rumours, which, he said, if they were true, afforded strong grounds for alarm. [The criminals have escaped! exclaimed a voice in the crowd.] "Would to Heaven," added the speaker, "that all those who are like them were now a thousand leagues from the Peninsula! [Murmurs of disapprobation.] Citizens, I have given proofs of my patriotism, and you cannot justly doubt my sentiments. I would be heartily glad that all the criminals should expiate their treason on the scaffold; but, when we have no certain proofs to go upon, why should we be *exalted*? The Society has sent out persons to see what is going on in the capital, and they say that every thing remains perfectly tranquil. (Several voices—We want no moderation.) The question here is not about moderation; and I have repeatedly said in this tribune that I sincerely wished, because I thought it necessary, that all those implicated in the events of the 7th of July should pay the forfeit of their crimes. (One voice—We want no deceivers.) The question here is as little about deceivers. For my part, I will not approve the conduct of government, if these reports be true; but, until we know that they are true, how can we take any part? (A voice—They are true. I have seen the culprits on their way out of the Peninsula.)

December. Citizens, I have sworn to die for the Constitution; I am ready to fulfil this oath: do you desire more? He who interrupts me, let him mount this tribune, and show that he has done more for the cause of liberty than I have done. Citizens, whilst the defenders of the 7th of July exist, you have nothing to fear; but let us hope that the day is distant when it may be necessary for that body to prove its valour once more. Remember that you have need of much precaution; consider what a triumph it would be for the Serviles* if, upon the ground of such rumours as these, of the truth of which we are not assured, we should rush out into the streets and make a tumult." (Yes, the report is true, exclaimed many voices; we know it to be true.)

Citizen Floran occupied the tribune for the third time. "Citizens," said he, "do me the favour to hear me. Floran has often assured you that the orators who are in the habit of addressing you are worthy of your confidence; but if you doubt them, it is in the power of any one amongst you to enter this tribune, and to show the contrary. The people are sovereign; but you ought to respect this place. This very night it is perhaps essentially necessary for you, above all others, to preserve silence and order. No more murmurs then; he who has any thing to say, let him ascend this tribune. It matters not if you are unaccustomed to the art of speaking in rounded phrases; all that the country requires is that you may speak of its interests. For the rest, you well know that those men whose love of liberty has identified them with the country are sufficient to crush all our enemies, even though the Congress of Verona and France should come forward, trailing behind them the chains of slavery. Let the signal of battle be given—then you will be seen in the proud attitude of free men combating for your liberties, and conquering its enemies. Yes—you will conquer them, since

* Those inclined to the old regime.

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one free man is worth three thousand slaves. Thus animated by the spirit of liberty, three hundred Greeks vanquished as many millions who sought to oppress them." (This address to the passions produced no effect; Floran, popular as he is, was obliged to stop, so great was the confusion of many voices, all raised to tones of indignation. The Vice-President rung his bell in vain, and threatened to put an end to the sitting, if order were not restored.)

It was now ten o'clock, and the return of order appeared very unlikely, until Romero Alpuente took his seat as President of the Society. He was received with repeated *vivas*, as was also the Political Chief of the province (Palarea), who came in shortly after.

Citizen Gorostiza took this opportunity of announcing the flight of the "Regency" of Urgel from the territory of Spain.

Alpuente ascended the tribune. It was some time before he could speak, so incessant and boisterous were the applauses with which he was received. At length he was audible. "Citizens," said he, "it appears that tranquillity has been a little interrupted here, by the reports which are current about this devil of a *Tintin*. [*Tintin* is a nick-name for San Martin.] The Society will have first to verify the fact, next to examine the motives which led to his apprehension, and thirdly to inquire why these motives have disappeared. These were points into which they could not enter at present, as they had not sufficient data; and he therefore recommended them to let the inquiry stand over." The orator then delivered a homily upon the necessity of applying themselves to the acquisition of political knowledge. "Knowledge alone," he contended, "formed the grounds for that preference which one man gained over another, and free citizens ought to emulate each other in pursuing it, as they would be all thus enabled in turn to serve their country.

December. Two hours were enough for eating, eight hours for sleeping, four for amusement and visiting, and the remaining ten of the twenty-four should be dedicated to intellectual acquirements." Alpuente was heard calmly, the sitting ended, the meeting quietly dispersed, and thus ended the business of this threatening evening.

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The subject was resumed in the subsequent meeting by Citizen Floran. "*Tintin* is at liberty!! the ex-Political Chief of Madrid—San Martin—who disappeared from our ranks, and joined the conspirators! Neither here, nor in the provinces, was any man ignorant that he acted with the associations which were formed against our freedom—and he is set at liberty! But who could have done this? And if it have been done, are the Spanish people of so little value that they do not deserve to be informed of a measure so extraordinary? If the people of Madrid had not had so much discretion, who can doubt that on the night when this intelligence was first communicated they would have been that which their enemies so much fear? And then, when the streets might have flowed with blood, what would those enemies have had to say for themselves? If they are making experiments on the patience of the Spanish people, may they one day feel the effects of its resentment! The perverse wish that we should rise one against the other, that friend should raise his hand against friend, and brother against brother. How they deceive themselves! The Spanish people take up arms only against their tyrants. Why all this mystery in the proceedings? Because they are carried on without justice and without reason. Nothing is so convenient as darkness to cover hands that are employed in the protection of crime. Woe! woe betide thee, Spain! if the same decision take place with respect to the other culprits! Citizens! if it be certain that patriotism rose to its acme on the 7th of July—if it be certain that on that day the tree of

liberty shot forth its roots, it is equally true that since that day a monster has been continually removing the earth which covers them, in order that, being exposed to the air, they may wither. But, malignants, tremble! never shall you obtain the object which you propose! Your blood shall water them; it shall make them grow, and spread more verdantly than ever. Yes, be assured that for every step which you take to weaken our force, the sons of liberty shall exert all their vigour even to the last gasp of life, and they shall perish or trample on the tomb of their tyrants!" (A loud shout of *exaltation*, which continued for several minutes.)

"We have seen," said Citizen Morales, "the palace of a constitutional king converted into a garrison of enemies to the country, and we have seen that those same enemies were the persons who surrounded and advised that king. What was the result? The people triumphed, because it was resolved not to bear the yoke of despotism. Five months have elapsed since that period, and what has been done with those criminals? They walk in the streets of Madrid! With such impunity as this, I should not be surprised to find another 7th of July, and one fraught with more extensive evils, in a course of preparation. Do you not remember the infamous project for disarming the militia? If it had taken place, what would have been our situation? And yet the men who wanted to carry this project into effect remain, and are likely to remain, unpunished! This impunity is the origin of all our misfortunes, yet it continues! To what purpose are the valour and the bayonets of Mina against a faction which is so strongly supported in the Cortes? Laying aside forms and phrases, which mean only to delude, I say that this impunity for the criminals is nothing less than treason against the State. To what end have we laws, if they be not executed? It were better, in my opinion, to have no laws, where they are no more than a phantom in the hands of the powerful to oppress

December. the people. There were laws in the time of the despotism but Spaniards were not the less slaves; it is the same case to-day. To what end have we a Constitution, about whose preservation so much noise is made, if it be not strictly and impartially enforced? Citizens, undeceive yourselves. We are not free—nor can we be free whilst the laws do not coerce the high as well as the low. We shall have no country—we shall be slaves, though wearing the cap of liberty, so long as the cause of the 7th of July follows not the course which justice points out. We are charged with violence. Yes!—the speeches which are delivered here are ‘atrocious,’ because they discover the hypocrites; they are ‘atrocious,’ because they cry out against so scandalous an abuse. Ah! if in the beginning the heads of the delinquents had fallen, we should not have seen the beautiful fields of Catalonia turned into wastes, covered with mourning and desolation. Citizens, if this impunity continue, prepare yourselves for suffering incalculable evils. Justice! justice! is the only means of saving the country: in no other manner can it be effected, unless our revolution degenerates into anarchy. Execute the laws, and the factious will be speedily quelled. Without justice the Constitution is no more than an empty name.”

Nothing appeared to me more extraordinary in these assemblies than the faculty for public speaking which almost every person who appeared in the tribune possessed. The construction and copiousness of the Spanish language are indeed peculiarly favourable to oratory: when clearly pronounced, it is a language delightful to the ear. It is besides so expressive, that even in the height of passion it is equal to the fervour of the mind, and very seldom stands in need of periphrasis or of illustration. In common conversation the fluency of Spaniards is almost oppressive to an Englishman; and he is apt to suspect that where there are so many words, there

may be a defect of thought; that when promises or threats December.
are most abundant, the heart to resolve, and the hand to
execute, are slow to pursue them.

It cannot be denied that the speeches delivered in this society had a powerful influence, not only on the people of Madrid, but on the whole country. Similar societies were established in Barcelona, Granada, Valencia, and other places; and from the reports of their proceedings it appeared that they very generally repeated the sentiments of the orators of the capital. It was impossible for me to agree with those persons who represented the *exaggerations* of the Landaburians as mere rhetorical declamations, which passed over the heads of the people without producing any impression on their principles. It cannot but be observed that they were beginning to tread as nearly as possible in the footsteps of the French Jacobins—a faction which first turned aside the revolution of France from its original calm and legal progress. It was therefore apprehended by many reasonable men, that unless some measures were taken to counteract the effects of the Landaburian oratory, we should soon witness in Madrid transcripts of those scenes which deluged the streets of Paris with blood.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

December.

IT was observable that soon after the unsuccessful mutiny of the royal guards in July, the bands of armed men, who called themselves the "Army of the Faith," and were stigmatized by their enemies with the appellation of "the Factious," were considerably augmented in the three frontier provinces of Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. It was suspected, with every probability of justice, that the ultra-royalist party in France, of which the Duke of Angouleme is the head, found means to supply the chieftains of the "factious" with money, arms, and clothing. Certain it is, that the conversion of the *Cordon Sanitaire* into an "army of observation," the increase of that army, and the friendly reception which all the royalist Spanish refugees experienced in France, lent at least a moral support to the "factious," and taught them to expect that the period was not far distant when they might count upon more effectual assistance.

All the efforts of the Spanish government were vigorously applied to the extirpation of these armed opponents of the constitution. Mina marched in blood through the fair fields of Catalonia up to the very seat of the "Regency" in the Seo de Urgel, whence he succeeded in expelling that self-constituted authority. Torrijos, a young and sanguinary commander, had orders to clear Aragon of the "factious." Similar instructions had been given to Carlos Espinosa in Navarre; and it cannot be doubted that both these chieftains used the most sincere endeavours to obey them. Indeed, the orders which were sent generally to the provinces with respect to those who were not active supporters of the existing system, would seem to have emanated from a conclave of

men little accustomed to the usages of civilized warfare. December. What, for instance, is to be said to the commander who, after receiving prisoners, upon the usual understanding that their lives should be spared, selects a certain number, and orders them to be shot? Not only has this barbarous outrage upon humanity been perpetrated by the constitutional chieftains, but in more than one instance they have taken out unarmed inhabitants from their houses, and upon mere oral information that they were of the "factious," without a trial, or a legal inquiry of any sort, they commanded them to be put to death. It was no uncommon circumstance to read in the provincial papers that such a person was shot in such a village at "the request of the people;" that is to say, a mob raised a clamour against an individual, and without ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, the authorities ordered the sentence of the "sovereign people" to be executed. And these facts were related without a single observation expressive of surprise or sympathy, as if they were in the common course of justice. Cruelty is not stripped of its criminality by whatever party it is exercised; and it appears still more sanguinary in its character when it is adopted by that side which bears at least the legal semblance of supremacy.

Those very energies, however, which the government was compelled to put forth for the extinction of the insurgents, tended only to augment the financial embarrassments of the country, and to spread still wider the flame of discontent. The loan which had been contracted in the November of 1821 with the house of Ardoin, Hubbard, and Co. though apparently calculated to place one hundred and forty millions of reals at the disposal of the finance minister for supplying the deficiencies of the year, fell very short of its expected effect. In March, 1822, the deficiency of the general revenue amounted to nearly two hundred millions of

December. reals*. This deficit the government proposed to cover, not by an increase of taxes, nor by having recourse to a new loan, but by reducing the expenditure to the measure of the income. The fault of almost all the ministers who held the helm of the state since the restoration of the constitution was, that of resolving too much on the principles of theorists and optimists, without providing against the difficulties which they had to encounter in practice. The possibility of making new reductions in the public expenditure, after the sweeping reforms which the Cortes had already accomplished, could scarcely have been contemplated, however much it might have been desired. In point of fact, the deficit was not covered in the way proposed; on the contrary, the agitated and harassed state of the whole country caused the revenue to be collected with greater difficulty than ever, whilst its expenditure was increased; and on the 3rd of December in the same year a committee of Cortes proposed that new rents to the amount of forty millions of reals should be inscribed in the great book, in order to meet the extraordinary exigencies of the state †.

The contributions and revenues which at this period formed the national income of Spain arose from the following sources :

	<i>Reals.</i>
Land tax estimated at ‡	- 150,000,000
Tax on the clergy	- 20,000,000
Arrears of tithes	- 10,000,000
Tax on houses	- 10,000,000
Patents (licences for trade)	- 12,000,000
Duties on consumption	- 100,000,000
Carried over	- 302,000,000

* See the Finance Report laid before Cortes on the 5th of March, 1822.

† It was estimated that these 40 millions of reals rents would sell in the market for about four millions sterling.

‡ If the English reader will allow 10l. sterling for every 1000 reals, he may easily ascertain the amount of these sums in British money.

			<i>Reals.</i>	December.
	Brought forward	- -	302,000,000	
Tobacco	- - -	- -	65,000,000	
Salt	- - -	- -	39,000,000	
Customs	- - -	- -	60,000,000	
Registration duties	- - -	- -	30,000,000	
Stamped paper	- - -	- -	18,000,000	
Church bulls	- - -	- -	12,000,000	
Lotteries	- - -	- -	10,000,000	
Post Office	- - -	- -	10,000,000	
Duties, half yearly, deduction on appointment to office, &c.	- - -	- -	4,000,000	
			<hr/>	
			550,000,000	

This income was collected at a charge of 113,763,457 reals, which is not included in the above estimate; and, being added to it, therefore it makes the whole amount of the estimated receipts of the year 663,763,457.

The expenditure was estimated as follows :

			<i>Reals Vellon.</i>
Rents inscribed in the Great Book for paying the interest on the loan of 200,000,000 reals, negotiated with the house of Laffitte and Co. of Paris, in November, 1820, and also of that of 140,000,000 reals, contracted with the house of Ardoin, Hubbard, and Co. in November, 1821	- - - -	- -	90,000,000
Sinking Fund on the above loans	- - -	- -	50,000,000
Ministry of War in <i>peace</i>	- - -	- -	280,000,000
Marine	- - -	- -	100,000,000
Home Department	- - -	- -	100,000,000
Justice	- - -	- -	30,000,000
Foreign Affairs	- - -	- -	20,000,000
Ministry of Finance, with pensions	- - -	- -	60,000,000
Royal Household	- - -	- -	46,000,000
New inscriptions in the Great Book	- - -	- -	40,000,000
			<hr/>
			816,000,000
Net estimated receipts	- - -	- -	550,000,000
			<hr/>
Estimated deficit	- - -	- -	266,000,000

December.

In addition to this estimated deficit, the Finance Minister stated in his report to Cortes in the November of this year, that there was another deficiency also to be provided for, amounting to 191,255,313 reals, which remained over from the two last financial years. This is the deficit alluded to in the Finance report of March, 1822, already referred to, and here we see how erroneous were the calculations of the minister, who proposed that it should be covered by reductions in the expenditure.

There was, besides these, a third deficit more alarming perhaps than all the rest, as it affected the current means of the year. We have seen that the net receipts of the year were estimated at 550,000,000 reals. The actual receipts fell short of this sum in the amount of one hundred and sixty-one millions of reals. Nothing had been received from Catalonia in the shape of contributions during this year. In Navarre, Calatayud, Lerida, and Gerona, the people actually resisted the demands of the collectors. The latter called on the commanding officers for military aid, and the answer which these gave was, that they had no troops to spare. Thus then there were three heads of deficit.

			<i>Reals.</i>
Two previous financial years	-	-	191,255,313
Present financial year	-	-	266,000,000
Falling off of income	-	-	161,000,000
Total deficit	-	-	<u>618,255,313</u>

Having been present at the Cortes on the day this report was discussed, I was not a little astonished at the manner in which that body treated it. They appeared to me to be afraid to look their danger in the face, and reminded me of an inconsiderate nobleman, who, when his steward presented him his annual account, showing increase of debt and diminution of income, thought he applied a sufficient remedy to the case by throwing the book in the fire.