

servations on this subject, which apply to the present state of Spain with increased force.—

“Smuggling,” says he, “cannot fail to be naturalized wherever prohibitions are numerous, and the temptations to infringe them numerous and highly alluring; wherever the profits which it affords are considerable enough to be shared with those who, being but indifferently paid to prevent, find it much more their interest to connive at these proceedings. The contraband trade has not, upon the whole, more active or faithful agents, than the lower class of Custom-house officers. How many resources does fraud discover, when the persons appointed to prevent it become its accomplices? When smuggling is once naturalized, in vain you may cut down its stem to a level with the ground—it soon sends forth fresh shoots. Those engaged in this traffic conceal themselves in the moment of danger. No sooner is it over, than interest resumes its old habits, and cupidity its former boldness.”*

The conclusion of a judicious treaty of commerce, between Great Britain and Spain, is however an affair of considerable difficulty; the subjects of Great Britain, or rather all foreigners, are divided into three, or at least into two classes; into those commercial men, who are little more than birds of passage, who wing their way into Spain only for a time; into those who are domi-

* Bourgoing, vol. iii. Chap. VII. p. 182.

ciliated, and into those who having taken an oath of allegiance to Spain or the Spanish Government, have become almost or altogether Spanish subjects. The wording of a commercial treaty requires to be closely attended to. How often do doubtful or vague expressions leave a wide and dangerous latitude to the caprice, and, in consequence, to the extortion of the officers of the customs! How often have British goods been most vexatiously detained in Spanish custom houses! In what a multiplicity of instances have they been finally confiscated! In proportion as commerce is rendered unpromising and precarious, and as it is loaded with unnecessary and injurious restrictions, the risks of the merchants, who export from one country, and who import into the other, become serious and numerous; both the one and the other must be indemnified for their frequent disappointments, their occasional losses and dangers, and their constant anxieties, risks and extra expences.

Hence the manufacturers and merchants of the exporting country, who in the instance alluded to, would be those of Great Britain, would have a less extent of business; the amount of business which they did transact would be of a less advantageous nature; and the consumers in Spain, the importing country, would have a higher price to pay for the commodities they purchased, and would therefore make use of a less quantity of them, and would contract for them a less degree of fondness. Both countries would be materially

benefited by the diminution of the risks and of the perplexities of merchants.

A liberal, a well considered, a correctly expressed treaty of commerce between Spain and our own country would be beneficial, perhaps equally beneficial to both parties: it would increase the employment of the manufacturers of Great Britain, would promote most materially the interests of her ship-owners, and her merchants, and at the same time, that it increased by its operation the comforts of a large portion of the people of Spain, who made use of British manufactures, would promote the languid husbandry of that country, by opening a wider door for the exportation of her products.

Less of embarrassment on the part of the Spanish Government, less of altercation, and less of troublesome detail to the British Ambassador, and the British Consuls, would be the happy results of a clear, a rational, and a liberal treaty of commerce; which should be unclogged by unnecessary restrictions, and free from the reproach of excessive duties. Independently of bigotry, which must be gradually enfeebled by the diffusion of enquiry and the influence of the press, and independently of the grand source of misery and mis-government, despotism, which has been happily subverted in Spain, as well as in Portugal, the embarrassed state of the finances of Spain has been one of the evils which has most seriously pressed upon the people, and upon the government.

This has, no doubt, been, in a great degree the result of the extravagance of the court of Madrid ; but it is also, in a great measure, to be attributed to her harsh and impolitic restrictions on foreign trade, and to the wide prevalence and active energies of smuggling, which rob the Spanish Exchequer of a great portion of its receipts, at the same time that they nurse a spirit of insubordination, disobedience and immorality, and prepare a very numerous class of strong, courageous, and enterprising individuals, to set the laws and the government at defiance, and, when the public tranquillity is threatened, to raise the standard of revolt, and encourage the hostile machinations of the ultra-royalist government and leaders in France. In short, if a wise, a comprehensive, a well digested commercial treaty was concluded between the two countries, there would be more security, more trade, more profit, more industry, more harmony of feeling, and more closeness of intercourse.

It is one of the many curses attendant on despotism, that law becomes doubtful and capricious in its operation ; without reference to circumstances, an attention to justice, or to evidence, it frequently disregards the opinions, and subverts the decrees of the established tribunals.

A high and dignified spirit of honour was formerly one of the characteristics of the Spanish nobility and gentlemen ; and these feelings, though they perhaps shone with peculiar lustre in the two

Castiles, were by no means confined to these provinces. If formerly two parties were at variance, and the injured party obtained a verdict in its favour from one of the tribunals, that verdict was, in a great majority of instances, adhered to and acted upon. But, under the reign of Ferdinand, who was in no common degree the dupe of favourites and the patron of the worthless, these verdicts were very often totally disregarded; and a royal order, a decree of the sovereign, annulling the decision of the established tribunal, was frequently promulgated, and resorted to, to an unprecedented extent, which proved an overthrow of justice and a glaring outrage upon public opinions. The only case, which I shall mention, because it relates to a British subject, will assist in shewing with what extreme facility the decrees of the tribunals were set aside and frustrated.

A very considerable sum belonging to the firm of Hunter, Raine, and Co. of London, happening to be deposited in the hands of a Mr. Mead, many years American Consul at Cadiz, their assignees employed an agent, Mr. M'Dermot, to recover it. Forced to appeal to the courts of justice, both the Chamber of Commerce at Cadiz, and Supreme Council of War here, pronounced decrees in favour of the assignees, and even issued orders for the sequestration and sale of Mr. Mead's property, till the whole amount of the money claimed should be paid. Owing, however, to the machinations of Valejo, Minister of Finance, and of Pizarro, the

Prime Minister, royal orders were obtained for reversing the above decrees ; and neither the repeated applications of Mr. M'Dermot to the ambassador here, or the Government at home, has ever enabled him to recover a fraction of the debt. As to Mr. Mead, he was suffered quietly to depart, and moreover allowed to carry off the whole of his property.

In comparing the treatment of British subjects with that of other nations, at the time of which I am treating, it is no exaggeration to assert, that those of the most insignificant state in Europe enjoyed more security for their persons and property than Englishmen. If, instead of the sacrifices to restore Ferdinand, we had acted as the bitterest enemy of himself and Spain, it would have been impossible to experience more hatred or injustice.

This being the system pursued on every occasion where our merchants were concerned, it remains for me to notice the commercial restrictions to which we have been exposed : these were of the most aggravating description, from the first moment of Ferdinand's return, until the events of last March, and generally amounted to an absolute prohibition.* It would, indeed, have

* The following authentic Table of the comparative duties laid on British manufactures, between 1796 and 1806, is ex-

been impossible for the bitterest enemies of England to act with more marked hostility than the ministers of his Catholic Majesty; but, as if they had one policy for our sovereign and another for his subjects, while the work of plunder, indignity, and extortion proceeded unrestrained, the most friendly intercourse was maintained between the two Courts. The marked attention of Sir Henry Wellesley, in going to meet Ferdinand at Valencia and accompanying him to his capital, into which he was escorted by General Whittingham, at the

tracted from a representation drawn up by the English merchants resident at Cadiz, and forwarded through Sir Henry Wellesley to the Board of Trade in 1816; but which, so far from producing any good effect, seemed to give new encouragement to the Government of Spain:—

GOODS.	Duties in 1796.	Incr. fr. 1796 to 1806.	Increased in 1806.
Common Baize	Abo. 3 dollars per	Abo. 6 dollars per	16 doll. per piece.
Fine do.	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ [piece.	9 [piece.	16
South Sea do.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	16
Second Cloth	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ reals per yd.	7 reals per yd.	27 reals per yard.
Extra Fine	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	27
Superfine	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	27
Kerseymere	7	13	19

It should be observed, that in 1806, foreign influence prevailed on the Spanish Government to impose the above exorbitant duties. In 1808 they were reduced to the former footing, and remained so till 1815. But no sooner had the servile faction considered themselves as firmly fixed in power, than they caused the duties to be restored to the highest rate, at which they still continue.

head of the cavalry;* the succession of brilliant and costly fêtes which were given to the restored Monarch and his Court, prove with what zeal and sincerity the Prince Regent and his ministers cultivated the good opinion of Ferdinand. In thus cursorily noticing these demonstrations of attachment on our part, I ought not to omit stating that they were followed by an exchange of Orders — the highest in Spain being first sent to the British Ruler, His Excellency Sir Henry Wellesley had the honour of investing Ferdinand VII. with the Order of the Garter on the 16th May, 1815.

If the Spanish King and his ministers required any farther proofs of the esteem and confidence of the responsible servants of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, they must have found it in the patient and more than Christian endurance with which they suffered our commerce to be annihilated, our merchants plundered and imprisoned. But I gladly turn from a subject no less calculated to wound your honest pride, than it has irritated my own feelings, which have been frequently called forth since my residence here by a recital of the various insults and indignities heaped upon our countrymen with impunity, during the reign of terror. The next point to be noticed is not likely to excite so much surprise as

* It is reported, I know not how truly, that no Spanish General could be found to perform this duty

the foregoing. I allude to the light in which Spain was viewed by other nations, but more particularly the members of the *Holy Alliance*, owing to whose tacit sanction, if not active co-operation, Ferdinand, one of themselves, was so long permitted to continue his iron sway.

If ever was realized the state maxim, that weakness and imbecility at home beget hatred and contempt abroad, it took place with regard to Spain. Nor is it necessary for me to remind you, that, from the period of Ferdinand's return till the late insurrection, the obloquy and scorn of Europe were constantly directed toward the rulers of this country, even by those who laboured to establish a similar system of government. It is equally superfluous to dwell in the unequivocal manner in which the public opinion of Europe was expressed. Finding, however, that there was no possibility of imposing silence on the independent portion of the English press, and that remonstrance was ineffectual, all the servile faction could do, was to prohibit those newspapers which had been principally distinguished for their animadversions on the administration of affairs here. An order of the police to this effect was issued in 1814, but not so strictly enforced until after the execution of Porliers, in whose lamented and melancholy fate several of the London papers deeply sympathized.*

* The *Morning Chronicle* had been previously excluded. I am told, that the spirited manner in which the Editor of this

Amidst that host of ministers who shared by turns the transient and capricious favour of the Monarch, Don Jose Pizarro, who succeeded Cevallos towards the latter end of 1816, and contrived to retain his place till September, 1818, is generally regarded as having, either by his weakness or criminality, most effectually contributed to the degradation of Spain in the eyes of foreign states.

Although the patriots are by no means astonished at the studied contempt shown to the servile government by all the European powers, it does not prevent them from inveighing bitterly against the Congress of Vienna. Don Pedro Labrador, a diplomatist of some celebrity, having been sent to represent Spain at that assemblage, experienced nothing but humiliation and neglect. Forgetting the important services this country had rendered to legitimacy, in the war of independence, it was in vain that its ministers applied for the restitution of Etruria, Parma, Placentia, or Guastala to the rightful sovereign; and for the preservation of which, in the Spanish dynasty,

Journal opposed the tyranny of Ferdinand, and his superior means of exposing what was passing in the Peninsula, made his Paper an object of peculiar dislike and apprehension. According to the terms of the prohibitory order issued on the subject of English Newspapers, it was intimated to tavern and coffee-house keepers, that the smallest infraction would be punished with ten years hard labour in the galleys and public works.

such sacrifices had been made on former occasions. The little principality of Lucca, in its turn, taken from Tuscany, was all that could be obtained for the Queen of Etruria and her family; while, as truly asserted in Labrador's spirited remonstrance, "Each of the great powers received considerable additions of territory, and, whenever an opportunity offered, aggrandizement to the sovereigns themselves, their relatives and dependents." But to repeat the language of its secretary, M. Gentz, as communicated to the Spanish envoy in 1815: "The Congress had irrevocably fixed the rights of Spain in Italy:" and, as if the chalice of humility had not been sufficiently drained, she was strongly recommended to cede the fortress Olivenza to Portugal!

The abolition of the slave trade by Spain, in 1818, was a measure which could not but meet the applause of every friend to humanity in Europe; nor, whatever may have been their motive, did the ministers of England ever appropriate any portion of the public revenue to a purpose more sacred and praiseworthy, than in compensating the government here, for the loss which might be thus sustained by individuals. But the above transaction was far from retrieving any part of our lost popularity; many well-informed Spaniards having considered it rather as a plan for preserving our colonial prosperity, than an act of disinterested justice towards our hitherto persecuted black brethren. However well-founded these suspicions

may be, it is a pity to take away from the merit of a measure, the extreme rarity of which greatly enhances its value. It certainly failed in its effect, and this was not in the least to be wondered at, where the contracting parties on one side were only desirous of laying their rapacious hands upon the money, without caring if the whole human race had been the next moment consigned to perdition. With respect to the final appropriation of the sum paid by England on this occasion, I have it from undoubted authority, that no part whatever went to the indemnification of those interested in the slave trade, which is proved to have rather increased than diminished ever since. Well informed persons here positively assert, that the money thus drawn from the English treasury was divided between the ordinary purposes of corruption and fitting out the expedition intended for South America; but which, thanks to the inscrutable designs of an over-ruling Providence, was destined to give liberty to Spain!

A writer upon the disgraceful administration of Pizarro, and in allusion to the above negotiation, asks—"When did the Cabinets of Europe treat on any subject interesting to public morality, much less pay subsidies in its favour?"—Speaking of the Holy Alliance, to which, notwithstanding its uniform treatment of his Catholic Majesty, he became a party in 1817, the same writer observes: "The ostensible and hypocritical object of this combination could not deceive the

most superficial: it was palpably a contest at issue with the imprescriptible rights and liberties of mankind; believing, from the perfidious counsels of their ministers and favorites, that they were the enemies of thrones, accustomed to tyranny and despotism, no wonder if their royal and imperial majesties lent a willing ear to any arguments favourable to unlimited power, thence professing an anxious desire to promote union and fraternity among the nations; they united under the hacknied mask of religion, to keep their subjects in a state of perpetual bondage." I am justified in adding, that the anonymous author here quoted, has expressed the sentiments of all the Spanish liberales with whom I have had any intercourse.

Pizarro was justly censured for the treaty with Naples, by which various rights and privileges, formerly enjoyed by the subjects of Spain there, were gratuitously relinquished. It was also during his possession of power, that Russia acquired such an overwhelming preponderance here. The sale of the Russian squadron, one of the most notorious ministerial jobs of that period, was negotiated under the immediate auspices of M. Pizarro, who has the credit of having urged the cession of the Floridas to the United States; a measure of immense importance to Spain, and which was of itself sufficient to call down the execrations of his country.

Since the great powers regarded Spain in so

contemptible a light, it is not surprising that minor states should have been influenced by their example. When Portugal sent a body of toops to take possession of Montevideo, the only resource left to the ministers of Ferdinand, was a memorial to the congress then assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. The sovereigns were, however, either indifferent to his most catholic Majesty's fate, or too busily occupied in completing the division of the spoil, left unfinished at Vienna, and projecting new plans for the suppression of public opinion, to attend to the complaints of Spain. A similar measure was resorted to when the government of the United States seized on Amelia Island, and its sanguinary general occupied the Floridas. By way of adding to the humiliation of Spain, the American President's principal ground of justification for these acts, so little consonant to the moderate professions and frequent appeals of the infant Republic, to the laws of nations, was not derived from any disputes existing between the two countries, or the debt due by Spain to the United States, but merely on account of Ferdinand's impotence to preserve his possessions, and cause his authority to be respected! It was certainly reserved for the publicists of North America to add this new clause to the ponderous folios of Grotius, Puffendorf, and that phalanx of sages who have written so much, and so vainly for the rulers and statesmen of the present day.

After an eloquent comparison between the

Spain of the Cortes, and the Spain of Ferdinand, Florez Estrada sums up his vivid picture, by observing, "that on whatever side the people cast their eyes, nothing but sorrow awaited them. Within all was injustice, slavery and wretchedness : if they looked towards South America, instead of being a mart for their talents and industry, it only presented one vast arena for carrying on a forced and destructive war, whose only object was, to impose chains which the patriots of the mother country were trying to break ; a war whose very triumphs could not fail to be converted into weapons against its own liberties !"

Although the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle did not feel any disposition to help Ferdinand out of his difficulties with Portugal or the United States, there is great reason to believe the excesses of his government had excited considerable alarm in some of the crowned heads, lest such a system if persisted in, should bring loyalty into somewhat greater disrepute than it had already fallen through a nameless variety of other circumstances. The consequences of these very natural fears were, that previous to the dispersion of the sovereigns, most of the foreign ambassadors here received orders to remonstrate with Ferdinand on the inevitable tendency of his destructive policy. When the communications on this subject were made, his Majesty is said to have got into a violent passion, exclaiming that, being King by the grace

of God, he was only accountable to HIM and his confessor!

Having in the present letter endeavoured to draw a faithful though succinct sketch of the civil and political state of the Peninsula, when deprived of its liberties, the object of my next will be to glance at the treatment of the army, previous to giving some account of the means employed to restore the constitution.



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

LETTER VIII.

General treatment of the Army after the King's return.—Royal Orders and magnificent Promises :— How these were realized.—Wretched condition of the Troops.—Anecdote.—Bold attempt of Mina to seize the Fortress of Pamplona.—Representations made to Ferdinand, by El Empecinado.—Union of the Patriots, and formation of Secret Societies.—Decrees of the Pope, and Grand Inquisitor.—Assemblage of the Expeditionary Army at Cadiz.—Efforts made to gain over Morillo.—He recants and sails for South America.—Plans of the Patriots, suspended by the disembarkation of Napoleon.—Visit of the Duke d'Angoulême to Madrid.—Insurrection of the Garrisons at Corunna and Ferrol, headed by JUAN DIAZ PORLIER.—Proclamation, Manifesto and Correspondence of that lamented Chief.—He marches towards Santiago.—Conduct of the Priesthood there.—Arrival of the Patriot Column at Ordenes.—Defection of the Serjeants.—Arrest of the General and Officers.—How this event was celebrated in Santiago.—Trial of Porlier :—its Injustice and Irregularity.—Sentence, Execution and Biography of the fallen Hero.

Madrid, September, 1820.

IF the bad faith and uniform injustice of the restored government was displayed in the system pursued towards the civil portion of the community, its ingratitude appears to have been no less strikingly exemplified in the cruel and unmerited treatment of that army, which had given it existence : for without the support of Elio's Corps, the united influence of the priesthood and

grandees, great as it was, would never have enabled the servile faction to triumph in 1814.

The return made to the Spanish soldiery is particularly worthy of record, and should be held up as a warning to the military of every other country, who are called upon by the advocates of despotism to assist in abridging the liberties of their fellow citizens. It was natural to suppose, after the recent services of the army, the acclamations with which it hailed the Monarch's arrival, and above all, its fatal credulity in abetting the views of his advisers, that some act of indulgence or liberality would have followed such unequivocal proofs of loyalty and obedience. Instead of this, I am justified in asserting, that the annals of Europe do not contain instances of barbarity and neglect, either so multiplied or glaring as those experienced by the army and navy of Spain, between the period of Ferdinand's return and the insurrection of la Isla.

Agreeably to the plan of deception adopted by ministers, the military system was to be new modelled, and the condition of both officers and men greatly improved. For this purpose, various salutary decrees were promulgated: amongst other arrangements, a junta or board of general officers was appointed to superintend the proposed re-organization; royal orders pompously decreed the immediate creation of a national asylum, for invalid or wounded soldiers and seamen. This splendid monument of munificence was to rival

those of Greenwich, Chelsea, and Paris! Pensions were also awarded to those officers who had served in Guerilla Corps, and their rank placed on an equality with that of the line. Nothing in short could be more plausible than the promises now made, with a determination, however, on the part of those who excited such flattering hopes, that they should never be realized.

As many of the persecuted patriots had predicted, it did not require much time to convince the whole army how completely it had been cajoled and betrayed. No sooner did the serviles perceive that they might calculate with certainty on the support of the British Cabinet and Allied Sovereigns, than the officers, and privates began to taste the bitter fruits of helping such men to power. Having first taken care to exile, or imprison, all those suspected of being favourable to the constitution, a number of regiments were disbanded, and replaced by others more congenial to the wishes of the faction. The hardships and privations of every kind, which the military were destined to suffer, commenced almost immediately after the restoration, and increased with rapidity until thousands of those who fought and bled, rather to preserve Ferdinand's title to an abdicated throne than to benefit their country, were left for months together without pay or clothing, and reduced to such scanty supplies of food, as to be under the humiliating necessity of begging alms to procure the means of subsistence!

A detailed account of the miseries endured by the Spanish army, during the reign of terror, would occupy a large space, and present scenes of human suffering, which could not fail to rouse the indignation and excite the sympathy of the most obdurate. I had in my former intercourse with this country, and while Godoy held the reins of power, frequently witnessed the manner in which that minion of corruption degraded the military character of Spain; but it would be unjust not to add, that, the general treatment of the army under his administration was infinitely better in every respect than it met with from the servile faction. Arrears of pay, want of clothing, and a scarcity of food, were by no means unusual in the late reign; and it was not till that of Ferdinand VII. that officers of high rank, both of the naval and military profession, in various cities of the Peninsula, were glad to profit by the obscurity of night to solicit charity. Such being the condition of the officers, what must that of the poor soldiers and seamen have been? From the numerous anecdotes in circulation on this painful subject, it is extremely difficult to account for that patient resignation, with which men bearing arms abstained so long from acts of open violence. This extraordinary constancy in suffering, is singularly characteristic of the Spanish soldiery, and though carried farther than the most slavish advocates of tyranny could justify, it forms their highest panegyric. There were indeed some cases, and

those of not unfrequent recurrence, wherein the victims of cruelty and oppression were driven to extremities by inducements which could not possibly be resisted. While on my way to the capital, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with one of Mina's most active assistants in the Guerilla war, now commanding a regiment of cavalry in Arragon, and who communicated a variety of the most affecting details relative to the privations of the army. In speaking of himself, my friend, Don Manuel,* did not however lay claim to an equal share of forbearance with his brother soldiers; having assured me that, not many months previous to the recent explosion, such was his wretched state, being left for three whole days without bread for his wife and children, he had recourse to the desperate alternative of seizing his sword, and proceeding to the paymaster's house, where he paced backwards and forwards,

* It would be an injustice to pass over the name of this excellent officer, without thus publicly acknowledging his kindness, and above all, the valuable information derived from him on every subject connected with the past and present state of Spain. It is no less agreeable to me to add, that, while the bishops and priests aided by old Lazan, the late *Servile* governor, were doing their utmost to light up the flames of civil war, the vigilance of my friend, and firmness of his brave squadrons, defeated all their machinations, and preserved the tranquillity of Zaragoza. With such men as Don Manuel in the command of her cohorts, Spain would have nothing to apprehend from all the efforts of fanaticism or faction.

before the door, till the latter made his appearance ; upon which my friend accosted him in the language inspired by his situation, reproached the paymaster with being the cause of it, and ended by calling upon him to draw, for unless instant relief was given, to prevent his family from perishing with hunger, one of them must fall ! This appeal had the desired effect ; and what will excite still more surprise, Don Manuel was not called to account for his temerity, so satisfied were the authors of his sufferings that they could not justify their own conduct. Where a single instance of this nature occurred, it would be superfluous to multiply examples of which hundreds scarcely less striking might be cited. It is in fact matter of universal notoriety in Spain, that many of the soldiery stationed at remote points of the kingdom, or in the presidios of Africa, actually died through want : while an insufficiency of food and unwholesome diet subjected most of the garrisons to a train of diseases, which swept off hundreds yearly. When you reflect on this mode of treating an army, to which its rulers were indebted for authority and place, some conception may be formed of the men who succeeded the Cortes and Regency ; while a tolerable estimate is furnished of the manner in which the allegiance and fidelity of the Spanish soldier have been tried. Yet, was it with an army thus injured, and finances managed as already described, that the counsellors of

Ferdinand proposed to reconquer the new world.*

Those who are most clamorous in their abuse of the Spanish patriots, whether civil or military, generally forget the motives which urged both to any efforts, however desperate, rather than bear a yoke, such as that imposed on them by the Servile faction.

I have in another place, noticed the enthusiasm with which the cry of national independence resounded through the Peninsula in 1808; and towards the conclusion of my third letter, mentioned that several distinguished leaders in the late war offered to support the Cortes against those fanatics who surrounded the King at Valen-

* Although I shall most probably have occasion to refer to this subject in a future letter, yet I cannot now help observing that, of all the delusions which ever befell a government or blinded a nation, the efforts made by the mother country, to regain her influence in the new world, with such a system as that established after Ferdinand's return, is unquestionably one which will most excite the wonder of posterity as it has the pity of all enlightened men of the present day.

Lamentable as it was, to see so large a portion of the upper and middle classes of society approve the continuance of this disastrous war, when every motive of interest and policy urged the necessity of conciliation and peace, the folly of ministers in directing their attacks against the least vulnerable part of that vast continent, may be regarded as the very climax of absurdity. Bolivar had already proved himself more than a match for the best generals Spain possessed in Venezuela, and though he had experienced reverses, the persevering and dauntless genius of this extraordinary man had enabled him to surmount them all, and anew the contest with more activity than before.

cia. Although the names of Ballasteros, Lacy, El Empecinado, Villa Campa, Mina, Porlier, and a number of minor chiefs, graced this meritorious list, the reasons which induced the fathers of their country to decline the proffered aid cannot be too highly applauded; yet, the misfortunes which followed, make it a subject of deep regret, they should have been so scrupulous, while the heroic resolution of Mina, either to frustrate the designs of the faction, or abandon his native soil until its liberties were restored, was thereby fully justified. Happening to be here when Ferdinand made his entry, and shocked with what he saw, the Guerilla chief is said to have done his utmost towards persuading the other patriot generals to join him in opposing the decree of May 4th; but finding that the influence of the priesthood baffled every hope of success at Madrid, he hastened to Pamplona, where the garrison, consisting of nearly four thousand men, readily came into his views; all were most anxious to proclaim the constitution, when the pusillanimity of some officers, aided by the intrigues of Espelata, the new captain-general, and several priests, forced him to renounce the enterprise. Determined however not to breathe the same air with the newly installed tyrants, Mina fled to France, and remained there until his services were destined to be crowned with better success in the present year.*

* The reception of Mina in France was very creditable, to the ministers of Louis XVIII. Though closely watched by the police

The failure of this bold attempt, does not diminish the merit of him who thus fearlessly stepped forth to avert the impending despotism,

from his arrival till he departed in March last, he was allowed a liberal pension during his stay at Paris. It has been remarked that this brave and independent patriot ought to have been invited to fix his residence in England; for although by his exertions in the war against Napoleon, he was peculiarly entitled to protection from the Bourbons, he had much stronger claims on the British Cabinet. Whatever the General's feelings with regard to England may have been formerly, I have every reason to believe he now joins in the opinion so universally entertained here, that we are the cause of all those evils which have oppressed Spain within the last six years; since, according to this opinion, it was by the connivance and support of our ministers the constitution was abrogated in 1814.

Unlike too many of his countrymen, Mina makes a proper distinction between the ministers and people of England. I have a particular right to say so; and take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for his hospitable kindnesses to me while at Pamplona, where he has succeeded in conciliating the esteem of all ranks, (except the Serviles) by his justice and moderation as Captain-general of Navarre.

Actuated by the same motives as Lazan at Zaragoza, Mina's predecessor, Espeleta, also a noble and old courtier of Charles IV., has done his utmost to disturb the harmony of the Province, but in vain, though assisted by nearly the whole of the priesthood, of which there is a great number in Pamplona.

The activity and simple mode of living peculiar to the Guerilla chief, might be advantageously imitated by the military men of more Northern climes. Having only reached Pamplona late in the evening, it was eight o'clock before I could wait on the general, who had gone out to take a walk, and pay some visits. Leaving my letters of introduction and address, I had not been

at a moment when such a well timed example afforded the most rational hope of rousing the nation from that fatal lethargy into which it had

more than half an hour at the Posáda, before an aide-de-camp came to welcome my arrival, and invite me to dine with Mina on the following day; but he added that his Excellency would be happy to receive me between six and eight in the morning to take chocolate. The novelty of the first named hour induced me to prefer that, and as it was the first time I had ever been invited to the house of a great man so early, I determined not to keep him waiting.

The Palace of government, an old gothic edifice, is situated on the north side of Pamplona: it is washed by the river Arga, and commands a fine view of the Pyrenees, which rise in majestic grandeur within about ten miles of the city. The first object that attracted my attention on ascending the great staircase leading to the apartment of the captain-general, was the following sentence from the political code, inscribed in large gilt letters over the door: *La Nacion Española es libre e independiente; y no es, ni puede ser, patrimonio de ninguna familia ni persona.* "The Spanish nation is free and independent: it is not, nor can it be, the patrimony of any family or person." On mentioning my name to an orderly, I was led through a long suite of rooms, furnished with the greatest simplicity, to a closet, where I found the hero seated at a small deal table, smoking a segar; he wore a military undress, and had a black silk cap over one of fur; the general seemed to have been busily occupied in writing, but on my entering he rose and received me with the utmost cordiality, begging I would be seated; there were only two chairs in the room, when chocolate, its accompaniment, a glass of spring water, *los azucarillos*, and segar, were served. We had a long conversation on the state of affairs in France and England, after which I took occasion to congratulate his Excellency on the recent accomplishment of his wishes; as well as the part he had himself taken

fallen. Had a few of those who shared the popularity of Mina been tempted to adopt a similar course in other places, it is by no means probable that the reign of terror would have been so easily established or long protracted.

Though there seemed to be no disposition manifested by the patriots to renew the project of Mina for some months after his departure, the measures of increasing severity resorted to by government rendered it absolutely necessary for those who were daily menaced with death, exile, or imprisonment, to concert a plan of organization, which might on a future day enable them to hurl the ruling faction from power. Whatever opinion they may have been led to form of Ferdinand, the patriots always regarded him

in the regeneration of Spain. I then withdrew, being first reminded of my engagement. At dinner, besides Mina, his secretary and staff, the company consisted of several officers of various ranks. Like the unaffected manners of the distinguished host, the repast, though abundant, was plain, and did not last more than three-quarters of an hour, after which coffee and liqueurs were served in another room. When about to retire, the General introduced me to a literary character, well acquainted with the history and antiquities of the city, whom he had invited for the purpose of showing me the public buildings, and other establishments: I then took my leave, in company with the *cicerone*, thus handsomely procured, and did not intrude on his Excellency till the day of my departure for Zaragoza, when he gave me some introductory letters, and amongst others, one to his friend Don Manuel, of whom mention has been already made.

as being totally distinct from his ministers, as well as those mitred and shorn hypocrites who encircled the throne. Conformably to an old custom of the Spanish monarchy, established during its brighter days, and which allows all persons having complaints to make of oppression or irregularity in the system of administration, to address the Sovereign, many powerful appeals were made to the King; and as he insisted on the privilege of giving audience to his subjects, several of the memorials relative to the state of the country were put into his own hands. As this occurred in the case of Don Juan Mantin, surnamed *El Empecinado*, Ferdinand could not be ignorant of what was passing. This letter, the production of a man, who, like Espoz y Mina, had raised himself from an humble rank of life, is a model of simplicity and natural eloquence, containing within the compass of a few pages, a luminous view of existing evils, and pointing out, with the acuteness of an experienced statesman, the true interests of the monarch. As the above remonstrance may be regarded in the double light of an able exposition, and valuable historical document, you will not perhaps be displeased with one or two extracts.

The honest soldier begins by telling Ferdinand, that it is not a difficult task to flatter kings, though extremely hazardous to tell them the truth without incurring their displeasure. His next care is to compliment those princes, who,

animated by a desire of rendering their subjects happy, have listened with a favourable ear to representations, tending to expose the turpitude of their ministers, or to suggestions for the removal of public abuses. Taking it for granted, that his royal master is amongst this number, and presuming, with good reason, on his own fidelity as well, the writer proceeds to contrast the joyful hopes of the nation on Ferdinand's return with the character of those who had obtained his exclusive confidence and friendship: men, says he, who had formerly sought the favour of Godoy; that rendered no service whatever during the war; but remained passive spectators, shut up in Cadiz or Ceuta, while thousands of their countrymen fell daily in the generous struggle for independence. Yet were these individuals grantees, and for the most part bred to a military life; consequently, well able to serve both with their persons and immense wealth. A decided enemy to party distinctions, El Empecinado treats the *liberales* and *serviles* with equal indifference; his principal object is to impress the necessity of forgiveness and oblivion on the mind of his Sovereign; particularly where a diversity of political opinion had been the inevitable result of recent circumstances. An address, full of good sense and moderation, is then put into the mouth of Ferdinand, which his Majesty would have done wisely to adopt. The writer next asks, what those who give the King different advice had ob-

tained? The loss of South America, whose population, already exasperated by the cruelties exercised on them at home, and imprisonment of their representatives in the Cortes, as also the ruin of innumerable families in both hemispheres, were now driven to the last extremity of despair. Such was the effect of policy pursued by his Majesty's advisers, that some lamented the loss of parents, others their wives, husbands, or dearest relatives and friends: while all had to deplore victims sacrificed in a ruinous and unnatural contest; or thrown into dungeons, which had been so filled that it became necessary to convert the asylums of religion into public prisons.

Alluding to another subject, the memorialist exclaims; let your Majesty but deign to cast your eyes for a moment on the finances! What a chaos do they not present! They were but too justly compared to a labyrinth, more complicated than that of Crete: those who enter are irrevocably lost, for it is in vain to attempt extricating themselves. Such is the complication, such the obscurity of this department, that were an angel from Heaven to descend and take charge of it, he must begin by totally destroying the present misshapen edifice; otherwise he would experience the fate of all the others who have so vainly attempted its management. After calling upon the King to convoke the Cortes, according to his solemn promise, as the sole means of restoring confidence and credit, a pointed allusion is made to the ingrati-

tude shewn by the clergy, after the restitution of church property and exemption from the payment of taxes, while the people were borne down by their weight. Here the writer proves what I have before stated; that, instead of coming forward to remedy the evils, created in a great measure by themselves, many individuals, entirely unconnected with government, had been found to make more advantageous offers, and greater personal sacrifices, than the whole hierarchy put together.

With respect to the administration of justice, it is truly observed, that the provinces were a prey to law suits and litigation, mostly springing from the rapacity of the legal profession, and intestine divisions excited by faction. Justice, says the writer, no longer exists for Spain, arbitrary forms, and relentless persecution, having usurped its place. The laws are trampled on, calumny and espionage alone obtain patronage and encouragement. Hence it is, that whoever wishes to consummate the ruin of a relative, neighbour or friend, has only to present himself before a judge, and charge the object of his hatred or jealousy, with an imaginary crime: the accused is thrown into prison, cut off from all communication with his family, and when, after many months of suffering, his innocence is proved, the informer remains unpunished, and not unfrequently reaps the fruit of his iniquity in a lucrative place under government.

The letter of El Empecinado, is dated on the 12th of February, 1815, and was, I am informed, delivered to Ferdinand immediately. Those who knew, by sad experience, the vindictive character of the men through whose hands this energetic appeal would necessarily have to pass, trembled for the fate of the writer, whom they already pictured to themselves loaded with chains and counting the days of an interminable imprisonment. Relying, however, on the justice of his cause, and exact truth of all his statements, the intrepid chief was undaunted; nor could the threats of his enemies, or entreaties of his friends, induce him to leave Madrid, before it was ascertained that his letter had been seen by the ministers as well as the King. Having performed this last sacred act of loyalty and patriotism, El Empecinado retired to Leon, his native province, where he continued silently to deplore the fate of Spain, until a pretext was found for his exile in the ensuing year. This courageous action of a man, unsupported by the influence of family connections, wealth or titles, is still a subject of deserved applause amongst his countrymen; while the power of virtue and conscious integrity over a corrupt ministry is finely illustrated in the forbearance of the court.

The natural result of a system which aimed at the annihilation of freedom and destruction of its advocates, was a corresponding degree of sympathy and union between the victims of tyranny.

This led to the most obvious means of promoting their reciprocal views and interests. As it was suspected that freemasonry had been made subservient to political purposes, all the powers of government, aided by the Holy See, and Inquisition, were directed to the suppression of a sect, which was scarcely known in Spain previous to the French revolution. From the patriotic societies being principally confined to Catalonia, Murcia, and Alusia, Aragon, and Galicia, the captains general, and military commissions, established for trying the liberales, in these provinces, were ordered to pursue such associations with the most rigorous persecution. A fulminating decree of the Pope, on the subject of masonry, was circulated by the Inquisitor General,* and numbers

* The pontifical edict was affixed to the doors of all the churches of the Peninsula, and accompanied by the following notice, which I have translated from *El Procurador general*, of January 12th, 1815, one of the papers paid by the ministry, and its principal organ.

We Dr. Francis Xavier, Mier y Campillo, by the Grace of God, and the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Almeria, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III., Member of the Council, and Inquisitor General in the several kingdoms and Lordships of his Majesty.

“ To all the inhabitants, of whatsoever condition, quality, order or dignity, they may be, we may hereby make known, that our most holy Father, Pious VII., animated by his ardent desire to preserve the purity of the faith, and the prosperity and peace of the christian republic, has addressed to our pious Sove-

arrested on suspicion of belonging to that fraternity. These measures only tended to render the

reign, [Ferdinand VII., an edict in the Italian language, directed against freemasons: that his Majesty, uniting his religious intentions to those of the common father of all the faithful, has deigned to communicate this edict to us, in order that it may be published throughout the said kingdoms." Here follows the edict, after which his eminence the Inquisitor General proceeds:

"We know that many Spaniards, ceding to the yoke of our oppressors, and dragged into foreign countries, have had the weakness to attach themselves to societies which lead to sedition and independence, as well as to every other error and crime; we hope nevertheless, that these individuals restored to their country and freedom, will recollect they are Spaniards; and that following the example of their ancestors, they will submit with respect and docility to the voice of the supreme pastor, and of our legitimate Sovereign. By the advice of the members of the royal council and the holy Inquisition, we henceforth offer to receive with open arms, and all that tenderness which is suited to our ministry and character, those who within the space of fifteen days, from the date of this decree, shall spontaneously and voluntarily denounce themselves to us; but, if any person (which God forbid!) persists in following the road to perdition, we shall employ, to our great regret, rigour and severity, causing the pains and penalties of the civil and canonical laws to be inflicted on the offenders."

"We hereby ordain that the present edict be published in all the Metropolitan churches, cathedrals and colleges of the kingdom. And that it shall be affixed to the doors of the said churches, &c. Whence it shall not be taken without our permission, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of two hundred ducats.

(Signed.)

"FRANCIS XAVIER, Inquisitor General."

patriots more cautious—the societies increased; and it should be said, to the honour of those engaged in them, there is no instance on record to prove, that any individual of the sect ever betrayed his associates; considering the various means of corruption and venality, resorted to by the ministers, a higher tribute to the national character could not possibly be paid, and none was ever more justly merited.

It is almost needless to say, that the secret societies had been formed on the sole principle of restoring liberty to Spain. The circumstances of there being a constitution already prepared, had a most salutary effect in creating confidence amongst the members, and giving unity to their views; so that their whole attention was exclusively devoted to the arrangement of military operations. Cadiz, which had been so long the seat of government, and always celebrated for the liberal spirit of its inhabitants, led the way in attempting to render the societies practically useful. When the mad project of sending reinforcements to Venezuela was conceived, and Morillo had collected ten thousand men for that purpose, at Pont St. Marigo in the Winter of 1814, immediately steps were taken for bringing the troops and their chief over to the patriot cause. With the former, nothing more was required than the consent of Morillo; and, he is said to have at one time, yielded to the solicitations of several rich capitalists, who generously offered the funds

necessary for carrying the proposed plan into effect. Although this officer had greatly distinguished himself in the war, he neither possessed the generosity, or enthusiasm, so indispensable for a popular leader. A stranger to genuine patriotism, and only accustomed to those military exploits which are too apt to vitiate the best intentioned minds and give a wrong impulse to the brightest talents, Morillo hesitated between the imperishable glory of conferring liberty on his country, and the ignoble prospect of plunder, which awaited him in the new world ; unable to resist the latter, he recanted, confessed, and having expiated his meditated crime of joining the patriots, by carrying a wax taper in a religious procession, the recreant general sailed for South America.

All hopes of immediate relief being removed by the departure of Morillo's expedition, the attention of the liberal party was turned towards Galicia, where the presence of Lacy, the hero of Catalonia, as Captain-general, previous to Ferdinand's return, had served to cherish the flame of freedom, and left impressions which became deeper from the subsequent persecutions experienced there. This province had been regarded as one of the principal links of the new confederacy ; and from the eagerness of the Galicians to shake off the yoke, as well as the facility for resistance afforded by the mountainous nature of the country, it would have most probably risen,

but for the abrupt removal of Lacy and the hopes held out at Cadiz.

I have also been informed that the disembarkation of Napoleon, prevented a simultaneous movement of the provinces from taking place. Soon after this memorable event, the Duke d'Angouleme was sent here to ensure the co-operation of Spain in the projected crusade against the French Emperor. The reception of his Royal Highness was such as might be anticipated where the ties of sympathy and relationship combined to render it flattering. The Duke is reported to have been highly delighted with all he saw here, and in speaking of the holy office, to have expressed some regret that the blessings of a similar institution were not extended beyond the Pyrenees.

In consequence of the royal visit, a corps was assembled on the frontiers, with a view of entering France, and securing the southern departments to the legitimate dynasty. The command being given to Count d'Abisbel, he had not been many days at his post, before the discontent of the officers and men, arising from want of pay and of clothing, manifested itself so openly that he was obliged to retrograde; to prevent more serious results, the regiments were immediately sent into different cantonments. Such were the auxiliaries furnished by the only branch of the Bourbons who would consent to take any part in the war of legitimacy.

JUAN DIEZ PORLIER, whose name will be remembered, whose fate must be deplored, as long as patriotism and public virtue shall find admirers, had been included in the proscriptions which commenced after the King's return, and condemned to four years imprisonment at the castle of San Anton, where he was conveyed on the 10th of Aug. 1814. Porlier had not been many months in his new abode, before all eyes were naturally directed to a man whose exploits and gallantry during the war, no less than his well known ardour in the cause of freedom, had made him a just object of admiration and hope with the army. Although there can be no doubt of his anxious desire to co-operate in any plan that was likely to restore liberty, or that he received frequent invitations from his friends at Corunna to come forward while shut up in San Anton, it is a matter of doubt how far his approbation of their plans extended, before he obtained permission from Ferdinand to visit a small watering place called Arteyo, within a few miles of Corunna, for the benefit of his health, which had suffered very much from his exertions in the field and subsequent confinement.

Having been removed towards the latter end of August, 1815, escorted by an officer and twelve

* San Anton is within a few hundred yards of Corunna, and forms one of the principal defences to the entrance of the harbour. It has long been appropriated to the reception of State Prisoners.

men, Porlier was lodged in a farm house close to the sea, and had even commenced a course of medical regimen, when the most pressing entreaties came from the garrisons of Corunna and Ferral, that he should place himself at their head, as they could no longer bear up against the harshness of their treatment, left as they were without the means of existence, while their oppressors lived in luxury upon the very funds destined by government for their support. The unanimity which prevailed may be inferred from Castanera, the officer and escort serving as the medium of communication. Fully aware of the accumulated sufferings to which his former companions were exposed, it would have been extremely difficult for a patriot of much less sensibility than Porlier to resist such an appeal, and though labouring under the debilitating effects of a protracted indisposition, which would have fully justified his declining the proposed honour, he seems to have thought no consideration of personal inconvenience should be put in competition with the hope, however doubtful, of saving his country.

When every thing was ready for executing the plan agreed on, the General left his retreat, accompanied by Castanera and his escort as a guard of honour, and entered Corunna about midnight, on the 18th of September. The garrison did not exceed two thousand men. Porlier's chief dependence for striking the first blow, was on Colonel Cabrera, commanding the regiment of Lugo, eight

hundred strong. Some of his friends having welcomed their leader at the town gate, they conducted him to the barracks, where the troops were in readiness, and all the officers assembled. The sword once drawn, Porlier entered into his task with the fearless zeal of a man who felt the justice of his cause, and important interests which depended on the issue. His first care, was to address the officers and soldiers separately: he began by declaring that no injury was intended towards the person of their sovereign; as to the motives which had induced him to come forward, they were too well known to require any explanation: when it was considered that the Royal orders, enjoining the authorities to distribute the means placed at their disposal, for supplying the army, were appropriated to other purposes, while his hearers continued in a state of the utmost wretchedness, he could not but applaud the spirit which prompted them to throw off their fetters, and that he was therefore prepared to lead wherever the interests of their common country required his services. The General next enjoined moderation and a regard to the strictest discipline: concluding his harangue, by informing them that the plan was not an isolated one, but embraced all the provinces; that the names of Ballasteros, Castanos, Lacy, and many others of equal rank were amongst the leaders, whose only object was to establish a political system more conducive to the interests of the nation. The spirit and energy