commission acquired confidence with time, as a list of twenty-one patriots, promulgated early in December, included persons of the highest rank, and most distinguished talents in Spain; amongst others, Villamarino, Regato, Garcia; and Manrique, literary characters and professors of eminence, who had written in favour of liberal principles during the war of independence; also General Moscoso and Colonel Landaburu, both officers of great merit; of these, some were condemned to death, the rest to the gallies for eight and ten years. Senderos and Yriarte, the constitutional Alcaldes of Cadiz, were at the same time mulcted to a very large amount, and consigned to the gallies.

It was but a short time before the publication of the above sentence, that a warrant of arrest had been issued against the Count de Cemera Yandiola, a deputy of Cortes, Garcia, director of the Philippine company, General Alava,* late aide-de-camp to Lord Wellington, and many others of equal note.

* When arrested, this distinguished officer was on the point of setting off to the court of Belgium, at which he was ambassador for Spain; his imprisonment did not last many days; the influence of his friends having caused his almost immediate release. The zeal manifested by General Alava since the re-establishment of the constitution, proves him to have been a very fit object of persecution to its enemies.
Previous to your being informed of the fate which awaited the Regents and deputies, I ought to mention the unexpected disgrace of Macanaz; this event occurred on the 7th of November, when Ferdinand went to his house in person, ordered a seal to be put on all his papers, and sent him to prison. It was not, however, until the 25th that the extent of his punishment, or nature of his crimes were made known; a royal order, perfectly original in its kind, was then published, in which Ferdinand reviews the conduct of those who accompanied him during his absence; and after bestowing praise upon some, acknowledges that others had betrayed the confidence reposed in them, particularly Don Pedro Macanaz, against whom numberless serious complaints had been made at different times; but such was the opinion entertained of him by the King, that he would not listen to them before he had convinced himself of the minister's perfidy. Having detected proofs of guilt, meriting a much severer chastisement, his Majesty was determined to cut the evil at the root, and therefore ordered that he should be dismissed from the ministry, deprived of all his honours, and confined in the castle of St. Anton, in Galicia, during the royal pleasure.*

It appeared that Macanaz had been detected

* Don Thomas Moyano, Counsellor of State, and a man of irreproachable character, was appointed to succeed the discarded minister.
in acts of the grossest bribery and corruption, disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, and other places of profit, and selling justice or withholding it, in proportion as the applicants came provided with the means of purchase; he had a number of accomplices in the nefarious transactions which disgraced his administration; many of them were named in the decree, and either heavily fined, or banished from Madrid. It was not amongst the least of this minister's crimes, to have repeatedly solicited employment from Joseph Bonaparte, a charge which was also made against the Duke de San Carlos, and old Escoiquiz, both of whom seem to have been involved in the degradation of Macanaz. The first resigned his place as minister of state on the 17th November, and was succeeded by Cevallos, who had actually filled the same office under King Joseph. Escoiquiz, the well known preceptor of Ferdinand, and whose jesuitical principles were so well calculated to vitiate the mind of his pupil, was sent to Zaragoza.*

* Some have attributed the sudden dismissal of the above-named advisers of Ferdinand to the circumstance of their having been recently denounced as candidates for place on Joseph's accession to the throne; this fact was stated in a work published at Paris, by M. Amoros, one of the new king's ministers. Though Escoiquiz contrived to keep out of sight after the King's return, he is considered as having stimulated the persecution of the patriots with scarcely less zeal than Ostolaza, and De Castro.
With respect to Macanaz, accumulated as were his crimes, persons who had an opportunity of personally witnessing the transactions of that period, have assured me, his guilt was even exceeded by others filling the highest offices in the state; nay, that with little more address, he would have continued much longer to deceive the infatuated monarch. Such was the man who countersigned the Valencian decree of May 4th, and that of the 30th, against the followers of King Joseph, by which above thirty thousand families were proscribed and robbed of their civil rights!

It was natural to suppose that the removal of three individuals who were considered as amongst the bitterest enemies of the liberal party, would have led to a change of system. Public expectation was in a great measure founded on the appointment of Cevallos: as an experienced diplomatist and shrewd politician, this statesman must have long perceived the fatal tendency of Ferdinand's policy, not to mention its cruelty and injustice; some have asserted that his motive for accepting a place in the ministry, arose rather from a hope of prevailing on the King to adopt principles of moderation than any love of power and emolument.* However this may have been, he is

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* I have heard it mentioned as a positive fact, that an order for the arrest of Cevallos had been issued only a few hours previous to his nomination; so nearly had Ferdinand's mode of governing approximated to that of Turkey and Morocco! Although
said to have presented a very energetic memorial to Ferdinand towards the end of January, pointing out the ruinous consequences of persevering in a persecution not less revolting to humanity than opposed to the interests of his crown. After using every argument likely to persuade his master, the representation closed with proposing a general amnesty: that all prosecutions for political opinions should cease, and those confined be set at liberty; it was also suggested, that those who had fled or been proscribed should be invited to return, as the only means of restoring tranquillity and regaining the confidence of the people. The proposal is reported to have been very favourably received by Ferdinand, who sent it to the Duke del Infantado, desiring that it might be taken into immediate consideration by the council of Castile. Here it is supposed to have met with great opposition, but individuals resident here at the time have informed me, that the plan was fully approved of in a meeting of the ministers, at which Ferdinand himself presided, and that the intrigues of Ostolaza and De Castro, aided by certain members of the council, alone prevented it from being carried into effect.

Though it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile the humane and politic suggestions of Cevallos his party carried the day, it is certain that the counsellor of state, Romanillos, his most intimate friend, was amongst the persons arrested some days before.
with his continuance in office, and even putting his name to decrees of condemnation, after their rejection, he has the credit of having proposed conciliatory measures, and however ineffectually, the effort is entitled to praise.*

If we except the temporary praise occasioned by the meritorious but ill-fated attempt of Porlier, persecution, plunder and proscription, experienced no material interruption during the whole of 1815, although Count del Pinar, the principal actor in the second commission, and even De Castro, and Ostoaza, were amongst the serviles exiled on the 7th of October. Just after the heroic General's execution, the influence of the faction seems to have remained undiminished; whether Del Pinar and his junior assistants did not feel disposed to pass sentence on the deputies and members of the late government, or were satiated with victims, is not exactly known, but his disgrace was followed by the formation of a third commission, still under

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* Cevallos has been also censured for not opposing a most disgraceful scene that passed at Madrid soon after his coming into office. The servile faction, being desirous of obliterating every trace of the Cortes and patriotic government, collected all the papers and periodical works published during the war, and having prepared a numerous religious procession, proceeded to one of the public squares, and making a pile of the whole, set fire to it amidst the acclamations of the priesthood and their friends, after which high mass, and Te-deum were sung with as much fervency as if it had been a real auto de Fé!
the nominal presidency of Arteaga, the captain-general. If the terms of the royal order, dated on the 10th October, are to be credited, this was appointed out of pure compassion to the prisoners, whose long detention required an early decision in their respective cases: it therefore directed that all the trials should be terminated within six weeks, or two months at farthest.

A new set of charges, amounting to no less than twenty-eight, had been produced since the presentation of the Consulta and Quadernos; when I add that they were drawn up from those precious documents, it is scarcely necessary to enter into a detailed explanation of their contents. Villanueva, says that these charges exhibit infinitely more confusion and intricacy than any hitherto brought forward, and with good reason; for according to some of them, instead of the twenty-three selected for trial, the whole of those members, in all four hundred and forty, who composed both Cortes, were equally culpable, while many of the crimes imputed to the accused were more applicable to various individuals of the three commissions, and particularly to the authors of the informées, than to the prisoners. After what you have already seen, it would be only a waste of time, were I to enumerate the endless untruths and monstrous incongruities of this production, which was prepared under the eye of Villela, by Don Antonio de Segovia, a silent but busy actor in the political drama of that day. The character of those engaged
to conduct the prosecution, and general nature of
the proceedings, cannot, however, be more aptly
elucidated, than by the following authentic anec-
dote.

Amongst the peculiarities connected with this
atrocious persecution, it was no uncommon cir-
cumstance for lawyers who had been on terms of
former intimacy with the prisoners, to take a part in
conducting the prosecution. Segovia had been the
friend of Oliveros, and having called at the prison
of La Corona, where he was confined, the indignant
patriot reproached him with the impropriety of pre-
paring a set of charges against men whom he must
have known to be innocent; upon which Segovia, by
way of justifying his conduct, replied, "I well knew
my statement was a mass of illegalities and ab-
surdity, but I drew it up thus on purpose to prove
the innocence of the supposed culprits, and make
the whole prosecution appear in a stronger light;
also, in order that the great numbers compromised by
the charges, might induce the judges to relinquish
the prosecutions altogether!" Although the vera-
city of this extraordinary confession seemed to be
fully borne out by the statement itself, there was
good reason to doubt the sincerity of Segovia;
but if the motive assigned was even true, it does
not justify the calumnies and falsehoods so unne-
cessarily introduced by him. Nothing, however,
could be too extravagant or absurd for the com-
missions, so that all the charges of Segovia were
received as gospel, and acted on implicitly.
EXPIRATION OF THE THIRD COMMISSION. 105

The period prescribed to the third commission having expired, without its coming to any decision relative to the deputies and members of the late government, the patience of their enemies became exhausted, and it was therefore determined that they should be disposed of in a manner much more congenial to the spirit and practice of despotism. The ordinary prisons of the Peninsula, those of the Inquisition, and a number of convents, had been filled with victims, many hundreds of whom were condemned and already employed in the public works, or dragging out a miserable existence in the *Presidios* of Africa; but the final triumph of tyranny and oppression over patriotism and virtue was not consummated until the 15th December, 1815, when, a mere royal order of the King, decreed the punishment of nearly seventy individuals, composing what might be considered the soul of the liberal party in Spain.†. In addi-

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* The name given to those points on the African coast retained by Spain for the reception of state prisoners and criminals condemned to imprisonment or hard labour. There are four of them, Ceuta, El Penon, Alhucemus, and Malilla.

† Independently of this list, I have collected the names of four hundred and fifty individuals of all ranks and professions, sentenced by the three commissions, before the end of 1815; of these sixty were sent to the presidios, and distributed amongst the prisons of the Peninsula, forty-three exiled, one hundred and sixty-five mulcted and to pay costs, twenty-six deprived of their places, and one hundred and sixty admonished. The punishment of those who were known to be rich, was generally commuted for a large fine.
tion to the regents, secretaries of state, and deputies, arrested on the arrival of Ferdinand, the decree included a number of generals, civilians, lawyers, and others, who had been most distinguished for their talents and activity during the war. The sentences passed in this summary way, generally extended to imprisonment for periods of four, six, eight, and ten years: those who had been fortunate enough to escape, were either outlawed or condemned to death: Count Toreno, Mina, and Florez Estrada, were amongst the latter. A few of the sentences will serve to give you some idea of the fate which was reserved for these victims of tyranny. It is probable that a regard to the age, high rank, and extreme popularity of the regents, may have induced the advisers of Ferdinand to be satisfied with merely exiling them to their native places, where they were ordered to remain during the royal pleasure. Of the deputies, Agustin Arguelles was condemned to eight years confinement at Ceuta, and his namesake, Canga Arguelles, to as many at the Castle of Peniscola, in Catalonia: Martinez de la Rosa, to eight years at El Penon, and interdicted from returning to Madrid or approaching the court at the end of that time: Calatrava, eight years to Melilla; Villanueva, Munoz, Torrero, Oliveros, and Cepero, to convents in the Peninsula, for six years, and deprived of their benefices; Alvarez Guerra, and Garcia Herreros, the ministers, eight years to Ceuta and Alhucemus; Generals Valdes, O’Donoughue, and
IMPRISONMENT OF THE POET QUINTANA. 107

Villa Campa, to fortresses, for periods of four and eight years; amongst the literary characters included in the decree, was Quintana, one of the most celebrated living poets of Spain, ordered to be imprisoned for six years at Pamplona.

Although none of the commissions had actually sentenced the deputies, the second went so far as to recommend the measure of punishment to be inflicted on some, whose causes it pretended to have terminated.* Wherever this occurred, the secret counsellors of Ferdinand persuaded him to increase rather than diminish it, as in the case of Gutierrez de Teran, one of the representatives for Mexico, who had been only exiled for two years, whereas the royal order extended it to six. This augmentation of punishment is amongst the heaviest charges laid to the account of Ferdinand, and it would be well for that deluded Prince if the aggravation went no farther; the precautions and restrictions which accompanied the decree, prove,

* The conduct of all these commissions fully justify the unfavourable opinion entertained of such tribunals by Montesquieu, who has truly observed, that they have done more towards the destruction of liberty than any other institution he could name. Berenger, a popular writer on criminal justice, of the present day, has, however, gone farther, observing, that these unconstitutional substitutes for the ordinary organs of the law, are only distinguished from assassins, by their preceding the work of death with the ceremony of a sentence! These opinions have certainly been borne out by what has frequently occurred in more countries than Spain.
however, to what an extent the malignity of faction can go, when entrusted with power. The preamble of the royal order enjoined that the greatest secrecy should be observed in preparing the vehicles and other means of transporting the prisoners to their respective destinations; everything was to be in readiness by the night of the 17th, when, having chosen the "most silent hour," the officers of justice were to proceed to the different prisons; cause the persons comprised in the decree to dress with all possible haste, and hurry them off before the dawn, so as that the inhabitants of Madrid might remain in total ignorance of the event until next day. The whole of the culprits were to be at their places of confinement within twenty days, and those who manifested any opposition to his Majesty's orders, prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the laws: none of the condemned were to leave their prisons or scene of exile without special permission from the King; while those who attempted to escape, were to suffer death. Finally, neither sickness nor any other cause was to be admitted as an excuse for not complying with the terms of the royal order.

A particular decree, under the sign manual, addressed to the governor of Ceuta, and dated on the 10th January, directed, that Agustin Arguelles, Alvarez Guerra, Gonzaga Calvo, and Perez de la Rosa, confined there, should not be permitted to see their family or friends; that they should also be deprived the use of pen, ink, and paper: nor
were any letters to be delivered to them; for all which the governor was made responsible at his peril.

As my object has been to condense the principal facts connected with this memorable persecution up to the condemnation of the deputies, for it only ceased with the events of last March, rather than give a detailed account of the proceedings, a variety of incidents illustrating that total absence of law, equity, and justice, which marked its progress, are necessarily omitted; enough has, however, I trust, been related, to justify the opinion I ventured to offer on the subject at the commencement of my last letter.

Should you feel any surprise at the apparent indifference with which the people seemed to look on, while these atrocities were going forward, it is easily accounted for, by calling to mind the baleful influence of the priesthood and nobles, in perverting the blessings of freedom, and rendering it less estimable in the eyes of an uneducated multitude; that all power of deliberation was also withdrawn, while the most trifling effort at complaint or intercession would have been followed by instant punishment and ruin.

With regard to that fatality, which could induce a prince, who owed his crown to the very men he thus outraged, to enter into the views of his wicked counsellors, while so many circumstances lead you to believe he had better intentions, nothing can be more contradictory or inexplicable,
nor shall I at present attempt to explain the mystery which hangs over this part of Ferdinand’s personal history. I might have, in this place, entered into a more elaborate defence of the members of the government and Cortes, were such a task required, after the admirable exposition of Florez Estrada. I will not, however, deny myself the pleasure of also bearing testimony to the immense benefits they conferred on their country, or of noticing the state in which they found the kingdom, when gratuitously abandoned by the Royal Family in 1808, but this act of justice is reserved for a future communication.

Previous to giving you some account of the numerous adherents of King Joseph, and of the treatment they met with in the face of a solemn pledge given by the King, to be restored to their families and country, I cannot help calling your particular attention to the apathy with which the representatives of foreign states witnessed a system of tyranny that filled every humane and reflecting mind in Europe with horror and indignation. Surely, if ever there was a case in which amicable expostulation, if not open remonstrance, could not only be justified, but was even imperatively called for, it was one like the present, in which the persecution extended to the legislators and members of a government, whose legitimacy had been acknowledged, and alliance sought, by all the belligerent powers except France. Yet, I have not, after the most scrupulous inquiry, been able
to ascertain that any of the numerous diplomatists here, proffered a single word, or wrote one solitary line, to stay the proceedings or mitigate the sufferings of those selected for punishment, and who had been most active in opposing the French armies. No! not an effort was made to save the patriots, or prevent the irreparable disgrace which Ferdinand and his advisers were bringing so rapidly on royalty. Whereas, more than one is known to have fomented party animosities, and laboured to promote that ruin which had overtaken the people when recently liberated from the yoke of despotism and slavery.
ALTHOUGH, like most party questions, the long agitated dispute between the Afrancesados and Liberales must continue to be rather one of opinion than positive right, until the interests and prejudices which environ it are removed, you will perhaps be gratified to know some of the reasons alleged by the followers of Joseph Bonaparte, in justification of their political conduct, and which still render them scarcely less dissatisfied with the policy of the patriotic government and Cortes, than they are with that of Ferdinand and the servile faction.
Those who have defended the Afrancesados, or replied to the numerous charges brought against them, do not fail to cite that public law of Europe, which has of late years been more frequently a subject of philosophical meditation in the closet, than a rule of conduct to sovereigns or their ministers; and it is but justice to add, that every writer of celebrity, from Grotius and Puffendorf to Vattel and Burlemaque, seems to have fully justified the course adopted by this class of Spanish reformers. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the Liberales, in preferring national independence to the acknowledgment of a foreign Prince, were blameable: on the contrary, the adherents of King Joseph, while they admire the patriotism of their competitors in the cause of reform, merely contend that much more might have been effected for the interests and happiness of Spain, without those sacrifices of blood and treasure occasioned by the war. Equally anxious for the regeneration of their common country, the leaders of this party had long advocated the absolute necessity of a change, though they entertained no idea of altering the existing dynasty. Alike ignorant of the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, in 1807,* or of those secret arrangements by which the Prince of the Peace and his friends had prepared Spain for the reception of

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* Vide Appendix.
its new allies, the Afrancesados made every effort compatible with allegiance and loyalty, towards enabling their sovereign to oppose the arms of Napoleon. But having been left without any means of resistance, and abandoned to their fate, they ask, if a people thus deserted and disarmed, should have wantonly excited the fury or resentment of a conqueror; and, as the King had saved himself and family by flight, whether they had not a right to save themselves and their country by submission?*

After enumerating a variety of facts, and quot-

* Considering the circumstances which attended the departure of Ferdinand, it is extremely difficult to call it by any other name than a flight. There is no doubt of his being fully informed of the secret understanding which existed between Napoleon and his immediate counsellors: it is even said, that he did not leave Madrid without a previous knowledge of what was to be the general result of his visit to Bayonne. It is well known, that young Hervás, son to the Marquis d'Almenara, and who accompanied General Savary to Madrid, before the King set out, communicated the probable consequences of the intended journey, while several efforts were made to prevent it on the road to Vittoria, particularly at Miranda de Ebro, and Burgos, where, Urquijo, who had been minister to Charles IV., expostulated with the Duke del Infantado and Escoiquiz, on the imprudence of Ferdinand's quitting the kingdom. When reminded of his inattention to these warnings, at Bayonne, the Duke excused himself on the plea, of his having acted from no motive but that of benefiting the nation, and he accordingly remained attached to the fortunes of King Joseph, till they received their first check at the battle of Baylen.
ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF JOSEPH.

ing ample authorities, both sacred and profane, to prove that all the ties which bound them to the old family and government were broken asunder, the writers on this side of the question maintain that, to resist the armies of Napoleon, would have been in direct opposition to the proclamations both of Ferdinand, and Charles IV., while, as the result has shewn, it was sure of entailing the greatest misery on Spain. On the other hand, neither well authenticated assertions, nor positive proofs are wanting to show, that in accepting office to the exclusion of all foreign appointments, and otherwise co-operating with the new government, the Afrancesados not only consulted the best interest of their country, but greatly diminished the horrors of a contest which they regarded as altogether unnecessary.

The partisans of King Joseph might have felt somewhat less indignant at their subsequent persecution and sufferings, had not the whole nation, with the exception of Cadiz, Alicant and Carthagena, spontaneously yielded and sworn fealty to that Prince. Independently of the formal renunciations of the royal family, the circumstance of his being recognised and addressed by all the public bodies, ought surely to have been considered as a palliative, if it did not operate as an exemption from that punishment which has been so unsparingly inflicted on them for a period of more than ten years.

That the recent changes were agreeable to the
Powers, in alliance with the Emperor, was evident from the extreme readiness with which they acknowledged Joseph's title to the throne; there is no doubt of the Russian Autocrat's having been privy to them; while the convention signed between Austria and France after the battle of Wagram, not only agreed to those already effected, but promised to acquiesce in all others which might be thought necessary in future.

Once disengaged from the old dynasty, it became the duty of the Afrancesados warmly to espouse the interests of the new king, so long as he continued to fulfil the solemn obligations entered into at Bayonne. As to the reigning family, its own imbecility, no less than the degraded crew by which it had been surrounded ever since the death of Charles III., seemed to render its longer continuance on the throne altogether impracticable. Although they neither encouraged nor contributed to the event, yet, the family having sealed its own doom; this party was convinced the great work of reform could never be brought about, without a government possessing sufficient energy to inspire respect, while its power awed those formidable enemies, who were sure to oppose every measure in favour of improvement and humanity.

In reply to the charge of admitting a foreign domination, the followers of King Joseph spurned the imputation of being less attached to national independence than the rest of their countrymen; but they ask, who besides foreign families had
The adoption of a new dynasty.

Reigned in the Peninsula since the succession of the Austrian dynasty; and what had the Bourbons done for Spain? It is true, say they, that the agents of Louis XIV., by their intrigues and bribery at the court of Charles II., prevailed on that weak Prince to bequeath his crown to the Dauphin, in preference to other competitors; but instead of a constitution, laws, commerce, or industry, did he not come to rivet the chains of legitimacy more closely than ever, and entail a war of several years on his new vassals; whereas Napoleon, in addition to his having broken the accursed spell that had so long poisoned all the sources of freedom, virtue, and national prosperity, effected reforms of the most salutary description, which it would have been idle to expect from the old feudal dynasties?

It is asserted, by the adherents of Joseph, that neither a love of power, ambition, nor motives of personal interest, had any share in their adoption of this Prince: they did not even entirely approve of Napoleon's policy with regard to the royal family; but, in considering his power and influence as the only sure guarantee for reform, it was imagined that the disapprobation excited by a few isolated measures, would be amply compensated by those ameliorations which were to follow in their train. They do not deny, that while indulging the pleasing hope of seeing their unhappy country rescued from that frightful abyss into which it had fallen from former oppressions, a
combination of circumstances led them to believe improvement was more likely to arise from their connection with France than any other country: its politics and literature had, notwithstanding the barbarous restrictions of the holy office, also penetrated into Spain, and mainly tended to awaken the more enlightened classes from that lethargy in which they had remained so long buried. In producing a Voltaire and a Montesquieu, the French nation had acquired claims to the gratitude of contemporaries; finally, its memorable revolution, though sullied by the temporary triumph of faction, had destroyed an intolerable system of government, thus holding out an example worthy of imitation to all other states.

The above were amongst the causes which operated so powerfully in favour of Napoleon; and although it was not expected that all their wishes for the good of Spain would be realized by the alliance, the partizans of King Joseph felt satisfied no monarch, however unlimited his power, would attempt to establish a new dynasty here, without bettering the condition of the people. The very first measure of the Emperor proved they were not mistaken in their conjectures: I allude to the abolition of that tribunal of blood to which the whole nation had long attributed all its evils. To those who are acquainted with the opinion universally entertained of the holy office, even to the present moment, I need not say that this act alone was enough to immortalize the author's name,
while it called forth the benedictions of every friend to humanity throughout the civilized world.*

* The time and place chosen for issuing the decree greatly enhanced its value in the estimation of the people, and proved how well Napoleon knew how to secure popular applause. Having only quitted Paris on the 30th of October, to head his armies in the Peninsula, he routed a large body of patriotic troops at Gamonal, near Burgos, on the 10th of November, and pushing on towards the mountains of Somosierra, gained another decisive battle on the 30th of the same month; thus opening a free passage to the capital. Reaching Chamartin, within a few leagues of Madrid, on the 2d of December, the anniversary of his coronation, the decree was promulgated there on that very day, and is said to have had a wonderful effect in accelerating the almost general adhesion to King Joseph, which followed soon after. It did not, however, fail to increase the fury of the priesthood, whose vengeance became quite unbounded as soon as they heard the grand source of their power and influence was suppressed. One able defender of the Afrancesados, the anonymous author of a well written pamphlet, entitled "Una Question Politica," in alluding to this subject, observes: "all enlightened Spaniards sighed for that happy day when truth should triumph over falsehood here, as it had in France. Our eyes were constantly turned to that country as the centre of light, while the powerful interest of its government was invoked to promote the reform of our laws and defective institutions. It is true we were, like the friends of freedom in other places, afflicted to perceive that so many obstacles had arisen to oppose the progress of liberty, but consoled ourselves in reflecting, that whatever disputes might arise about the division and distribution of power north of the Pyrenees, the ameliorations required could not fail to take effect in Spain, and this was our only care. The great barrier to reform and improvement, arose from the Inquisition, and Napoleon
It was a saying of the Emperor, in speaking of the Spanish people, that their descendants would one day raise altars to his name. Whatever objections may have been made to the particular mode in which Napoleon effected the regeneration of this country, it will doubtless be enough for posterity to know, that the honour belonged to him alone: the principle was unquestionably paramount to every other consideration, and if there ever existed a case in politics or morals wherein the end justified the means, that of rescuing a whole people from the lowest and most abject state of misery and degradation, is certainly not amongst the least exceptionable. A great change has even already taken place in the public opinion of Spain, with regard to Napoleon's enterprize; nor have I met with a single individual since my arrival, who think it ought to be estimated by the ordinary standard of political reasoning.

It is neither my intention to justify those errors of policy which Napoleon himself has had the rare magnanimity to acknowledge, or to anticipate the judgment of future generations. I am merely desirous of placing the question in a somewhat clearer point of view than it has been hitherto regarded. Such was the peculiar nature of the

caused its almost immediate suppression; he also pledged himself to convoke the Cortes, upon which our chief and ultimate hopes were founded."
contest between England and France, that excesses were by no means confined to one side. If we thought the existence of Napoleon incompatible with our own power, he may in his turn have considered us as fit objects of extermination. It is not indeed improbable, that his plan for making a more effectual ally of Spain, may have been suggested by a few historical facts connected with our recent history. If he believed Portugal to be no better than a colony of Great Britain, there was surely nothing so very extraordinary or criminal in his attempt to wrench it from our hands, or in his wishing to give France the benefit of a closer alliance with the Peninsula. I forbear entering into an examination of his position relative to the Bourbons, it is too obvious to require illustration. I lament in common with others, that instead of acting a secondary and protective part, by suffering the people to work out their own political salvation under his auspices, Napoleon should have so far mistaken the national character as to attack its most predominant dogmas, Catholicism and legitimacy, into which, according to the Abbé de Pradt and others, all the virtues and energies of the nation were re-

* It should not be forgotten, that the attack on Copenhagen and seizure of the Spanish frigates, without a previous declaration of war, preceded the invasion of Spain. I apprehend that all the reasons brought forward in justification of those two state crimes, will only tend to aggravate their enormity in the eyes of posterity.
duced previous to the war of independence. These would, however, have been most probably insufficient to effect the work of regeneration. Happily for the people, the sacrifices they were called on to make, and the intellectual powers brought into play, led on to higher modes of thinking, while it exposed the deformity of the former system, and demonstrated the necessity of one more consonant with the principles of justice.

That the memorable expression above cited, may have originated in a consciousness on the part of Napoleon, that under any circumstances of present calamity, immense future benefits would be conferred on this country by its military occupation, is extremely probable. Even the virtuous Marina, who cannot be suspected of any bias in favour of the French Emperor, observes, in his erudite essay on the Spanish Monarchy: "Bonaparte indirectly rendered a great service to Spain, when he avowed and put into execution his mysterious and profound design of invading it, and removing the royal family; because the people, deluded with a mere shadow of felicity, and dazzled by false hopes, founded on the amiable character of the young King, * would never have thought of throwing off a yoke of the most unjust oppression, or breaking the chains of

* An attempt will be made hereafter to explain the enigma which naturally attaches to this allusion of Marina.
slavery; nor in a new political revolution so imperiously required by the state of affairs; so that Ferdinand would have continued to reign as despotically as his father. But Napoleon was the instrument employed by providence to work our salvation, and that of future generations; for, dissolved and disorganized as the old government (if it deserved the name) had become, the ties loosened and links broken which united the nation to its Prince, it was bound to think of recovering its imprescriptible rights, and establishing a better form of government. Had Bonaparte, therefore, abandoned his design of subjugating Spain and removing the Royal Family, either there would have been no revolution, or its fruits would have been sterile.” If the foregoing remarks of a profound politician and learned writer, who was constantly opposed to the policy of the Emperor, does not justify it, in the opinion of those who would preserve legitimacy at the expense of human happiness, they have had a very considerable effect on the patriots, and will not, I should imagine, be lost on posterity.

If the limits prescribed to this correspondence, admitted a more elaborate enquiry into a question which has already furnished materials for volumes, it would be worth while drawing a parallel between the invasion of Spain, or rather its military occupation, and those innumerable aggressions which have in every age and country marked the pro-
gress in society. I will even venture to assert, that it would bear a favourable comparison with many incidents in the history of our own country, from the conquest of Ireland down to the gigantic and unwieldy increase of our Eastern empire. As it is impossible to avoid making comparisons while examining this important subject, I cannot help observing, that the appropriations,* by some called spoliations, of human lives and territory, effected by the various European Congresses, held since the abdication of Napoleon, run the risk of being regarded in an infinitely worse light by future generations, than his enterprise against Spain; inasmuch as, that the latter was undertaken for the avowed and express purpose of improving the institutions of an enslaved people, weighed down by centuries of oppression, and of whom numbers of the most virtuous and enlightened espoused the cause of the foreign prince; whereas it is well known that neither Naples, Poland, Genoa, Lombardy, Venice, Saxony, Ragusa, Sicily,

* "Not according to rights, natural affiances, language, habits, or laws; but by tables of finance, which divided her (Europe) population into souls, demi-souls (ames, demi-ames, &c. vide protocols of the Congress), and even fractions, conformably to a scale of the direct duties or taxes which could be levied by the acquiring state." See Sir Robert Wilson's admirable essay on the military policy of Russia, in which these matters are no less ably than eloquently illustrated.
nor Spain herself, were restored to their old masters, for any other purpose than the renewal of the former tyrannies, destroyed by the victorious arms of Bonaparte.

A powerful argument might also be urged in favour of that part of Napoleon's policy, which Marina justly calls "profound," by referring to its general effect on the destinies of other nations, but above all, with regard to the vast continent of South America; which, but for the treaty of Fontainbleau, would most probably be, to this day, groaning under the triple yoke of despotism, superstition, and ignorance. Thus, then, in addition to regenerating the population of Spain, that of the New World and her other colonies may be said to have received their first grand impulse towards freedom and independence from the bold attempt to alter the system of imbecility and corruption here. It is not my province to enquire, how far Napoleon may have been an instrument in the hands of Providence; or to attribute bad motives to an action fraught with such incalculable benefits to mankind; it is enough for the people of present and future times, to know, that he was the first who prepared the way for these immense and fertile regions becoming one universal emporium for European industry; as it will be for the impartial of all ages to admit or deny, whether, if the immortal and persecuted Christopher Columbus had the unfading glory of discovering the New World, it was not compara-
tively lost to Europe previous to the occupation of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte?*

Some of these avowals are contained in the following interesting note, brought from the scene of Napoleon's captivity about two years ago, by one of the most faithful and most persecuted of his followers. When the whole of the memoirs dictated by the Emperor at St. Helena are made public, a number of additional facts relative to his connection with this country will most probably come to light; meanwhile, these remarks are the more valuable, from there not being a doubt of their authenticity. In order that no part of the spirit or meaning be withdrawn, they are given in the original.

"L'Empereur, en parlant de la guerre d'Espagne et des transactions de Bayonne, disait: — Cette combinaison m'a perdu: toutes les circonstances de mes désastres, viennent se rattacher à ce nœud fatal. Elle a detruit ma moralité en Europe, divisé mes forces, multiplié mes embarras; ouverte une école aux soldats Anglais. C'est moi qui ai formé l'armée Anglaise dans la Péninsule.

"Les événements ont prouvé que j'avais fait une grande faute, dans le choix de mes moyens; car la faute est dans les moyens, bien plus que

* The re-organization of South America, and establishment of independent governments there, as well as in several of the larger colonies, had been planned by Napoleon long before his armies appeared in the Peninsula.
dans les principes. Il est hors de doute que dans la crise ou se trouvait la France, dans la lutte des idées nouvelles, dans la grande cause du siècle contre le reste de l'Europe, nous ne pouvions pas laisser l'Espagne en arrière à la disposition de nos ennemis. Il fallait l'entraîner de gré ou de force dans notre système : le destin de la France le demandait ainsi : et le code du salut des nations n'est pas toujours celui des particuliers. D'ailleurs, à la nécessité politique, se joignait ici la force du droit. L'Espagne, quand elle me crut en peril, quand elle me sut aux prises à Jene, m'avait à peu près déclaré la guerre : l'injure ne devait pas passer impunie. Je pouvais la lui déclarer à son tour, et certes le succès n'était point douteux.

C'est cette facilité même, qui m'égara. La nation meprisait son gouvernement, elle appelait à grands cris une régénératrice. De la hauteur à laquelle le sort m'avait élevé, je me crus appelé, je crus digne de moi d'accomplir en paix ce grand événement. Je voulus épargner le sang : que pas une goutte ne suillât l'émancipation Castellane. Je delivrais donc les Espagnoles de leurs hideuses institutions ; je leur donnais une constitution libérale ; je crus nécessaire, trop légèrement, peut-être, de changer leur dynastie : je plaçai un de mes frères à leur tête ; mais il fut le seul étranger au milieu d'eux.

Je respectai leur intégrité, leur indépendance, leurs mœurs, le reste de leurs lois. Le nouveau Monarque gagna la capitale, n'ayant d'autres mi-
nistres, d'autres conseillers, d'autres courtisans, que ceux de la derniere cour. Mes troupes allaient se retirer. J'accomplissais le plus grand bienfait qui ait jamais ete repandu sur un peuple, me disais-je, et je me le dit encore. Les Espagnols eux-memes, m'a-t-on assure, le pensaient au fonds, et ne se sont plaints que des formes. J'attendais leurs benedictions: il en fut autrement: ils dedaignerent l'interet pour ne s'occuper que de l'injure. Ils s'indignerent a l'idee de l'offence, se revolterent a la vue de la force. Tous coururent aux armes. Les Espagnols en masse se conduisirent comme un homme d'honneur. Je n'ai rien a dire contre cela; sinon qu'ils ont triomphé, qu'ils en sont cruellement punis; qu'ils en sont peut-etre a regretter! Ils meritaient mieux.

As intimately connected with the justification of the Afrancesados, I regret being unable to notice more at length the eloquent work of Rienosa*, in which that able writer has viewed the question with the eyes of a philosopher, publicist, patriot, and statesman. After devoting a sepa-

* Examen de los delitos de Infidelidad a la Patria, &c. This interesting volume was published anonymously in France about four years ago, since which no writer has attempted to contradict the author's statements, or impugn his veracity, Rienosa, to whom it is attributed, was amongst the numerous ecclesiastics who followed the fortunes of King Joseph, and remained in exile till the amnesty voted by Cortes towards the close of their first session, but he has now taken advantage of that tardy measure, and returned to his country.
rate chapter to the discussion of all the charges made against his party, and alternately wielding the arms of fact, reason, and argument in their defence, the author concludes in the following terms:—"Such is the history of our misfortunes, constancy, and of the injustice we have experienced. The two kings, both father and son, went to France contrary to the wishes of the nation, to concert their own personal interests, through the mediation of the French emperor. The result of their conferences, was a renunciation of the sceptre for themselves and the Infantes in favour of Napoleon and his family; an act, which, though it might not be regarded as altogether spontaneous, was the last and only authentic one of our Princes. The latter were not to return to Spain; and this was the more certain, from their being in the hands of those who had the greatest interest, and possessed all the power of preventing it. A considerable portion of the Peninsula had been previously occupied, and the strong places on the frontiers given up to the armies of the Emperor, who had also under his command the troops of Spain, exhausted in strength and bereft of resources. These same princes exhorted their people not to engage in, or attempt a resistance which could only involve the ruin of all, while the general state of affairs justified this persuasion. Matters being thus arranged, through violence or convention, the new Monarch was recognized by a junta composed of all classes of Spa-
niards assembled at Bayonne, and obeyed by the government which the kings appointed on their departure: the treaty of his installation, and the laws dictated by him, were also promulgated by the Supreme Council of the nation. When the Sovereign went to take possession of the crown, he was received on his journey as king by the people; on entering the capital, the inhabitants recognized and swore fealty to his person. The public functionaries, and all other persons occupying places of trust, were confirmed in their situations, without a single exception.” It is unnecessary to cite the learned author’s various statements relative to the time King Joseph remained in possession; or the conduct or motives of those who stimulated the war of independence, and informalities inseparable from the formation of the Cortes at Cadiz. He says that when the judgment of future times is given, that disposition which characterized the actions of the Afrancesados as crimes, will be considered as a perversion of reason: truly adding, that the people are exonerated from obedience, whenever the prince is removed from the command. If force or inclination induces the monarch to renounce his crown, the same motives also put an end to the subordination of his subjects. If the latter continue under the dominion of their prince, till he is vanquished, nothing more can be required of them: while their late master is unable to recover his power, both are alike incapable of rendering each
other any assistance; incapacitated from being reciprocally useful, the actions of either party are not within the pale of the social compact, nor can they be judged according to this compact. Finally, the laws which prescribe fidelity, suppose the existence of mutual obligations between the subject many, and ruling few: when these obligations, which are the foundation of fidelity, cease; when allegiance sworn to the conquered or abdicating prince, has been of necessity transferred to another, then has the tenour of the law changed; it is even reversed, and cannot be applied to actions performed under new political ties: all proceedings against these acts are, therefore, illegal and arbitrary. Such actions, if they deserve to be regarded as criminal, ought to be forgiven after a revolution, of which the evils are greatly aggravated by chastisement. Such, says the author, "are the cardinal maxims developed in this treatise: they are plain, connected with each other, and form a whole; all are supported by the principles of natural light, on that of nations and political justice: lastly, they have all been either recognized or proclaimed by the most celebrated publicists of Europe."

It has been maintained as an additional argument in favour of the Emperor and his brother's title to the throne, that so large a party, including many of the most virtuous and enlightened men in Spain, should have espoused their cause with a zeal, which could only spring from a conviction.
that the former were conferring the greatest benefits on their country. As to the constitution of Bayonne, though certainly not so liberal as that of Cadiz, especially in whatever related to the kingly power and formation of Cortes, yet were most of its articles unexceptionable. The avowed object of Napoleon, immediately after he became possessed of the renunciations made at Bayonne, was to convene the Cortes, which had, it is well known, been suspended by the kings of the Austrian dynasty, and completely set aside, during that of the Bourbons. This admission of a national congress, elected by the people, presented a sure barrier against arbitrary power, affording security to property, from the mere fact of its possessing the exclusive privilege of voting the supplies and imposing taxes. Unlike the former system, the executive and legislative power were to be separated; the judges declared independent of the Crown, and such other measures adopted as were most likely to check the growth, or admit the possibility of public abuses.

To prove that these were not idle promises held out to seduce the credulous, it is sufficient to add that the abolition of the holy office; appropriation of church lands to the payment of the public creditor and wants of the state; sale of national domains; the formation of civil and criminal codes; public instructions removed from those gothic piles in which it had been confined by the depraved and despotic taste of priests and school-
men; lastly, a powerful impulse given to arts, manufactures and commerce;—such and various other equally salutary, were amongst the immediate results of the new government, though produced during the distractions of a rancorous war.

With respect to the ministers of King Joseph, whether chosen by himself or Napoleon, it would have been impossible for the most ardent friend of Spain to make a more excellent selection. They were named at Bayonne on the 4th of July, 1808, and consisted of men who had been long distinguished for the liberality of their sentiments, literary acquirements, and superior talents in all the branches of political knowledge. To substantiate this assertion, I need only mention the names of Jovellanos, * Cabarrús, Cambróñero, Llorenté, O'Farril, Azanza, Urquijo, Mazarredo, Arrivas, and Pignuela; most of these, had filled very high offices under Charles IV., and were all more or less exposed to persecution during his reign, for their efforts in favour of reform.

The unusual circumstance of not abandoning their adopted sovereign when he retired, has also been made a part of the charges against the adherents of Joseph, as if fidelity in misfortune was a crime; or that constancy to fallen greatness, did not exhibit human nature in its most favourable

* The reason which adduced this great, and good man to decline the invitation of Joseph, to become one of his ministers, will be given in a future letter.
colours. The truth is, that besides the solemnities which bound them to the new king, this prince, in addition to an irreproachable private character, and those public virtues which he was known to have displayed while at Naples, his engaging address, conciliating manners, and evident determination to carry the promised reforms into effect, had won the hearts of many who were at first violently opposed to his accession.

The following extract of an original letter from Cevallos, to his friend Bardaxi Azara at Madrid, serves to prove how favourable an impression Joseph must have made on those who went to receive him at Bayonne. "I have had the honour," says Cevallos, "of being presented to the King, who arrived from Naples yesterday, and I think his single presence, his goodness and the nobleness of his nature, which you discover at first sight, will be sufficient of themselves, to pacify the provinces without having recourse to arms."

Numbers of the grandees, inferior nobility and gentry of Spain, hastened to Bayonne for the purpose of paying homage and swearing fealty to the new monarch. The following names were amongst the visitors on this occasion: Prince Castel Franco, the Dukes del Parque, de Frias, Hijar, del Infantado and Ossuna; Marquisses d'Hariza, Santa Cruz, Castellanos, and Espeja; Counts Fernan Nunez, Santa Colona, Castelflorida, Noblejas, and many others. The address of these noblemen, spoken by Infantado in the name of all, ac-

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Cordial Reception of Joseph.
The moderation of his government.

Cords but little with their subsequent desertion of the King: "The people of Spain expect all their happiness from the reign of your Majesty; your presence is ardently desired in the Peninsula, to fix public opinion, conciliate opposite interests, and establish that order so necessary, for the regeneration of our country. Sire, the grandees of Spain have always been distinguished for their fidelity to the sovereign, and your Majesty will experience it, as well as our personal affections. Accept, Sire, those demonstrations of our loyalty, with that bounty so well known to your Neapolitan subjects, and the fame of which has already reached us."

The expressions contained in this address, are, however, feeble when compared to those of the Grand Inquisitor Etenhard, the Counsellors of Castile, Calon, Lardizabal, Torres, and Villela, or that presented by Torre Musquiz and Galiano, who became such bitter enemies of their countrymen afterwards.

The moderation and forbearance manifested by the members of Joseph's government, and his followers generally, while every species of violence were perpetrated by others, has been attributed to weakness and a wish to gain proselytes! To this singular charge they have very justly replied, that virtue is laudable from whatever source it springs, maintaining that the moderation which their enemies convert into a crime, was the cause of preventing numerous excesses on both sides, while they were constantly occupied as mediators be-
tween the French soldiery and the inhabitants, in appeasing the irritated feelings of both parties, and preventing the cruelties which were almost inseparable from such a state of warfare. That the weakness of their party, or want of numbers, had no share in prompting them to acts of benevolence and humanity, is proved by the voluntary submission of nearly the whole country, in which three hundred thousand persons were either zealously engaged in forwarding its interests, or employed by the new government, without reference to those innumerable applications for places of trust, still to be found in the public offices here.

Another charge, that of having left the Peninsula when circumstances rendered it expedient for the new King to withdraw towards France, has been very triumphantly refuted. It is a fact confirmed by too frequent experience, that people seldom emigrate or abandon their country without some powerful stimulus, arising either from an oppressive system of misrule or a wish to escape persecution. Consistent in their conduct, and true to the principles which had induced them to espouse the cause of Joseph in the first instance, the Afrancesados would never have left him, so long as he continued to fulfil the obligations contracted at Bayonne, and from none of which had he swerved in the smallest degree. There was however, no necessity for accompanying the monarch after the battle of Vittoria, nor is it likely they