MUNICIPALITY CHOSEN.

battalions; those of Asturias, Seville, Aragon, Spain, Guides, the crown, and a regiment of invalids, but unsupported by either artillery or cavalry. The officers having assembled at night to organize a staff, and fix on some plan of future operations, Quiroga was again recognized as General-in-chief; Riego appointed second in command, Arco Aguero placed at the head of the staff, with Evaristo San Miguel, as his principal assistant. Colonel Miranda, the personal friend of Riego, was also confirmed in the post he had filled so ably, since the rising at Las Cabezas. The officers who had escaped being replaced at the head of their regiments, the whole force was formed into two divisions, of which one remained under the direction of Quiroga, and the other that of Riego.

The 8th was ushered in by proclaiming the constitution, electing Alcaldes, and restoring the Lapida, which had been torn down by the priests in 1814; upon which Quiroga's celebrated letter to Ferdinand, wherein the motives of the insurrection and resolution of the patriots not to lay down their arms till he should have subscribed to their conditions, are set forth with no less dignity than moderation, was read to the troops, and posted up throughout the town. This and the manifesto promulgated a few days after, cannot fail to be regarded as most precious historical documents in future times. If, for example, amidst those vicissitudes which seem to be inseparable from political society as it is now constituted, any other army should be
called upon to liberate an oppressed and suffering people, the proclamations and state papers emanating from the heroes of La Isla, will furnish an inestimable source of the purest patriotism, and serve as models worthy of imitation.

While the leaders were making the arrangements necessary for assuming the offensive, they did not despair of still seeing the gates of Cadiz open to receive them; such, however, was the vigilance of Campana, and his extensive means of corruption, that new obstacles appeared to rise hourly, until the patriot chiefs at length saw, that the best way of securing a successful termination of their labours was to prove they were as well prepared to fight as to write letters and issue proclamations. Having concentrated their whole force at San Fernando, previous to more active measures, news arrived, that Joseph O'Donnel, brother to Abisbal, commanding at Algeciras, had quitted his headquarters, accompanied by several regiments, and published a vehement address against the national army; on the other side, Freyre consented to replace Calderón, while Campana and the Bishop in Cadiz strove who should heap most abuse and anathemas on the heads of the patriots.*

* An admirable reply to the Bishop's pastoral letter, was addressed to His Excellency, on the 14th; this paper was signed by Quiroga, and contained a triumphant refutation of that prelate's doctrines in favour of absolute power, as also another eloquent appeal to the nation.
other causes of discouragement and alarm might be mentioned, particularly those arising from the state of the weather, and the hardships which must necessarily attend military operations on roads broken up by incessant rains: but the spirit of liberty was omnipotent: every difficulty vanished, and they now thought only of the bright prospects before them.

The apprehensions entertained by some of the leaders, that their exclusion from Cadiz would deter others from joining the patriotic ranks, were happily removed on the morning of the 10th, by the arrival of the Canary regiment, and a brigade of artillery, led by Colonel Bermuda, and Lopez Baños. Riego being detached with a column of twelve hundred men, to cover their entry into La Isla, succeeded in driving back several piquets of cavalry, and returned without interruption from the royal army, which had, by this time, approached much nearer to the bridge of Suazo. The second in command was next sent to oppose the march of O’Donnel, who had advanced to Medina, as also for the purpose of gaining over the troops at Vejar and other points. This well-timed movement had the effect of checking the servile General, and would have ended by adding the battalion of America to his division; but Campana having contrived to send emissaries into San Fernando, Quiroga thought it prudent to urge his immediate return. As some time would elapse before Riego could reach head-quarters, the roads
being still in a wretched state, the military junta, formed for directing the operations, decided that an attack should be made in the mean while on the naval arsenal of La Caraca, which, besides the many other advantages to be derived from its possession, would open a communication with Puerto Real and Port St. Mary's. While Captain Guiral, of the navy, undertook to convey the troops destined for this service, Don Lorenzo Garcia, colonel of the Aragon regiment, was entrusted with their command. This party, consisting of four hundred picked men, having embarked in some gun boats about midnight on the 12th, were discovered by a sentinel, who gave the alarm; but before any effectual preparation could be made for defence, the fort was carried by escalade, without the loss of a man. The national army was considerably strengthened by this coup-de-main, as all those who composed the garrison, nearly five hundred men, immediately joined their fellow-soldiers. Guiral also took possession of a ship of the line, and numerous flotilla.*

The success of their first essay encouraged

* Amongst the state prisoners liberated from the dungeons of La Caraca, there were several South Americans who had been sent to Spain by Morillo; Lopez, surnamed El Cojo de Malaga, so distinguished for his heroism during the war of independence, and proscribed in 1814, was also restored to light on this occasion; but he has since fallen a victim to the effects of his long imprisonment.
the patriots to attempt another on the Cortadura, which was so essential to the interests of the cause; but as it would require a larger force than that employed against the Caraca, they determined to await the arrival of Riego; this did not take place before the 14th; as there was no time to lose, the attack was fixed for three o'clock on the following morning, and from the preparations made, afforded every chance of a successful issue. A volunteer force of seven hundred men having advanced in three columns, one of these was about to apply scaling ladders to an angle of the works, when it was discovered that the guides had led it to a totally different point from that intended, and to a part where there were but very slender hopes of succeeding. Riego, too anxious to be foremost in the attack, had nearly mounted an outer parapet when the ladder slipped, and he was precipitated from a height of several feet, by which he received a severe contusion. There had been so much time lost by these two circumstances, that it was impossible to effect the object in view before daylight, and as the discovery would expose the troops to a destructive fire, the column was ordered to retreat.

While Riego was recovering from the effects of his fall, a variety of important objects engrossed the attention of the General-in-chief: although the attack on the Cortadura could not be resumed for a few days, it was not abandoned; and both naval and military preparations were continued
for that purpose; an active correspondence was also kept up with Cadiz and the provinces, and numerous arrangements made relative to the comfort and even amusement of the troops; while Lopez Baños, and Arco Aguero, superintended large working parties, who were employed in fortifying San Fernando, so as to put the national army beyond the danger of surprise.

The second-in-command, having gained sufficient strength to renew his exertions by the 21st, led a party to the water-side, and was about to embark for Cadiz, where a weak part of the walls was supposed to admit of an easy escalade; but informed of the design by his agents at San Fernando, Campana had time to place a strong guard on the vulnerable point, and make other preparations for repelling the intended attack, it was relinquished. The hopes of entering Cadiz were, however, revived three days afterwards, in consequence of an assurance from a Colonel Rotalde of the garrison, that he had organized a rising amongst the seamen and inhabitants, in which the regiment of Soria was to take an active part. Had it not been for the defection of some persons, on whom this officer had calculated for support, and the delay which occurred in delivering a letter from him to Quiroga, there was every probability of his plan being crowned with success. When assembled in the square of San Antonio, Rotalde found that those charged with the arrests of Campana and his adherents, had, either through
fear or treachery failed in their promises; so that after an ineffectual struggle with a servile corps, organized under the immediate auspices of the Governor and priesthood,* he was obliged to abandon the enterprise and save himself by flight. In order to make a diversion in favour of the movement at Cadiz, Riego had embarked with a division at San Carlos, and landing near Puerto Real, advanced to Port St. Mary's, recently occupied by a large body of cavalry, who fled at the approach of the patriots, leaving them in quiet possession of the town. The inhabitants welcomed this second visit of Riego and his companions with their wonted enthusiasm; perceiving that the project of Rotalde had failed, the column returned to San Fernando, having previously obtained considerable supplies of provisions, arms, and money from their friends.

Were it not for the confidence entertained by the patriots in the justice of their cause, and their characteristic heroism, the failure of Rotalde, followed, as it was by numerous arrests, coupled with the unaccountable tardiness of the nation in declaring its well known sentiments in favour of freedom, was unquestionably of a nature to dis-

* Although the garrison consisted of nearly 3000 men, the battalion alluded to above, called Los Leales de Fernando Septimo, or loyals of Ferdinand VII, was the only corps from which Rotalde expected much resistance; its conduct on the 10th March, justified his fears.
hearten the national army, especially now that nearly a whole month had elapsed since its assem-
blage, and that promises of support had been sent from so many quarters. Nothing could be more perplexing than the state of affairs at this moment: all the efforts of servilism were at work here, and in other places, to counteract the events at San Fernando and defeat their effects: several regiments had joined Freyre, who advanced, with 6000 men from Seville, occupying all the roads leading to La Isla. To remain inactive might be still more injurious to the cause than continuing on the defensive; and although the Royalist General had attempted to seduce the patriots into submission by his letter of the 15th, addressed to Quiroga, from Seville, there was every appearance of a wish on his part to proceed hostilely, and cooperate with Campana. The insurrection had, in fact, reached that point, when the smallest symp-
tom of fear or weakness might have been fatal to the patriots, and prolong the reign of terror to an indefinite period. There are moments in the his-
tory of nations, as well as of individuals, in which the calculations of prudence lose all their efficacy, and if indulged, or made the rule of action, may be productive of that ruin which they are intended to avert: such was the state of the patriot army on the 25th of January, when Riego, prompted by one of those inspirations which occur only to great minds, suggested the idea of marching at the head of a flying column, to spread the seeds
of liberty in the provinces, and keep the servile faction in check, while the remainder of the army should maintain its position at San Fernando. Many as were the objections that might have been made to this proposal, it was received with unequivocal approbation by the military junta, and when communicated to the troops, they are said to have crowded round the General-in-chief, earnestly soliciting permission to form a part of the intended legion.

Having selected fifteen hundred men for the above important service, and made such hasty arrangements as the shortness of the notice permitted, Riego, and his corps, upon which the destinies of millions were suspended, left the Isla at day-break on the 27th, passing over Chiclana amidst cries of *Viva la constitucion!* repeated on every side by the people, they slept at Conil, and proceeded to Vejer next day; after proclaiming the constitution, and electing municipal officers here, the column resumed its march, crossed the heights of Ojen on the 30th, and arrived at Algeciras on the following evening. The proximity of this place to Gibraltar, whence Riego fully expected those succours of which his men stood so much in need, rendered its possession of great consequence. The patriot general could not have rested his hopes on a more fragile foundation; for although the eloquence of Galiano might have influenced a few of the Spanish residents, the motley population of that fortress, made up of all nations,
religions and colours, were too long accustomed to the rigid sway of military rule, and intent on bettering their own fortunes, to feel much interest about the freedom of others. With the exception, therefore, of a few hundred pair of shoes, smuggled out of the garrison in the dead of night, Riego and his friends perceived how completely they had mistaken the disposition of the governor and inhabitants of the rock.* As to those of Algeciras, their reception of the column was enthusiastic in the extreme, and though the first impulse of patriotism was soon damped by the insinuations of priests and serviles, yet did the soldiers derive many advantages from their stay there. Their arrival was marked by an appropriate and energetic proclamation, calling upon the people to appreciate the blessings conferred upon them by the constitution, which was promulgated forthwith, and the Lapida restored. After swearing in the magistrates, Te Deum was sung and an impressive sermon preached by a monk: who, from the fervent zeal with which he enjoined an adherence to the political code, redeemed some portion of the errors so justly attributed to the regular clergy.

Although O'Donnel did not attempt to prevent their departure from San Fernando, his division followed the patriots by another road, occupying

* This is the vulgar, but apt term, by which Gibraltar is distinguished in our naval and military circles.
Tarifa and San Roque, in which towns the royal troops remained, without manifesting any intention of attacking them. Riego would have soon put the infatuated followers of the royalist general to the test, had not the fears of Quiroga, at the menacing attitude assumed by the army under Freyre, induced him to dispatch a messenger, directing that the flying column should retrograde and join him with all possible celerity. However this unexpected summons may have disconcerted the views of Riego and his companions, he did not hesitate obedience, and having obtained partial supplies for his men, they quitted Algeciras on the 7th of February, chanting a patriotic hymn, expressly composed for the sacred battalion, and destined to produce a talismanic effect on its future operations.*

Having re-crossed the range of Ojen without interruption, the troops had scarcely set out on their march towards Vejer next morning, before a large body of cavalry was observed in front, formed evidently to oppose their march. Riego immediately prepared to attack the enemy, and when

* Poetry and music have ever been powerful auxiliaries to freedom in all countries; but in none more than in the Peninsula. The hymn here alluded to, is, in fact, closely connected with the history of the late Revolution; it is worthy of the subject, and has found an able translator in my friend Mr. Bowring. Evaristo San Miguel, chief of the staff, and the historian of the expedition, is the author of this deservedly popular production.
RECEPTION AT VEJER.

ready, advanced at a quick pace, some crying long live the Constitution, and *Viva la Patria!* while others commenced the war song, which had now become familiar to every ear. The coolness and intrepidity with which the column advanced astonished and awed the cavalry, to such a degree that they defiled on each side the road, opening a passage, through which the patriots were suffered to pass, without a single effort being made to annoy them.

On reaching Vejer, Riego found that owing to all the approaches to the Isla being occupied by detachments from the army of Freyre, it would be hazardous to proceed. Thus surrounded by hostile chiefs, who still continued to stifle public opinion, and impose on the credulity of the soldiery, the position of the column would have filled many a leader with alarm: whereas, Riego resolved to profit by the difficulty of returning to San Fernando, and carry his original design into effect. Some additional supplies of money and horses being procured, religion was again called in to the aid of liberty: a military banquet, at which the officers and privates mingled, was given by the inhabitants, and closed with a public ball, where all the beauty of Vejer appeared, encouraging the defenders of freedom to persevere in the glorious struggle. It was on the 12th, after three days passed in festivity and warlike preparation, that the patriot general moved forward with a determination to reach Malaga, where the column arri-
ved on the 18th closely pursued, and often attacked by the vanguard of O'Donnel; what with treason and resistance, neither the bravery nor firmness displayed by Riego and his followers here, enabled the patriots to realize the hopes held out by those of the inhabitants who had expressed so much anxiety for their arrival.

Perceiving that the fears of the people got the better of their patriotism, for they had witnessed those impetuous charges of cavalry repelled by a portion of the column which had taken possession of the great square, without showing a disposition to co-operate, Riego had no alternative between suffering all the fruits of his gallantry to be lost at Malaga, and pushing on to another point. The latter was chosen, and having effected their retreat, in excellent order, the column entered Antequera on the 22nd,* still, harassed by the enemy's cavalry. Though reduced by the causes, moral and physical, naturally attendant on such an enterprise, the General set out, on the following day, for Ronda; here the troops were encountered by a force double their number, but, having charged and driven them through the town, some rations were levied; upon which Riego halted for the night in the vicinity. Resuming their march on the 24th, the patriots successively visited Gra-

*Another spirited proclamation was addressed to the inhabitants of this place.
zadema, Puerto Serrano and Montellano, where another attack of cavalry was sustained, and as courageously repelled. During the time which elapsed between the column's march from Montellano till its arrival at Montilla, on the 8th March, it had scarcely an hour's repose, and besides having to resist the frequent charges of the enemy, their march lay over almost inaccessible mountains without regular roads. From Montilla, where the column remained for some hours, Riego determined to gain the Sierra Morena; but there being no direct road to it, without passing through Cordova, he marched towards that city at all hazards. This was, perhaps, the boldest step hitherto taken. There was a regiment of dismounted cavalry at Cordova: a considerable portion of this corps was posted on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, apparently to oppose their passage. The column having baffled the efforts of enemies so much more numerous, its present adversaries were treated with perfect indifference. The other troops stationed at Cordova remained in their quarters, unwilling to interfere in what was passing: when within a few yards of the bridge which separated them from the city, the column, now reduced to three hundred men, began the favourite hymn, which resounded through the ranks, as if by one common impulse, and thus marched through the main street to a convent in the opposite suburb, followed by an immense concourse of the people.
The whole population of Cordova came forth to witness this extraordinary scene, filling the streets and windows by which the patriots had to march. A profound silence pervaded the multitude, as these emulators of the sacred bands of Thermopylæ and Underwald passed along, barefooted and so badly clothed as not to be shielded from the inclemency of the season. This singular and affecting sight is said to have drawn tears from every eye, and though no violent marks of discontent were manifested, the silent sympathy of all ranks sufficiently indicated the state of public feeling.

The column pursued its way towards the Sierra on the 8th, and passing through Espier, Azuaga, Berlanga and Villagarcia, reached Bienvenida at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th. Diminished to a still smaller number, worn out with fatigue, and surrounded by various detachments, whose leaders sought their destruction, the situation of the patriots was too critical to admit of any doubt as to the only alternative which now remained. Forced by irresistible necessity to disperse, their separation was embittered by the reflection, that the object of their enterprise had not been fulfilled, and that if they succeeded in escaping from famine and disease, it might be to perish on the scaffold, or pass the remainder of their days on a foreign soil!

In closing his interesting account of this memorable expedition, San Miguel observes: such was
the fate of a column, worthy, by its patriotism and valour, of the most brilliant triumphs. Where so many concurrent circumstances combined against us, it was morally impossible for the result to be different. Fanaticism on the part of an enemy, always more than triple our number; dismay and timidity amongst the well-affected; pusillanimity and weakness of those who abandoned us in the hour of danger; the violation of promises by others who had engaged in the cause; unheard of labour and fatigue, and, above all, such rapid marches, night and day, through a mountainous country intersected by torrents and ravines, and plains overflown, must have disheartened the bravest troops, and counteracted the efforts of the most experienced. On the other hand, the losses sustained by the flying column redound more to its credit than the greatest victories. Its conduct was invariably analogous to the principles it proclaimed; honour and valour being the constant watch-words. Not a single citizen had reason to complain of its oppression: the laws of humanity were never violated towards the prisoners: those taken at Marbello, Antequera, Malaga, Moron, Montellano and other places, were treated with the utmost consideration and delicacy. Finally, the flying column merited a better fate, and deserves to be held up to the imitation of others!

It has been proposed that a pyramid should be erected at Bienvenida, on the spot of separation, and that the names of those who braved so many
dangers, and displayed such constancy, should be inscribed on this symbol of immortality. Whether the design be executed, or not, these envied patriots will divide the admiration of future generations with the most celebrated martyrs of Swiss and Grecian liberty.

When the shattered remains of the flying column separated at Bienvenida, directing their steps, melancholy and broken-hearted, towards the wilds of the Sierra Morena, they little imagined that the cause of freedom had already prevailed, or that its triumph was, in a great measure, due to their own heroism! It is impossible to forget the deep and anxious interest excited by Riego and his followers, from the moment of their departure till their labours terminated. This feeling was no less intense all over Europe, than in the Peninsula: a proof of the importance attached to a corps, destined to be, as it were, the barometer of public opinion: and though so reduced previous to its dispersion, there is no doubt that the fact of Riego's thus keeping the field, not only served to maintain the sacred fire, but had the effect of communicating it to the whole nation.

The merits of the leader, throughout this arduous and difficult undertaking, are so obvious and inestimable, that it might well be regarded as a needless repetition of praises, which still resound from one end of Europe to the other, were I to add a word on the subject.

In returning to the transactions at San Fernando,
additional motives for applause are found in the perseverance and gallantry displayed there, after the departure of Riego. As might be expected, Freyre and Campana hastened to profit by this event, so that two days were not suffered to elapse before the Patriots had to repel a sortie from the Cortadura, while numerous detachments cut off their communication with the interior. Though so reduced in numbers, and pressed on every side, the exertions of the national army increased with its difficulties, and notwithstanding the frequent attempts of the enemy, he could not, during a period of five weeks, boast a single trophy, if the capture of a gunboat, taken on the 31st, be excepted. The harsh treatment shewn towards the prisoners on this occasion, proved how little they had to hope from the humanity of their adversaries, and formed a striking contrast with that experienced by those who fell into the hands of the patriots.

The uninterrupted harmony which happily subsisted between the inhabitants and soldiers, who cheerfully shared each others toils and dangers, without a murmur being ever heard to escape either, must have greatly contributed to the successful termination of the struggle. In order, however, that these ties might be drawn still closer, and every doubt removed, on the part of the citizens, a junta of government, composed exclusively of civilians, was created on the 3rd February. It having been determined that they should
merely act on the defensive, large working parties were employed in strengthening the more vulnerable points, and constructing several new batteries: the only instance wherein Quiroga deviated from this rule, by driving the advanced posts of Freyre from the lines they had formed near the bridge of Suazo, was crowned with complete success. Various demonstrations for a combined naval and military attack were made afterwards, but always ended in a precipitate retreat; for, as it has since transpired, the Servile Generals well knew there could be no reliance placed on the fidelity of troops bribed to serve the cause of tyranny, and therefore endeavoured to gain their object by threats and intimidation.

From the judicious measures of defence adopted by Lopez Banos and Arco Aguero, the patriots entertained no fears for their own security: their principal uneasiness arose from not receiving any certain information relative to the progress of the flying column. This circumstance, combined with the apparent inactivity of the provinces, could not fail to create considerable anxiety. In addition to those secret intrigues which were carrying on, to undermine the popularity of the chiefs and seduce the soldiery, scarcely a day passed without a proclamation or pastoral letter, in which the former were loaded with abuse, and their followers branded as traitors, or pitied as dupes. To prove that these efforts to sustain a tottering cause were powerless, it was determined
that Quiroga should publish his answer to the letter addressed to him by Freyre on the 15th January, but which had, till now, remained un-noticed. After professing the greatest esteem for the patriot general, the epistle of Freyre contained an invitation to betray the national army to its enemies. The reply was, however, couched in such energetic and unequivocal terms, as to have convinced both laity and clergy that they could gain nothing by their literary labours. Besides those reproaches which the base proposal of Freyre was so calculated to excite, it is evident that a wish to preserve the forms of decorum alone prevented the hero of La Isla from adding the epithets of knave and scoundrel to those of traitor and slave.*

While the undivided attention of Europe was rivetted on La Isla, as to a point whence every nation looked for its happiness and freedom, the patriots on their part seemed to feel the incalculable consequences involved in the success or failure of the enterprise. The resolution and presence of mind evinced by Quiroga and his companions, at this crisis, when the smallest symptom of weakness or vacillation might have been fatal to their dearest hopes, ought to be the subject of eternal panegyric, and fully justified the antici-

* This famous answer was dated on the 18th February, and together with Freyre's letter was read to the army.
tions of their most ardent admirers. Such firmness and constancy could not go unrewarded: that "ripeness,"* so philosophically invoked by our immortal bard, and which seems to be the necessary precursor of political regeneration, had, at length, taken place: the miracle of a whole people having so quietly submitted to six years of unmerited suffering and persecution was about to cease. The flame lighted up in Andalusia, reaching Galicia, soon extended to Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and other points of the Southern coast; thus encircling and irradiating the intermediate provinces before it burst forth in the capital.

Although the events at Corunna and Pamplona were known to the Royalist Generals in the first days of March, and these persons saw the triumph of liberty was inevitable, they did their utmost to conceal what had occurred in other places; nor was it until the receipt of despatches from the court, stating Ferdinand's adhesion, and the impatience of the people threatened their personal safety, that Freyre and Campana consented to proclaim the Constitution. This intention being announced in an address issued at Port St. Mary's

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* The historical plays of Shakspeare, abound with maxims and allusions, which open an inexhaustible source of profound meditation to the politician, as well as the philosopher and statesman. His dénouement of Lear, more particularly pointed at above, is doubtless one of the most sublime efforts of the tragic muse. Well may such a writer be called the poet of nature!
on the 9th, Freyre repaired to Cadiz that night, and could only appease the populace, who had assembled to urge immediate compliance with his instructions, by repeated assurances that their wishes should be gratified early on the following day. Those who have witnessed the enthusiasm with which the people of Spain celebrate the most trifling circumstance favourable to freedom, can alone form an adequate idea of the manner these promises were received, and of the unrestrained hilarity to which they gave rise.

Having been hitherto called upon to notice acts of patriotism and virtue, of which there are not many examples to record, it is truly painful to reflect on the closing scene of this interesting drama: but, however unwilling the future historian may be to sully his pages, by describing the massacre of March 10th, he cannot draw a veil over the events of that sanguinary day without incurring the charge of partiality and connivance in favour of the actors. Though the indulgence shown to them here deserves to be ranked amongst the most exalted of those traits which distinguish the Revolution of 1820 from all others, it would be a violation of justice, and disregard of what we owe to posterity, silently to pass over the conduct of men, who in setting all the laws of humanity at defiance, have fixed a stigma on the faction, at whose instigation this horrible deed was perpetrated, which neither time can remove or remorse ever obliterate.
The crime of Freyre and his coadjutors was aggravated by the most refined hypocrisy: appearing as if they cheerfully participated in the general joy, directions were given for regulating the ensuing ceremony, and a formal invitation sent to the foreign Consuls, requesting them to be present with the civil and military authorities. An officer was also dispatched to San Fernando, to invite Quiroga and his staff. As Freyre had rejected a previous proposal to evacuate the Cortadura, and disband the corps formed for the express purpose of opposing the patriots, the General-in-chief, and his friends, were not without a suspicion that some treachery might be meditated, it was determined that a deputation, composed of Galiánó, Banos and Aguero, should represent the national army, at the approaching spectacle, while Quiroga remained at his post to watch their common interests.

After a great part of the night being passed in festivity and rejoicing, the morning of the 10th had scarcely dawned, before Cadiz exhibited a scene of indescribable animation: a rich display of tapestry or appropriate banners in all the balconies of this beautiful city, indicated the sentiments of the owners, while groups of both sexes filled the streets and places of worship, congratulating each other on the arrival of that day, which they had so long and ardently anticipated. When it was ascertained that the Deputation from La Isla had set out, the town gates were thrown open;
upon which the people, giving way to the first generous impulse, rushed in thousands towards the Cortadura. I cannot better describe the reception and subsequent treatment of the Patriots, than by an extract from the report made to Quiroga on their return to head-quarters: more especially as this document unites the importance of concurrent testimony to the simplicity of historical narration.

The report is dated on the 15th, and commenced as follows: "Charged by Your Excellency, on the invitation of Don Manuel Freyre, to repair to Cadiz, and make various arrangements relative to proclaiming the Constitution, we proceeded, accompanied by an officer, three orderlies, and a trumpet, to carry your wishes into effect. We had hardly reached the Torre Gorda, when an immense concourse of people were seen coming from the Cortadura, and pursuing their way to San Fernando. The air resounded with acclamations as we passed; nothing but expressions of affection and sympathy were heard; amongst others, they called us their liberators. Unwilling to change the plan agreed upon, of adhering to the forms of war, and advancing as a flag of truce, the trumpeter went forward to summon the Cortadura: his flourish being answered by an assurance that we should be received as friends, we entered the first barrier, and found the crowd increase at every step: all seemed to await our arrival with impatience; some threw their cloaks on the ground
to serve as carpets, while others came up to embrace us: although so many demonstrations of esteem could not but be flattering, we should perhaps have been weary of them, if the love of our fellow citizens could produce that effect. On reaching Cadiz, garlands of flowers were showered from the windows, and nothing was heard but long live the Constitution, the National Army, and its Chiefs!

"General Freyre received us politely, though with coldness: he expressed his wish that we should maintain our position in the Isla, alleging as a pretext, that the entry of the troops might occasion disputes, if not bloodshed, with those of the garrison. One of the party having replied that the soldiers of the National Army were no less brave than moderate, Freyre rejoined, that he thought the men of his corps merited equal praise: this was evidently not the General's real opinion, from the anxiety he betrayed to see us return. We were about to conform to his wishes, when the report of musquetry was suddenly heard, and we immediately after perceived numbers of both sexes running towards us, demanding, with loud cries, to be shielded from the soldiery, who were firing in every direction, and cutting down all before them. To this appeal, the General very coolly answered, 'make yourselves easy, my children; there is no danger, don't be afraid!' Meanwhile, the tumult augmented, and we heard the reports nearer: as to the Gene-
ral, he left us, apparently with a view of putting an end to the disorder; but, so far from doing so, he authorized, in some degree, by his presence, the horrors which followed.

"Posterity will shudder at the recollection of what occurred on this fatal day, still more frightful than the 2nd May, 1808: it will judge a set of men unworthy of a noble profession, who could thus assassinate and pillage a defenceless people, associating the King's name with the extermination of his subjects: what will be said of chiefs who directed these iniquitous proceedings; men, who, in applauding the executioners, reserved their censures for the victims! Finally, will not posterity execrate the memory of those who could invite their compatriots, on pretence, of celebrating a solemn act, involving the happiness of millions, merely to make them witnesses of robbery and murder?

"When the above dreadful scene commenced, we resolved to return, and were encouraged to do so by Freyre: two of the deputation ascended the roof of the house, followed by the Adjutant Sylva, who had come in our suite, and passing over adjoining terraces, found an asylum not far from the residence of the General: one of the party,* who attempted to escape through the front door, had to brave many of the assassins, whom he met.

* Galiano.
at every corner: fortunately, they did not recognize him: having, with the greatest difficulty, reached the house of Villavicencio, he met Freyre and Campana there. It was in vain that our companion claimed the rights due to his character of Delegate from the National Army: they replied, by stating, that no protection could be afforded by the laws, as these were not obeyed. Thus abandoned to his fate, he sought refuge with a friend, and did not rejoin us till eleven o’clock on the following day.

"When tranquillity was somewhat restored, we discovered the place of our retreat to the Government of Cadiz, if such it could be called, and peremptorily demanded the treatment due to us as the bearer of a flag of truce: the only answer, was a file of soldiers, with drawn swords, who seized and conducted us to the Castle of San Sebastian, where each was thrown into a separate cell, deprived of communication, and otherwise treated with every species of indignity. We remained in this state of solitary confinement until the night of the 14th, when, owing to farther intelligence from Madrid, our imprisonment was changed into simple detention, preparatory, as the keepers asserted, to our being exchanged for some of the officers arrested at Las Cabezas. This must have been a mere invention, as we were soon after embarked in a small boat, and landed on the beach near San Fernando.

"Such is the faithful detail of our sufferings;
nor can we conclude without observing, that it is by comparing the conduct of the troops employed to act at Cadiz with that of the army which some persons have designated as treasonable and rebellious, the justice of our cause, and nobleness of the means adopted to defend it, can alone be duly appreciated.” *

In addition to the foregoing particulars, confirmed in all respects by the accounts of others, it appears that the battalion of Guides and Lealtad, or Ferdinand’s own, made up of deserters and galley slaves, liberated from prison, were the instruments employed on this occasion; and that, being liberally supplied with brandy, they remained shut up in their barracks, till the Square of San Antonio was completely thronged, and the ceremony of proclaiming the political code about to commence. It was then that Campana issued his orders: in another instant the work of slaughter began: rushing into the square at different points, neither sex nor age was spared; those who could not escape were butchered on

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* Old Villavicencio also drew up a report of the events on the 10th, in which he attributed the conduct of the soldiery to their excessive loyalty, treating the whole as a mere popular tumult. Not less deeply implicated in the conspiracy than Freyre and Campana, Villavicencio, whose naval exploits never extended beyond the Bay of Cadiz, did his utmost to prevent the squadron from declaring, but in vain; as Quiroga opened a communication with it on the day of the massacre.
the spot, nor did the foreign Consuls escape without insult and violence. The number of victims, including killed and wounded, exceeded five hundred, and would have been much greater, had not the drunken state of the perpetrators prevented their taking a more regular aim. Not content with butchering old and young, women and children, the whole of the night, and part of the next day, were devoted to plunder; nor, with the exception of those who endeavoured to allay the tumult, was a person to be seen in the streets of Cadiz, which resembled a besieged city for some days after. Owing to the measures of precaution adopted by Freyre and his associates, the murderers were transferred to Xerez in the night, and replaced by the patriotic regiment of Valançay, thus escaping the fury of the populace.

To judge of the share which Freyre and Campana had in this sanguinary proceeding, it is necessary merely to read the following order of the day, issued immediately after the event: and some extracts from the communications of Freyre to the Minister at War.

"GENERAL ORDER.

"Cadiz, March 11th, 1820.

"Long live the King! long live Religion! honour to the brave and loyal troops forming the garrison of Cadiz! Their fidelity, and the decided manner in which the soldiers conducted themselves yesterday, merits the gratitude of all
the King's subjects, and that of the General who has the honour to command them.

"It is in the name of his Majesty, therefore, that I return the officers and other individuals of the garrison my warmest thanks, for their brilliant military conduct.

"(Signed) "Campana."

The correspondence of Freyre appeared in the Official Gazette here, on the 21st March: his first letter will be a sufficient specimen of the whole.

"Most Excellent Sir!

"The garrison of Cadiz, ever faithful to the King, our master, has, to my great satisfaction, just given the most public and affectionate proof of the submission, fidelity, and love it entertains for his august and Royal person; drowning, with its general cry of Long live the King! the effervescence of the people, who, collecting and mutinying yesterday in the Square of San Antonio, cried, Long live the Constitution! In this state of things, I succeeded, by traversing the streets and squares, in restraining those loyal troops, who, enraged with the rioters, fired in all directions, and on every group they saw, repeating nothing but the joyful cry of Live the King! At the present hour, half past three, tranquillity is, in some degree, restored; but I will still continue to make every exertion to re-establish order and discipline.
"With this courier, I send instructions to Seville, in order that it may follow the noble and just example set here; having already dispatched officers in various directions to give it publicity. Two of my aides-du-camp have gone to the army for the same purpose.

"Although I have not received answers to the letters and orders which I dispatched, I do not like to lose any time in depriving his Majesty of such pleasing and satisfactory intelligence; but when tranquillity is effectually restored, I will transmit all the details to your Excellency.

"Your Excellency will be pleased to make these circumstances known to his Majesty, assuring him of the fidelity of the troops, and that we only aspire to defend his rights, and secure tranquillity and order. God preserve your Excellency many years. (Signed) "MANUEL FREYRE."

"Head Quarters, Madrid, March 10th, 1820."

It is unnecessary to point out the false and equivocating tone of the above extraordinary communication, evidently written on the 11th, though dated on the day of the massacre. In a letter of the 14th, Freyre tells the Minister that he has been all day tranquilizing the perturbed spirit of the officers and men, who still continued to doubt the authenticity of the decrees published here on the 6th and 7th, declaring the King's adhesion, and convoking the Cortes: yet had these been circulated by Freyre himself, and posted up
round the town for several days before! Further on he says, "though I have not sent the decrees in question to Quiroga or Riego, I will do so the moment the divisions of the army are convinced it is the sovereign will that this should be the case, taking care to give an account of it to your Excellency, for the Government, and information of his Majesty." Alluding to the movement of O'Donnel, he observes, "as General Count Abisbal seems to be directing his way towards this province, I have caused the first division of the army to march, for the purpose of counteracting his projects. This shall continue until I know whether it is conformable to the wishes of the King, our master; if otherwise, I will treat him as a rebel."

Without dwelling on the conduct of Campana and Freyre, which implies guilt of the most palpable and premeditated description, throughout this atrocious and melancholy affair, the remarkable fact, that, in addition to his being suffered to remain so long at large, not one of the letters transmitted from the Court, in reply to Freyre, contained a disapproval of the proceedings, confirms the opinion universally entertained, of his crime being deeply participated in by others.

The similarity between the Cadiz massacre and an event which occurred in another country six months before, is so striking, as to have induced a belief that it was suggested by the latter: people moreover add, that the Serviles of Spain
were greatly encouraged by the impunity which attended the actors in the first memorable transaction. However improbable these conjectures may be, the subject is certainly worthy of attention; for if, as experience furnishes but too many proofs, crime be contagious amongst the members of a single community, why, according to the doctrine of analogies, which is susceptible of such extensive application, should not an act of unprecedented violence left unpunished in one country produce a corresponding effect in other states? History would cease to be instructive were these singular coincidences suffered to pass unnoticed.

It is needless to say that neither confidence nor tranquillity were established at Cadiz, till the removal of those who had destroyed both one and the other. This event took place on the 17th, when Freyre was replaced by General O'Donoju, while Don Cayetano Valdes, and Francisco de Jauregui succeeded Campana and Rodriguez, the King's Lieutenant.

The first care of the new Captain-General was, to make all the compensation in his power to the outraged patriots and inhabitants, by causing the Constitution to be proclaimed in a way more becoming the importance of the subject. To prevent the possibility of interruption, it was arranged that no person should appear armed, within the walls of Cadiz, during the ceremony. This was performed on the 20th, at noon, in the presence of the national army, which, led by Quiroga,
Riego* and the staff, made its triumphal entry that morning. After the civil and military authorities were sworn, they proceeded to the Cathedral, followed by the whole population; here, Te Deum was sung, and a solemn thanksgiving offered up to Almighty God, for the consummation of their wishes.

Pursuant to orders received on his appointment, that a rigorous inquiry should be forthwith instituted, relative to the late outrage, Freyre and his coadjutors were arrested and sent to the prisons of La Caraca, from which Calderon and his staff were liberated on the 20th: the culprits are still confined, and till overtaken by the too tardy sentence of the law, suffer under the awful anathema of public opinion.

The rising in Galicia and Navarre was almost simultaneous: Mina, who had eluded the vigilance of spies and informers, employed to watch his movements in France, left Paris early in February, and entering the valley of Bastan, on the 25th, found a numerous band of Patriots ready to receive him. His proclamation, dated on the 2nd March, besides declaring in favour of the Constitution, and Cortes, contained an energetic appeal to his former companions in arms, who were now called upon to join the standard of freedom, and

* The hero of Las Cabezas, accompanied by his able second in command, Evaristo de San Miguel, reached the Isla just in time to witness the final triumph of their companions.
imitate the heroic resolution of the National Army.

At Corunna, the garrison and inhabitants, headed by Don Carlos Espinosa, a colonel of artillery, rose on the 21st February, placed the Captain-General, and some other authorities, under arrest; after which the code was proclaimed, and those who had been shut up for political offences liberated. The conduct of Espinosa on this and all other occasions has raised him to an envied height amongst the Spanish Patriots. Having completed the insurrectionary movement, he was unanimously chosen to command the Galician army: a stranger to personal ambition, and actuated only by his zeal for the public good, Espinosa declined the proffered honour, on condition that it might be conferred on one whose services and talents rendered him more worthy of the office. He then named Feliz Acevedo, an officer of distinguished merit, who had partaken of the persecutions of 1814, and had lived in retirement ever since that year. The motives urged in favour of this nomination, being admitted, Acevedo came forth, and though hitherto unknown, soon proved himself equal to the task, fully justifying the disinterested recommendation of his friend.

* Several of the officers concerned in Poirier's affair regained their liberty on this occasion. Munoz Torrero, an eloquent member of the Cortes, and Don Manuel Acuna, a canon of Santiago, were also amongst the prisoners liberated in Galicia.
A Junta of the principal inhabitants, with Don Pedro Agar, the former Regent, as President, being installed, the General-in-chief departed, at the head of a flying column, to proclaim the Constitution throughout the province. This was effected at Santiago on the 24th, and at Orense the following day: although opposed by San Roman, a blustering Servile, entrusted with the military command in Galicia, the progress of Acevedo was triumphant, till the 9th of March, when he fell a victim to his intrepidity and misplaced confidence in a party of provincial militia, posted in the vicinity of a small town, called Padernalo. Unsuspicious of the treachery which was about to deprive Spain of his services, the Patriot chief advanced alone, and unarmed, to stay the flight of the enemy, calling upon the fugitives to join their brethren, and no longer serve as the blind instruments of selfishness and ambition. His address was scarcely ended, when some of the party, concealed behind a thicket, fired on the general, who fell mortally wounded. The assassins came forward, and were plundering their victim, but perceiving the patriots coming up, they fled, closely pursued by the Staff, and several rank and file of the column. The last words of Acevedo were devoted to his country: he was found still breathing, and had even strength enough to tell those who remained to soothe his dying moments: "go on my friends,
never mind my fate; let the national liberty be your watch-word!

The command having once more devolved on the gallant Espinosa, he drove San Roman and his adherents into Castile: a despatch came from the Servile leader, on the 12th, announcing the events at Madrid, and inviting the Patriots to swear to the Constitution; in order, as he said, that the wishes of His Majesty should be carried into effect! Although the bombastic communication of this modern Quixote was treated with the contempt it deserved, Espinosa did not omit the ceremony of swearing, or that of causing Te Deum to be sung. Transferring his head-quarters to Lugo on the 25th, the garrison were drawn up to receive the liberating army: a general review of the troops took place next day; after which, proclaiming the political code, and the performance of a solemn church service, followed by the usual rejoicings, terminated the revolution of Galicia.

The body of Acevedo, disinterred from the spot in which it had been deposited after his assassination, was conveyed to Corunna, where it received the honours of a public funeral, and general mourning. Like Porlier, too, the statue of Feliz Acevedo will also ornament the national pantheon.

Although Mina did not enter Pamplona before the 11th March, his presence in the neighbourhood, with a considerable force, obliged the
Captain-General, Espeleta, to open the gates much sooner than he had intended: a staunch partizan of the court, and surrounded by Priests, Espeleta betrayed the greatest unwillingness to embrace the constitutional system. The establishment of liberty in Navarre was celebrated by a series of festivities, and the liberation of many state prisoners; amongst whom was the celebrated Quintana, whose writings have done so much towards enlightening his countrymen.

The garrison of Zaragoza had risen and proclaimed the constitution on the 5th, without committing the slightest excess. An eloquent statement of the event was addressed to Ferdinand by the provincial Junta. This important paper also contained a true, though lamentable, picture of the wretched condition to which Spain was reduced under the late government, and is justly regarded as one of the most valuable historical documents of the day.

The people of Catalonia began to assemble, and declare themselves, the moment they heard of what had occurred in Aragon. Castanos, who had been suffered to occupy the place of Captain-General since Lacy's death, vainly endeavoured to check the popular feeling at Barcelona: as the means adopted for this purpose, that of arming the dregs of society, might lead to scenes of violence, which the constitutionalists had determined to avoid, a large party of the latter, uniting themselves to the garrison, sallied forth, and proclaim-
ed the code at Tarragona, Reus and several other towns. Meanwhile, the orders from Madrid reached Castanos, and were soon followed by the arrival of General Villacampa, who assumed the command, causing the constitution to be promulgated on the 12th. Driven from Barcelona by the people, Castanos came to Madrid, and notwithstanding the events of 1817, and his recent conduct, he has contrived to get himself appointed a Counsellor of State. With respect to Villacampa, his demeanour was in this, as in every former act of his civil and military career, entitled to the utmost praise, and found its reward in the approbation of his fellow citizens.

The inhabitants of Carthagena, Valencia, Murcia and Granada, animated by a similar spirit to those of Catalonia, declared in favour of freedom nearly on the same day. When Elio received the Minister's circular, he mounted his horse, and rode to the town-hall, whence, an immediate summons was sent to the Municipal body. Affecting the most ardent zeal in favour of freedom, the executioner of Vidal, young Beltran de Lis, and their companions, was about to proclaim the charter, when the people, who had by this time collected in great numbers, unanimously declared they would rather continue slaves than receive liberty from such contaminated hands! The past atrocities of Elio next rushed across every mind; unable to repress the indignation excited by a recollection of his barbarous con-
duct, he must have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury, were it not for the interposition of Count Almodovar; who being called upon, by the people, to exercise the functions of Captain-General till the King's pleasure should be known, insisted on their sparing the life of Elio; thus proving that there was no sacrifice of resentment and personal feeling they were not prepared to make in favour of liberty. Being conducted to his house, by a strong guard, the obnoxious General was removed to the Citadel, where he still remains, brooding over the innumerable sorrows which his former conduct has brought on Spain; and like the criminals of Cadiz, given up to the execration of mankind.

Eguia, a name scarcely less notorious that Elio, did all he could, as Captain-General of Granada, to impede the march of freedom: filling the prisons with victims, and encouraging the troops to make common cause with the servile faction; but being, at length, instructed to follow the example of others, he had not quite so much faith in the forbearance of the multitude as the hero of Valencia, and therefore wisely absconded; leaving the care of proclaiming the constitution to his second in command.

Having noticed some of those circumstances which marked the transition from slavery to freedom, in the Provinces, it remains for me to add a few facts relative to what took place in the capital previous to the adhesion of Ferdinand.