

great measure from the Arabs, who I believe do not follow that usage. They do not rise early in general, retiring at dark to their houses, like the orientals. Excepting in the metropolis, very little motion is seen in the streets after eight or nine o'clock, unless in the heat of summer. Amongst many minor differences between these nations, is a very marked one. In the absurd refinement of the old Italian *cortesía*, it is forbidden to mention the feet, but with an apology for so doing, as to an unclean part. In Spain it is the daily homage to the fair, and they cannot be alluded to, too frequently.

The rules of etiquette with women are extremely strict, and their attention to the calls of duty unbounded. I have known an instance of a party giving up a ball, at which they very much desired to be present, because a letter was wanting from a relation, residing at Paris, during the cholera, and they thought it proper to do so, although they had no reason to believe him ill.

The cheerfulness with which all ranks and classes bear misfortune and privation of any kind, and reduction of circumstances, which are too common in every part of Spain, is beyond belief. A complaint is never heard. There is an innate dignity in the people, which prevents their ever making any; and in the confidence of unbounded intimacy they always observe this, perhaps the only reserve.

In the places where there certainly is vice, as is the case in one or two well known cities, it is so far from being general, that families and entire circles live in the midst of apparent corruption, the breath of slander never assailing them. The tolerance shown to women who are incorrect is one cause of the errors which are current respecting Spanish society in general. This may be wrong, but it does not suppose vice on the part of others.

Notwithstanding this tolerance, and that there is no pre-

tension to do it, a very great check is kept by the women, who really lead and have influence in society, over their own sex; and no woman who is incorrect is looked on in the light of those who are otherwise. The same may be said of both sexes. No man has really weight or influence, if he be not of moral conduct, and it is a point of the utmost importance, to those who reside amongst them in official situations, or who require public support and countenance, and are in contact with society at large. The extreme freedom of speaking, especially on subjects which the women for their own sakes should not allow to be alluded to, has also caused much error. This style of conversation is highly objectionable, on the score of taste, but it does not constitute vice; neither does a polite or easy repulse of an improper demand, instead of the indignant feeling it excites in other countries, prove that the individual is corrupt.

The public eye is never offended in Spain, by those violations of decency, seen in most other countries, in the individuals who live by vicious habits, as is so generally the case. In the capital, and in the seaport towns, there is, of course, as every where else, abundance of it; but in general it is quite otherwise, and you may see in one evening ten times more disgusting vice in London, than in the whole of Spain, in a long period. The distress and misery of the times, with the passion for dress, which is the great cause of female profligacy all over Europe, no doubt operates in Spain, and instances of their effect may be found without difficulty. With equal ease the most noble and disinterested superiority to temptation may be found.

What has been observed respecting the situation of the sexes in Spain is confirmed by observation of the habitual deportment to each other. In no country are the sex treated with more real deference or respect, at the same time with the greatest freedom and unreservedness of man-

ners. The same degree of respect never accompanies relaxation of morals, nor is it compatible with it. The young people of opposite sexes, in circles where they are intimate, live on terms of freedom, with the most perfect tact and delicacy, not only compatible with virtue, but incompatible with any other habits. In elder life the same unbounded intimacy often continues, and it is common to meet with people who have seen each other every day for many years. When once in intimacy nothing can be more delightful than the converse of the real and well educated Spaniards. Cervantes has laid down an axiom, which regulates all the conduct of life, as regards manners; "Sin discrecion no hay gracia," meaning that in hilarity and unreservedness, there is a line, which must not be passed. It is the knowledge of this line which constitutes the charm and grace of the national manners. In general, as before observed, the greatest deference is always shown by one person or class to another. This and the respect due to self, constitutes real dignity, of which you see more than in all other countries, and which seems natural to the people.

The most marked and striking difference is observable in the conduct of the French, in the same class of society, who are seen in the world, as every one familiar with that country has noticed. In the manners of them and of the Italians, but in a much less degree, is seen the difference between mere mechanical attention and politeness, and that founded on real gallantry and respect, as is universal in Spain. The stories related of the remains of chivalric feeling to the sex are perfectly true. The remains of the manners of that age, which were shared equally by Moors and Christians, are strongly mixed in the customs of every part of the country. Nothing is seen in any part of Europe like the gallantry of the manner the *majos* in Andalusia woo and court their *novias*, in the *fiestas* or convivial meet-

ings. The people in the south of France, and in Italy, who practise the same modes, are clowns and rustics compared to them. The women are not pushed out of their sphere and placé as in some countries, where the manners are more modern, and their deportment is always easy, natural, and most feminine. Their voices are occasionally strong, but are always contrasted with the tones of the men, whose intonation is even deeper than that of the Italians. In many parts, especially in the Moorish provinces, are the sweetest voices in the world. There is one description of voice, of melting and liquid tones, varying from the softest to the strongest, at the will of the director, which is quite peculiar to the country. The voices are generally in perfect harmony and keeping. The contrast of the masculine manners and hoarse voice of the dowager, with the lisping accents of the effeminate and sapless stripling, are never heard, even at Madrid, where all innovations are so gladly imported. In some instances in the upper ranks, women are seen, whose deportment is exactly what we imagine of the high-born dames of chivalry, who, if they ever existed elsewhere, have now disappeared. They are rare even in Spain; but they may be found in the south. It is needless to observe, that the women possessing these claims to admiration, must be virtuous.

An instance occurred lately of the power of these women in a very difficult case. A man was condemned to death, for a political offence. His wife solicited an audience of the King, which was granted, as customary, in such cases, when she pleaded his cause with such effect, that he was not only pardoned, but an employment ordered to be given to him. In a great many instances which came to my knowledge whilst in the country, the address of the women who repaired to the capital for that purpose, procured

pardon or commutation of punishment, for offences which were seldom forgiven.

The servants and inferiors in rank are treated with the utmost kindness and humanity, by all ranks of society. No one in Spain would serve on other terms. No abuse of this licence is ever seen, and they are in general extremely faithful. The penal laws against robbery by servants are so severe, that they are seldom prosecuted when such cases occur, and I have heard that the law ought to be altered, in order to make it efficacious, but these examples are rare. During the time I was in Spain, where I was very much exposed to depredation, I never lost a single article of any kind.

Attention to invalids is common in Spain, and no women in the world excel them in assiduity or delicacy in the performance of those offices, which are only effectually rendered by the female sex. I was an accidental witness to an instance of the unaffected and natural manner in which these customs are grafted on private life.

I went to pay a visit to a family of high birth and opulence, who had always lived in possession of the highest official rank and consequence. The lady of the house appeared in dishabille; she apologized for the absence of her daughter, saying that an old servant, who had brought up the whole family, and for whom they had the greatest regard, had been taken ill, and that she had left her applying leeches to assuage the pain. Soon afterwards the young lady, who was a person of distinguished grace and elegance, came in, also in dishabille. She reported to her mother, in a low voice, that the leeches had taken, and then, remarking to me that I was to look on their receiving me thus as a compliment, entered into conversation as usual.

Among the lower classes, and those a little more ele-

vated in the scale, local attachments are probably stronger than with any other people. They far exceed the feeling so vaunted by the Swiss, and the whole character of the nation is tinged with it. It prevents their travelling or emigrating, but from necessity, and is a powerful bar to their entering the military life, which they would seldom do voluntarily, and it occasions the habit of desertion so frequent in their armies. In the lower orders the effect of hearing of their native place, of any stranger going or having been there, is quite singular; and I have known in families the servants called, to tell them that the *caballero* was acquainted with their home, which always excites a feeling of pleasure; nor is there any surer preliminary to the good will of these people, than the praising or expressing interest about their birth place. This amiable feeling extends some distance upwards in society, and you frequently hear men taking the first opportunity of saying, amongst strangers, with heartfelt pride, *soy hijo de*—"I am son of such a place." In the upper ranks, as in other countries, these feelings are more deadened, or the expression of them is withheld.

In no country is the power of prescriptive custom in society so strongly and deeply marked. It is one of the indelible marks remaining of ancient liberty; the laws voluntarily imposed for its own guidance, being far stronger in a free people, than any imperial or royal decrees. In a sultry day, in the height of summer, the men of Burgos, who are amongst the *rancio*, old and pure races of Spain, were seen promenading in heavy black cloaks. On being asked the reason for wearing so inconvenient a costume, *Aqui es costumbre*, "It is customary here," was the laconic and expressive answer. I witnessed a bull fight, in the depth of winter, which had been ordered on the occasion of the marriage of the King. A piercing cold pre-

vailed, which made the attendance very thin. It was accompanied by a strong wind, blowing quite upon the *sombra* or shaded part, where the president sat. He remained uncovered the whole time, and no doubt would have sacrificed his life, which he risked, rather than depart from ancient usage, as the representative of the King.

A great deal is said abroad of the fanaticism and bigotry of the Spaniards. During the time I was in Spain, when I had very ample opportunities of seeing the people, I never met with an instance, in clergy or laity of any description, of either one or other. I have seen many instances of ill behaviour on the part of foreigners, but never the least on that of the natives. The spirit of the age and greater intercourse with strangers may have done something to produce this feeling, but I believe it has always been so. What has been taken for intolerance, is more probably the severity of custom, and the strictness, common to all ranks, in conforming to established etiquette. The saying of the people of Burgos may be taken as a motto of the country, and the "aqui es costumbre" will explain many things which have been attributed hastily to other motives. There are some customs yet preserved, to which a stranger is expected to conform, but as a matter of good breeding more than any thing else, as the tolling of the bell at sunset, when every one stops for an instant, and the effect in the paseos is extremely beautiful, especially at Seville, where groupes of the peasants are seen kneeling, on the bank of the river. The similar practice at noon seems on the decline. The kneeling to the host is now not expected, but it is customary to take off the hat. I cannot conceive the objection made by many people to these forms, which are only matters of politeness, and deference to the customs of a most polished people, and they certainly have the spirit of religion in them. The arresting the attention in the middle of amuse-

ment, or distraction of worldly cares, and reminding you that the day is at hand when they must cease, is religion, although we may not commune with those whose custom it is. The same may be said of the service in the churches. If people chuse to attend during religious ceremonies, they ought either to conform to the manners of those engaged in them, or take another time for their visit. If it were the custom to admit strangers to our places of worship, we should not like to see them standing up, or hear them talking during the communion service; yet this is constantly done by foreigners in Spain, and they may be even heard to boast of doing what, to say the least, is ill breeding. Another simple and religious ceremony, in use in this country, is the proclaiming by a bell tolling in the parish church, whenever it is announced that an individual has departed. The number of times the bell is struck, according to the sex, and the particular mode of doing it, distinguish it from the other modes of ringing. Whatever may be thought abroad, the Spaniards at present are very much like other nations in religious feeling. There is a great deal of unaffected piety, some irreligion, and some bigotry, the average being as elsewhere. The classes may be easily pointed out. The religious part are the heads of families, and the upper and well educated members of society. The irreligious are the same classes as hold these doctrines in France, and Germany, and Italy. The bigotry is amongst the peasantry and a few others.

Although the lines of demarcation in society are strongly marked, and the commercial class and others above them, have little intercourse with each other; in the sea ports and commercial towns, these different ranks meet in public and in their amusements, without difficulty, and without the slightest pretension on the part of the one to despise, or the other to lower themselves, by seeking to push out of

their sphere, which cause such ridiculous scenes in other countries. No undue assumption of rank in Spain would be of any use; the lines and rules of society are fixed, and a man who should arrogate to himself any claim of nobleness, superior to those about him, would be laughed to scorn; much less is the miserable and contemptible system of coteries, and of belonging to sets, huddling together, and shunning contact with the rest, known in Spanish society. The women, in public, are models of ease, and grace, and self-possession. A lady at a ball must dance with any one who asks her, but no acquaintance ensues unless particular introduction, or circumstances produce it. No dowagers are seen watching and calculating their daughters' chances, and eyeing with jealous looks those who may approach, whether they weigh in the balance, and may be permitted, or are to be judged presumptuous, and repulsed for daring to do so. So free are the peasantry and lower orders in their bearing, that if a native of an unknown region were conducted over Europe, and desired to point out the people who had the most of freemen in their manners, he would unquestionably point out, without hesitation, the Spaniards.

The mild and unassuming manners which prevail throughout all ranks, and the mutual respect every individual in all classes has for the others, preserve them from the churlish feeling which is a set off, so generally, to the independence of the northern nations. In humble life, I have frequently had opportunities of observing the French, and other foreigners, in contact with the natives, and in presence of their superiors in rank. All of them yield to the unaffected dignity and simplicity of demeanor of the Spaniards, who are distinguished from any others in an instant. Many circumstances concur to keep up the harmony of the machine of society, of which every part is

duly attuned. The people of every rank meet in the churches, at the public festivals, and almost invariably in the paseos, on the days set apart for public recreation. Even at Madrid, which is the least Spanish of any place, the Grandees go as regularly to the Prado as any other class, and mix indiscriminately with the crowd. So little is the wretched system, borrowed from the old French nobility, and introduced of later years in England, known, of secluding and separating parts of society from the others, that a nobleman would be considered wanting to his place, if he did not appear like the rest.

If a grandee be travelling, and pass through a room where peasants are dining, as he constantly must, he will be invited to partake, not as it would be done elsewhere, but in a manner as if he was really an equal, and he must give a civil answer, or be considered to be *sin educacion*. At the *plaza de toros*, or in the Prado, if any one ask him for a light, he must take his cigar from his mouth, and give it, under the same penalty. The peasant who receives this attention has his manners formed accordingly; he is always in his place, neither forgetting what is due to his superior in station, nor to himself. It is owing to these circumstances, that there is so little jarring, or jealousy of rank amongst the real Spaniards. Although I have heard great latitudes in political and religious and various other doctrines, I never heard any one speak to the prejudice of the nobility, nor do I believe any such feeling exists. If it does, it is on the part of some who have lived in France and imbibed their prejudices. This part of the machine is worked in a similar manner to that described in the account of the church, and is founded on a perfect knowledge of the state of society and of the people. Had these manners prevailed in France, no burning of chateaux, or other horrors, would in all probability have taken place. At Madrid, although the

royal family mix very little with society, and the old rigorous etiquette is kept up, the King is abundantly accessible to his subjects. The magnificent chapel of the palace is always open during the time of mass, although it is in the interior of the building, and every one is freely admitted. The only condition of entry is to be decently dressed, and without a *capa*.

There are steps taken in every part to keep up and augment those most useful appendages to large cities, the *pas-eos*, or public walks. There is scarcely a place, where additions or new plans are not carrying on, amid all the distress of the times. What is done is executed with a degree of taste combined with grandeur and solidity, which are admirable, and peculiar to the country. A failure or badly executed plan is never seen, and the public have the full and entire benefit of every thing that is done. The walks of Granada, Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia, and Barcelona, in particular, are unequalled by those of any provincial cities in Europe, and all ranks and classes are seen mingled, on public days, as at Vienna. It is not improbable that the language itself assists in this sort of equality amongst the different ranks of society. I heard a foreigner, of extremely aristocratic ideas, remark as a *defect* in the language, that there was no difference between the style of speaking of high or low. In fact, the *grandees* of Spain, and the peasants of La Mancha, or the raggamuffins and tatterdemalions of Segovia or Avila, are scarcely to be distinguished in their language. It is rather better than the forced and unnatural manner now practised by many persons in England, in order to affect a superiority, by corrupting the language, where none exists. As far as Spanish is concerned, it is to be hoped it will remain as it is, unless they can make it still more pure. The process alluded to resembles endeavouring to turn gold into copper.

The amusements at present are the theatres, which are almost universally fallen into discredit, and are so little frequented, that they can scarcely exist, excepting in a very few places. Music is very much cultivated, and the state seems increasing. I was lodged in a fonda, in a provincial town, where the daughters played the piano in very good style, having a regular master. Public balls are given in some of the large towns, and in others, subscription balls, which are the most pleasant part of general society. Concerts and private dances are also given, but at present more rarely. The jealousy of the government has in a great measure prevented masked balls of late, although they are a very favorite amusement. To these assemblies, in the provinces, there is no difficulty in obtaining access; and they generally see strangers willingly who are recommended, often showing a predilection for them. It is far otherwise at Madrid, as before mentioned, where the prejudices of ignorance are in full force.

The ancient costume of Spain is fast abolishing, and in another generation bids fair to disappear entirely. At Seville, the women who followed the court at the time of the entry of the duc d'Angoulême, carried the heterogeneous mixture which is seen in the walks at Madrid, and it was immediately adopted. At Cadiz it was maintained until the French garrison took possession, when the *basquina* disappeared, notwithstanding the known hostility of the Gaitanas to the invasion. A most ungraceful costume was substituted, which destroys the figure as much as the ancient dress displayed it, and reduces all forms to the same level. Some few have contrived to mix the two, preserving a mixture of the new and ancient dress with consummate taste, but these instances are unhappily rare. The mantilla yet maintains its place in the provinces, and even at Madrid it is by far the most common dress. Several reasons concur

to make it probable this will remain, and the most beautiful costume yet invented by woman be preserved. The chief is the rigorous prohibition of entering churches otherwise than veiled. This is so strictly enforced, that ladies have been obliged to leave them, who had inadvertently disobeyed the injunction. As there are many reasons for its continuance, and the church are not much disposed to innovation, there is not the slightest chance of this order being relaxed. Another powerful reason is the feeling of the middle and lower ranks of society, who dread the introduction of a costume which they could not afford to wear. I have heard the ladies confess frequently, that this alone prevented them going to the paseo with bonnets; as they would wish to do, and in some parts, still, the populace will not allow a foreign costume to be seen. The attachment of the women to a head dress as ungraceful and unbecoming as their own is the contrary, is surprising. Should it ever become general, the glory of Spain, the carriage of the head, which is produced by the adjusting the mantilla, will depart; and those who habitually wear the bonnet, may even now be distinguished from the others. The comb was in disgrace, when I left Spain, by the example of some one who had been abroad, but the change was not universal, and so bad a taste cannot in all probability long maintain its ground. The Andaluzas, who ought to be the last to adopt foreign styles, are amongst the leaders in favouring innovations, and heterodox doctrines. Many of them have the same unnatural hostility to the national costume as the peasants have to the trees, and, if they could, would extirpate it entirely. The passion for foreign hairdressing is extraordinary. The figures of the latest mode of coiffure, in lithography, are sent to Madrid, and immediately circulated and adopted. So rigorous is fashion in this respect, that in one of the largest cities in Spain, there was only one man

who was considered competent to prepare for a ball, whilst in every family, at least one of the party could dress hair much better, in their own graceful and simple mode. An instance is recorded in the same city, of a party who had actually given up a journey in order to be present at a ball. When the time came they were dressed excepting the hair. The coiffeur not arriving, rather than not go in the mode, although it was entirely a private meeting, they absolutely gave it up, after sitting in full dress till past midnight, and this for the sake of a preposterous fashion, in which they were disfigured by quantities of pomade and other matters, to produce a heavy imitation of the natural effect of the comb on their lovely tresses. In general, the dressing their beautiful hair is an amusement to the young women, who frequently visit each other for the purpose, and pass a portion of time in this harmless recreation.

The monotony of society in Madrid has been lately broken in upon, and the foundation of a new system attempted to be laid, by a character who, by his own account, was influenced by the most patriotic feelings, and desired to show the rest of Europe that his country was not so far behind as many persons had asserted. His early history and origin are rather obscure. He was partner in a house, of which the principals were obliged to expatriate themselves, for transactions which made their remaining in Spain impossible. This individual contrived to stay behind, and commenced lending money on pledges, a most lucrative business, in a country where the rate of interest is so high that a man who has the misfortune of being obliged to borrow a small sum, is frequently ruined for life. I have heard instances, where a monthly interest at the rate of more than two hundred per cent per annum was paid. Being already established during the invasion of the French, he was favored by those disastrous times, and made a

considerable fortune, forming a sort of connexion in society with many who were obliged to him for assistance. He was naturally desirous of emerging from the sea of mud in which he was entangled, like some of the spirits of Dante, by his early history and occupation, and by circumstances in his personal history, which would have effectually kept him down, in most places. He could not however, attempt to commence operations at Madrid, but repaired to Paris, where he gave entertainments on a large scale; and to London, where, according to his own account, he made a great figure, and was considered a grandee of Spain, and a lion of the season, rivalling even Puckler Musker himself; the parties being ignorant that the possession of wealth was strong evidence in these times against his being of that rank, and that his claims were exactly of the sort to invalidate his title. From thence he returned to his own country, and determined to make the novel experiment, of raising himself and playing a part in society, where it is so fixed and regular, that such an attempt might be compared to those disruptions in the physical world, caused by bodies from beneath forcing their way, and altering the situation of the strata they traverse. The great difficulty was to know how to proceed, in order to procure the attendance of people at his fêtes. It was very doubtful who would visit him. In the provinces it would have been impossible to succeed. In the mixed and heterogeneous society of Madrid, it had a partial success, being favored by an unusually dull season. He sent invitations to many eminent persons, who in general never noticed them. Letters were forwarded in great numbers to Paris, and to other places in Europe; and time was given for the arrival of personages who, it was supposed, would order post horses forthwith, and travel to Madrid, in the depth of winter, when the Somosierra was covered with

snow, at the bidding of this illustrious individual, to meet persons who considered themselves insulted by his presumption in inviting them. In order to give eclat, and to settle the unsteady, as well as to entrap the unwary, in an evil hour, it was given out that a branch of the royal family, who occasionally go to private entertainments, would be present. As in Madrid, like other places, the great are said to be quite as curious to know what is passing in the little world, as the others are to know what is going on amongst those above them, this was soon carried to the ears of the personage in question, who immediately sent a gentleman of her suite to the usurer, charged to acquaint him in her name, that reports had reached her, of his having asserted, that she intended to visit him; that she felt herself dishonored by such a report being circulated, and that at his peril, he must instantly go to every house where he had said it, and contradict it in her name. This man is a solitary instance, in these days, of a person, enriched by public robbery, making a display of his wealth. In general the rule is inversely. The same infelicity that attends all public administration and management extends to this. The money obtained in whatever manner rarely returns to circulation, but is hoarded up, or transported to other countries. This class of persons, in general, affect greater simplicity than their neighbours, rather than greater splendour. There are many reasons for this, but the chief is that it was difficult, in these times, for a man known to be rich, to escape persecution. Riches had exactly the same effect as in Turkey, and precisely the same system was followed of secreting them. In other respects, there is a wide difference in the history of these men. In some countries, their descendants, and often the persons themselves, as soon as they have effected their object, turn round, and vehemently oppose the system by

means of which they have emerged from obscurity, as if to conceal their origin. In Spain it is not so. They are obliged to remain as they were, the contrary course being dangerous, and of no use, where society is in general fixed and stable.

The history of this man is given with a detail not merited by the individual himself, but to show the breaking in upon old established custom. A few years ago, the thing was impracticable, and he must have remained amongst his money bags. If the system be changed or modified, so that it is no longer unsafe to appear rich, and that those who have acquired wealth, can safely display it, it is not unlikely that a foundation may be laid for a new class of society. There are not wanting, in all the large towns, people who are rich from success in various ways, but have no means of employing their capital, and are afraid to exhibit it. There are appearances of such a change taking place; the prestige of high birth is fast passing away, and heavy complaints are made of the disposition to substitute money for armorial quarterings, and the decreasing respect paid to real birth, by the worshippers of the new order of things.

The prejudices, by which the pure Spanish blood is considered superior to that of the Moorish or mixed, is one of the curious characteristics of the old customs of the country. The Moors had certainly an impure religion, and were finally unfortunate in their magnificent conquest, but if lineage be any thing, the blood of Arabia must, in the history of the human race, rank higher than any from Europe.

The young ladies in the cities, begin to contract, with feeble opposition from their elders, those *mésalliances*, which were impracticable, in the better families, a generation back. These are, however, exceptions; in general the

rule is otherwise; with the nobility there is a sudden termination of the chain of society, and a vast hiatus separates these castes from the mercantile part of the community. The want of a real middle class is felt in common with all the old monarchies in Europe. The absurdity of a system, which makes peasants and beggars noble, as is the case in some parts, whilst the most opulent merchants, or *labradores* are excluded, is quite evident. Until lately there were distinctions in the mode of execution of common criminals; the noble, on exhibiting his patents of descent, being allowed the privilege of the *garrote*, or being strangled, instead of hanged! It was made in an execution at Madrid for a common murder in 1830. It is however now altered, and the *garrote*, divided into classes, I believe regulated by the garment worn, is now the general mode of supreme punishment for civil offences. This commutation of the mode of punishment was given to the Queen, as an act of grace to the monarchy, on the second child being born in 1832! It cannot be denied that the last is the better mode of punishment. The culprit is seated in a chair, with a large pad before his neck, which is attached to a powerful screw with handles behind. When the signal is given, the screw is tightened, and in an instant the office is executed with the same rapidity as the guillotine, without the offensive parts of that mode of punishment.

In familiar intercourse with this people, much amusement is afforded, by the rallying of the inhabitants of the different parts of the kingdom on their respective peculiarities. As many of these are founded on what is really the basis of the character of the inhabitants, it may be worth while to state the opinions in common currency amongst them. The Andaluzes afford more amusement than any other people in Spain. They are celebrated for the gentility and gallantry of their manners, for great volubility

of speech, and are inimitable in what are called *gracias*, or witty sayings. They are accused of being fickle and unsteady, but it is doubtful if they are more so than others. They are, however, most unquestionably given to amusement and enjoyment rather than labour, and to dress, and social relaxation. I was in a large hotel in the north, where a picador, an Andaluz, was confined some days, from wounds he had received at Pamplona. With his *gracias* he so captivated the numerous females in the house, that their assiduity in attending him was quite extraordinary. Whenever he was moved about, every one in the place made a point of attending; and his cure was very much accelerated by the care bestowed on him, in a part where they habitually ridicule his country.

The lower orders of Valencians, whatever be the cause, are not liked by the other Spaniards, and lie under an universal prejudice, of being unfaithful and treacherous. Certainly, in their manners, there is a jealous distrust and suspicion observable, which is found nowhere else, and which is the aversion of the real Spaniard, whose character is quite the reverse. In the valuable quality of industry, however, they are amongst the first, and their country is excelled by none in Europe, in agricultural skill and management. The upper ranks are considered amongst the best in Spain, and the old Spanish society is to be found there in equal degree with any other.

The Murcians are little mentioned; the kingdom is small, and they are probably to be placed in the same class with the Valencians, but they appeared to me to possess the African character even still more strongly, and the ancient uses are still more strictly kept. The late innovations in dress are not tolerated, and no women can appear but in *mantilla*; an example it were very much to be wished the populace would follow in all parts. The reason of

this country and Valencia retaining the Moorish character so much more than Andalusia, in some respects, seems to be that they were subdued more early, and remained quiet afterwards. From that circumstance they were permitted to retain the costume, which is nearly the same as in Africa. The Andaluzes not only resisted longer, but were subdued at an unfortunate period, when the tyranny of the Inquisition was coming into play, and the system was adopted of forcing them to renounce their Moorish dress and habits together, which destroyed the industry and energy of the people, and has made the country the desert it now is. It is true the banishment of the Moriscos extended equally to Valencia, but the jealousy was much less of that province, and the condensed tyranny of those who devised the plans of governing the kingdom by religious dogmata, in the manner of the Mahometans, but with less tolerance, was poured on the unhappy region of the west. The races of Moors mentioned by Cervantes, I think, are three. I should imagine they are those of Andalusia; of Valencia and Murcia; and of Aragon, all of which are very different from each other. The middle race are the only portion which are really industrious in the present day. The Moriscos are accused by some of the Spanish writers of that time, as if it were a fault, of being thrifty and parsimonious, and saving the money they made, instead of squandering it as fast as it came. I believe this habit still prevails amongst the people of Valencia; but in Andalusia it is just the reverse, and the beau ideal of these writers is now the general custom, as there cannot be a more thoughtless or improvident race than they are in general become.

The Catalans are a quite different race from any of the rest of Spain. The early habits of republicanism and independence, and of industry and activity resulting from them, have never been changed, and they are one of the

most industrious races in Europe, patient and unintermitting in their pursuits, and unchanging in their habits. They are perhaps the most valuable population of the whole, in an economical point of view, and if the rest of Spain resembled their province, it would hold the station it ought to occupy in Europe. They are found every where, but have the reluctance of all other people in fixing permanently out of their country. They would be by far the best materials for emigration, and colonization of the deserts of the south and centre. The cottage economy system, of working by the women and children, is better understood than in any other part, and they are seen sitting at the doors in the manner of the Tuscans, working embroidery for sale, in the intervals of more serious labour. There are peculiarities in the manners and character, which excite the amusement of all other classes of Spaniards. Their dialect is extremely uncouth, and their manners rough and unpolished, compared to the greater part of the others. They are extremely close, parsimonious, and reserved in their dealings. They congregate together in the manner of the Scotch, and Swiss, whom they very much resemble, and in all dealings where they at present exercise influence over the government, stick together, just in the manner of our northern neighbours. In fact they represent the industrious and commercial Scotch in England, and the Piedmontese or Lombards, in Italy. There is a sort of ridicule attached to the name, on account of these peculiarities, and the term of *Catalan cerrado*, close Catalan, is a current expression to designate those who have the national habits. They frequently answer, on being asked what country they are of, which is a common question in Spain, "Soy de la corona de Aragon," I belong to the kingdom of Aragon, knowing the amusement the name of Catalan often affords.

There is a great variety in the wide province of Aragon. In the upper part, near the Pyrenees, the people are a quite different casté from those on the Ebro, who are a savage Moorish race, the most ill looking of all the people in Spain. The capital is much like the other large towns, the people being highly polished in their manner, but in the interior of the country, they are behind, and are a point of comparison, for rudeness, to the rest. It is probable that in the small towns, which have scarcely any communication with the rest, when the people are occasionally thrown into society, their deportment may be tinctured with local prejudice, and have given rise to this reputation. The small towns, in most parts, have a petty *noblesse*, or *hidalguita*, a kind of squirearchy; gentry of pride, ignorance and poverty, only differing from the peasantry around them, as they are really more ignorant, and less useful to the community. This class, which is the worst in Spanish society, abounds, it is said, in Aragon, and they are a fertile subject for ridicule. I have heard the expression applied to something said extremely *grossier*, "That might do for a *capitan de dragones* from Aragon," but this proceeds probably from the little intercourse and knowledge of many parts of it. I know one place, however, in high Aragon, where there are petty *noblesse*, exactly in the style of the worst description of Spanish pride, which is seldom met with in the present day, and must be studied in these distant spots.

The Navarrinos are extremely patriotic, frank to rudeness, but honest and trustworthy, and moderately industrious, extremely proud and punctilious in their bearing. In other respects, they resemble the rest of the people in the northern provinces. The upper ranks are better educated than in most places, and the intercourse with France gives

them facilities for acquiring information. The people of the free provinces are described in the account of their country. They are perfect republicans, and of the best style, being more polished, and free from the coarse rudeness, vulgarity, and self interestedness of the common Swiss. They are proud in their bearing, especially the Biscayners, who are all noble by birthright. The country abounds in industry, but in great measure it is due to the women, who are excelled in this respect by none on earth. The men are given to indulgence at the table, and are wine drinkers, which is unusual in Spain. These people would make admirable subjects for colonization, as would most of those from the northern part of Spain; but it would be necessary to enable them to preserve their customs and laws as much as possible, which is difficult. They are found in great numbers at Madrid, in confidential situations, as servants and the like, but they always retain the desire of returning to their native mountains. In grace their women rival the Andaluzas, and their *basque* accent and the sweetest voices in the world give a charm to their appearance and manners. The Basque women have, in general, clear and brilliant complexions, and the most beautiful hair in the world. From some peculiarity of temperament, their teeth are seldom good, and decay early; the reverse being the case with the Moorish races, who have the most beautiful teeth, derived from their Arab ancestors. The walk of the Andaluzas is a short step, the feet straight, and the weight bearing on the outer part of the foot. When hurrying home, as they may be seen in the southern towns, if taken by rain, or going out *tapada*, their steps are merely quickened, but not lengthened, and the perpendicular of the body and head never left. The Basque race have more of a striding gait, and are easily known in any part of Spain by

a peculiar mode of throwing the leg forward. The carriage of the head is, however, second only to that of the Andalusians.

The Asturians are found almost every where and many principal families in the new world derive their origin from these wild mountains. They possess the sterling qualities necessary to secure confidence in their employers. Notwithstanding the rudeness of the peasantry, this province has given its full quota to the republic of arts and letters, from the earliest to the very latest period.

The Galicians are a most laborious and emigrating race, exercising the laborious occupations the indolent and enervated inhabitants of the large cities cannot perform themselves. They represent the Irish in London, the Savoyards and Auvergnats at Paris, and the inhabitants of Romagna and the Abruzzi at Rome. They make money, often fortunes, by their industry, always returning at certain intervals to their native provinces, in the manner of the Italians, Swiss, and others in that part of Europe. They are rough in manners, but trustworthy and honest to the last degree, and would make admirable colonists. The ancient government should have taken these people to settle the Sierra Morena, and other parts, instead of Germans, who were extinct in the next generation; they were in no respects better, and a less strong and muscular race than the natives, and less capable of resisting the climate. The roughness of the manners of the Galicians is proverbial, and a constant comparison in conversation. I have heard the term, *es agallegado*, he is somewhat Galician, applied to a coarse man in society.

The Estremeños, or people of Estremadura, are a decaying people, and can be studied with difficulty in their ruined cities and towns. They are highly polished, and probably

give as good specimens of individuals as any part of Spain. No industry of any kind exists in the country, which is fast proceeding to utter ruin.

According to the Castilians, all the virtues are concentrated in the plateau which forms their country, whence they are doled out in scanty portions to the various races we have enumerated, who surround their favoured region, and a Valencian, a Catalan or an Andaluz are selected in turns to "point their morals or adorn their tales." These claims of superiority are however by no means admitted by the others, and the grounds on which they found them are not at all clear. They assert that they are more frank and honest than many others, and possess more sterling qualities. Probably some of the best specimens of old Spanish character are, on the whole, to be found in old Castile, where the physiognomy is also different, and strongly resembles what may be the original or mixed Roman race, prior to the entry of the Visigoths and Moors, who have supplanted or mingled with almost all the others.

The strongest barriers to innovation are to be found in old Castile, where the "laudatores temporis acti," and those who believe that every change is a deterioration, are entrenched in their strongest holds. From the ruins of their decayed and crumbling towns, which are fast following the fate of the numbers which have perished, and been replaced by *despoblados*, they hailed the deliverer of the country, the hero of the Trocadero, to save the "santa religion," and give them back the monks, the only solace of their lives. In these old towns, which resemble the state of desolation of places mentioned in Scripture, where "the fox may shortly be expected to look out of the windows," may be seen ancient men, in the humblest attire, saluting each other "señor marquez," or by other titles, as in

Sicily. The manners in these old towns, are the perfection of human kind. Their polish, and natural ease and gentility cannot be surpassed. They are laconic, having a singular talent in saying "just enough," neither wasting words, nor leaving their speech short of its necessary expression. The strongest attachment to ancient usages, is found every where; and if precedents for ancient customs were required, in no part could they be more readily obtained; nor are any people in the world more bigotted to the usages of their ancestors.

In new Castile there is more wealth and agricultural industry than in the sister province. Substantial labradores may yet be found in La Mancha, giving the best idea of that description of society, which are the yeomanry of Spain, and one of the finest races in the world. They are frank, hospitable, punctilious, and honorable in their dealings. I visited Valdepeñas which is in that province, and one of the richest parts of the country, owing to the reputation justly enjoyed by the wines. I availed myself of the offer of a young Argentine, who was well acquainted in the place, and accompanied him to see the wine vaults of a principal house. We found the whole party were gone to the house of a connexion to celebrate a marriage, and we were immediately asked to join them. As it was the country of the rich Camacho, although the fleshpots which delighted Sancho were not to be expected, I gladly accepted the invitation, and repaired to the rendezvous. There was a large assembly of persons in the patio, and inside the house; where the young people were dancing *manchegos* in a room heated to suffocation. After remaining a short time, we repaired to the deep vaults and tasted their delicious beverage, by dipping a small instrument for the purpose into the tinaxas or huge earthen jars which contain it. On emerging, we found the mistress of the house,

who had left her party, the duties of hospitality with these people taking precedence of all other considerations, and she had provided sweetmeats and other things, which we were obliged, of course, to partake. She said on our remarking the inconvenience we put her to, that it was impossible to allow any one to enter her house, without paying them the respect due, in offering them what it possessed. These people, whose children were marrying, were hale and healthy, the air being extremely pure in that part, as in most others of Castile, and their establishment had all the appearance of substantial and solid comfort and respectability.

In the Sierra Morena is the most polished and noble mannered race of peasantry perhaps in the world. They belong rather to the Estremadura caste than the Andaluz, speaking a much purer Castilian than the semi Arab inhabitants of the latter province. Their physiognomy is also quite different, and about Guadalcanal, and that neighbourhood, they have strong marks of an aboriginal race, not resembling any other I saw in Spain.

In conversational powers and skill, as well as of relish for it, the Spaniards are excelled by no people. Madame de Stael said, "Conversation, comme talent, n'existe qu'en France." She would not have used the expression, had she had the opportunity of studying the Spaniards, who possess the real talent in a much higher degree, than the descendants of the Gauls, or any other in Europe. As talent for salons, the French, no doubt, deserve the reputation they have; but as a general diffused gift, through all ranks, the Spaniards certainly excel any modern nation. The style of conversation is grave, but cheerful; very little attempt at display or exaggeration is seen, or talking above each other, which vitiates the French conversation of the day. It is rare to see any one attempt to lead, but the conversation

passes round the circle, each waiting patiently for his turn, in deep and respectful silence. The "οι δ' αρα παντες αλλη εφενοντο σιωπη," the deep impressive silence of the Greeks, is the habitual style in Spain, whilst any one is speaking. What is said is generally delivered straight and clearly, without drawing or precipitation; mindful always of the precept of Cervantes, "not to speak as if you were listening to your own voice." Numberless individuals are possessed of the dry wit which characterises that inimitable author, especially in Castile. It is habitually found in good society, and there is the keenest relish for it. Ridicule is also possessed by many, in exactly the manner of Addison, whose powers Johnson pronounced to be singular and matchless. Dry and serious sallies of this kind constantly set the company in a roar, for no people have a more thorough taste for conversational talent. Ridicule is quite as much dreaded in this country as in France, but it is of a different kind, and nothing is proof against it when well managed. Vast facility is given to conversation by the habit of using expletives and diminutives, which are even more in use than among the Italians; also in coining words or using them for a temporary and occasional purpose, which is practised with inimitable grace by very many persons. In producing effect, care is taken not to overstep the mark, otherwise the name of *charlatan* is immediately fixed. There is an extraordinary talent for giving sobriquets, or nicknames, generally done in good humour, and seldom maliciously. In this the women are great adepts, seizing any peculiarity with great quickness and tact.

Some of the ablest and best men in Spain, or in any other country, are to be found amongst the provincial nobility, who are not compelled to live in the capital, and have property and influence in their local districts. In other

ways, the want of a real middle class is seen, in all its defects, in the structure of society.

The same independent spirit which has been observed to characterise the peasantry and inferior ranks of society, extends throughout. It is the independent moral character and principles of society which have saved Spain, and preserved the national character almost untouched, amidst corruption and mismanagement, which would have ruined most others. Where society is organised as it is in the large cities, it forms a powerful counterpoise to the bad management of the government. It is one of the greatest and most common errors, in judging of this singular country, to mix up powers which are quite unconnected with each other. The theories of Chinese or other oriental writers, who imagine, as many of them do, that England is governed and the society influenced by the India Company, are just as near the truth. Neither the government nor the agents have the slightest interest, or are seen any more than if they did not belong to it, excepting that they are always treated with due respect, and the forms of attention, in making visits at proper times, sedulously attended to. The ordinary rules are of course meant, and the late system of espionage on the French plan, which is new and exotic, and will not in all probability stand, is the exception. In many respects, the situation of society with respect to the government, resembled that of England in the time of Charles the Second, and more recently. This was the great error of Napoleon, and it is to this hour that of the French, who are as utterly ignorant of a people with whom they have had such extensive dealings, as they are of that of Japan. He believed that the Prince of Peace and his followers were the Spanish people. It must however be admitted, as is inevitable, that the influ-

ence of a system of government like that we have depicted, where every bad feeling and principle is fostered and encouraged, must have its effect in corrupting parts of the mass. In general, the vermin in the public offices, who do the dirty work of the government, are so different from the rest of society in appearance, that they look like a different caste, as the inferior ones in India, or elsewhere. I have often wondered where they had found some specimens which came under my observation; it was assuredly no easy matter; like the gigantic life-guardsmen, seen occasionally in the streets of London, who, at the other end of the scale, excite surprise to know how the recruiting sergeants find them out. The government of Calomarde, in all its ramifications, had preeminent tact in this, for they had most extraordinary specimens to exhibit in their subordinate agents. The Spaniards claim, like all other nations, the reputation of good nature. Certainly they do possess it, in a degree probably unrivalled, and it is the main instrument by which the government have worked. This quality, like others, is relative, and assuredly is claimed by many who have very little title to it. In Spain, it is in daily and hourly requisition, and the machine, as it now is, could not be carried on without a very large share of it in the constitution of the people.

In a country so singular as this is, where all extremes are seen in contact, where the highest civilization and the rudest state of society are seen together, other contradictions and paradoxes are also to be observed. The national character is eminently frank and open, yet if one vice be given as a prevailing one, it is deceit and duplicity, which prevail in an extraordinary degree. This is oriental beyond all doubt, and extends from the head of the state downwards. The last interview a disgraced minister has

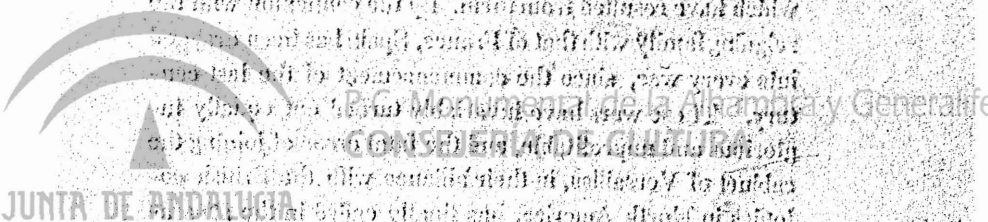
with his chief, he is generally presented with a segar from the royal mouth, the greatest act of condescension and good humour, like the pulling by the ear of Napoleon; immediately after which, on arriving at his carriage, he finds an order of suspension or banishment to a distant city; a practice entirely eastern. In like manner another prevailing vice might be said to be corruption. So universal is it, that nothing can be effected, good or evil, without it, and it would appear to extend to every class of society. Yet the national character is exactly the reverse, and innumerable instances may be found by going out of the routine of tribunals and public offices, where the most noble proofs of disinterestedness are daily to be met with.

A curious modification of the homage rendered by vice to virtue is found in the manner of administering bribes. A certain delicacy and skill are necessary to ensure their success, and in general they must be tendered, as if the party were asking a favor of the other to accept them. In general, gifts are received without many thanks being returned, a peculiarity in a people so attentive to the forms of good breeding. The reason appears to be, the feeling that giving is to a certain degree a matter of course, and a duty, and that it equally blesses the giver as the receiver, a maxim also derived from the east.

Such are the manners of Spain, as after long acquaintance and some observation, they have appeared to me, candidly and impartially. They are assuredly not those of a vicious people, although vice and corruption may be found amongst them.

In fine, in the various situations produced by the extraordinary state of government and society, of which this imperfect outline is given, the bitterest animosities are

softened, and the greatest hardships and oppression alleviated, by a kindness of feeling and of humanity, which rarely quit the people under any circumstances. In unaffected dignity, patient cheerfulness under misfortunes, and resignation to the evils of life, every nation may learn from them; and most would blush at the comparison, if they knew the manner distress is borne in this country.



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CHAPTER XIV.

Relations of France and Spain.

BEFORE we proceed to describe the present situation of Spain, it is necessary to look at the relations of France with that country, which are amongst the most singular combinations of the present times. This will be done as succinctly as possible, and with the requisite candour and impartiality, only alluding to those circumstances which are matters of history, as it is necessary to point out those which have resulted from them. By the connexion with the reigning family with that of France, Spain has been dragged into every war, since the commencement of the last century. These wars have invariably turned out equally inglorious and unprofitable, and the fatal error of joining the cabinet of Versailles, in their alliance with the British colonies in North America, has finally ended in the separation of nearly all those of the western hemisphere from the mother country. The utter failure of the attempt against the republic in 1793, and the subsequent disastrous wars with Great Britain, into which Spain was forced, against her inclination and her interests, deceived Buonaparte, who believed the Prince of Peace and his followers to be the nation at large, and by a miscalculation, founded on the narrowness of mind, which governed mankind by their vices, and made little allowance for better feelings, adding insult, which went home to every Spanish bosom, to injury, he converted a people, of whom the slightest

care or management would have ensured the faithful friendships into the most deadly and implacable foes he was destined to encounter.

No such visitation as the war of independence has fallen upon any people in modern times. The disastrous consequences are apparent to the most casual observer, wherever he may turn his examination, but their deeper results are yet to be seen. Should any good result, it can only proceed by the stimulus given during that war, which excited spirits "yet dormant in the vasty deep," and by its establishing, on the greatest scale of demonstration, the fact of the government and the people coexisting, but being in reality quite independent of each other. The mixture of grandeur, of patriotism, of courage, and of every thing which can ennoble man, with the most opposite qualities, supplied by the pages of that extraordinary period, are the proof that a people is never lost, but by its own fault. The immediate consequence has been the forcing the country down the abyss, to which she was sliding, and as yet no solid or substantial good has been derived from it.

After the return of the King in 1814, and his advisers had persuaded him to exile, or imprison, or execute many of those to whom he owed his crown, the destruction of capital, and of the vital sources of prosperity, with the annihilation of commerce, and the virtual separation of the colonies, made it impossible to go on; and the attempt was made by recalling the Cortes, to reopen the lost paths of former prosperity. By this experiment, little or nothing was gained. The sound and really patriotic views of the more moderate part were overpowered by the more violent elements set in motion by a system of democracy, equally at variance with ancient habits, or the feelings of the people. In fact, the old abuses seemed to be increased, rather than diminished, during their ephemeral reign, and it appeared

the signal to call out the bad, quite as much as the good elements of the body politic. In a country organised as Spain is, enemies were soon found to a system of innovation loudly proclaiming the cessation of ancient abuses. This powerful party however could effect nothing without foreign cooperation. The occasion was too tempting for the restless and intriguing spirits at Paris. A system of secret assistance was immediately arranged. The details are needless, and it suffices to say that of all the treachery and intrigue which have been exhibited in these days, none are, or will be, more conspicuous than those which characterised the transactions, from the time of the formation of the *cordon sanitaire* of the Pyrenees, to the crossing of the Bidassoa in 1823. After the arts of dissimulation and falsehood were exhausted, and could no longer serve any purpose, a nation of thirty millions of men, the most warlike in Europe, were told that they must attack an inoffensive and friendly people, who had been ruined by adhering to them, in obedience to the will of other powers, for a purpose equally, or even more iniquitous, than the invasion of Napoleon, who at least pretended to have in view the remodelling the institutions, and setting them to the scale of modern times. The ministers of the Bourbons could assign no other, than to arrest the progress in advance of the deplorable state of the country, which was mainly derived from their connexion and alliance. The real movers of this enterprise scarcely showed themselves. These were the party of the congregation of the Jesuits, the fanatic sect, who undertook to preach the gospel in France, professing to reconvert it from a state of paganism and idolatry they affected to consider it had fallen into, since the revolution. On the other hand, mercantile advantages were foreseen, and a commercial supremacy anticipated. The pure politicians were divided. One party only op-

posed it, not on the score of injustice, but because they expected it would fail, and were not disposed to share in the disgrace. A large portion were neuter, and took no part, awaiting the result to declare their opinion.

The expedition, which was undertaken with all the means of modern science and military talent, united with vast and profuse expenditure of means succeeded, it cannot be denied, most completely. A comparatively small army overran, almost without opposition, a country which had defied all the power of Napoleon, directed by his consummate talents. The scene in France soon changed after the surrender of Cadiz. All opposition was silenced, and every party united in doing homage to the brilliant talent and courage, supposed to have accompanied the new army, who were declared to have eclipsed the deeds of the oldest veterans of past times. Great Britain was said to have fallen from a first rate to a much inferior rank in Europe, by the success of this direct attack upon her, and the revolution and restoration to be amalgamated, and to be one and indivisible, by the reconciliation of the people and the throne by means of the army. Rewards were lavished, with the utmost profusion, at home and abroad. The capture of the Trocadero was inscribed, in the division of the Pantheon which had been reserved for the exploits of the fourth or plebeian dynasty, at Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram. The fame of a foreign prince was supposed to be consigned to posterity, by receiving the epaulettes of a grenadier of France, whilst by the imperial mover of the machinery, the hero who achieved this memorable victory, was placed in the same rank with the conquerors of Leipsig, of Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo,*

* By receiving a Russian decoration, which obliges the bearer to have commanded an army in a general action, which this service was considered equivalent to.

to be subsequently grouped with those of Adrianople and Erzerum. This is a rapid sketch of this famous expedition, in which a young and gallant army, which ought to have earned its virgin honours in a better cause, was employed to perform the work of a set of monks, with a view to finally turning their arms against their own country. The glory of it may be divided between the monks, the merchants, who availed themselves of the opportunity to introduce a commercial monopoly for the time, and the liberal or movement party, whose object was, in whatever mode, to see the restoration of the political ascendancy to their country which she had lost by the events of the last campaigns.

The consequences to both countries were equally important. It threw Spain into the state these sketches attempt to delineate; in France it operated very differently; all parties sought to turn it to their respective advantage. On the one part it roused all the sleeping elements of the past order of things, from the lethargic slumber in which they had been reposing since the peace. It in fact unchained the press, and the true policy which would have dictated the tranquil governing of France, by principles of moderation and mildness, was replaced by *coups d'état*, and the fermentation caused, which has produced the catastrophe of July. There was always a powerful and numerous party against the Bourbons, as it was natural there should; and the manner in which the restoration was effected gave a title, which was sure, at one time, to be questioned, excepting with extremely good management, which ceased in the latter days of Louis the Eighteenth, and totally disappeared in the time of his successor. This hostile party, however, like the emancipationists in Ireland, and the reformers in England, would have toiled in vain but from the assistance given them by their adversaries. The institution of Bruns-

wick Clubs caused the passing of the emancipation bill; the defence of East Retford produced Reform; and the law of sacrilege, and the disbanding the national guards, overthrew the throne of Charles the Tenth. Thus it appears, as could be easily demonstrated more in detail, that this expedition was the primary cause of the misfortunes of the elder branch of the Bourbons, as the iniquitous war of 1808 was the political and military grave of Napoleon. The result did ample justice to the clear and discerning view taken of it by Lord Liverpool, and the British cabinet, who, I have understood, used every means to dissuade the government of France from engaging in a course so fraught with danger to the peace of Europe, and promising so little real advantage to any party. The same course was taken afterwards with less success. The expedition to Algiers was intended as a masking operation for the ordonnances, as that of Spain was for the erecting the banners of the congregation and reviving the system of the ancient monarchy. In one instance there was a partial success; but in the last, for I watched very narrowly the reasonings in the leading journals, it was a complete failure, as the military mania had given way to other and more rational feelings. Then issued the swarm of military romances which have coloured the noble exploits of the French army in the wars of the revolution, in the manner of the orientals. The other party, that of the Jesuits, worked in their calling with equal zeal, in the hope to bring back the times when monks governed the world. The result has been the precipitating from the throne, which was well nigh buried in the ruins, the unhappy family, to whose connexion, the greater portion of the misfortunes of Spain, in latter times, are to be traced, and the final and utter ruin of the Jesuitical party, who considered her as their province.

The result of the occupation turned out exactly opposite

to the calculations of the projectors, and approvers. It was soon found that the councils of France were powerless in Madrid. The party who had submitted to the infamy of calling in the aid of a foreign country, had no idea of being directed by them in their internal management. The capitulations and agreements made with the invading army, by such of the Spanish generals as stood by the cause they had embraced, were disregarded, and the same party who had put down the constitution in 1814, returned to power, with greater force and energy, and with a reckless determination to govern by their own will alone. The French ambassador had less influence in Madrid than the representative of a power which had changed her system, had broken off the connexion with the great military congress, and was openly acknowledging the revolted provinces of the Americas.

Some circumstances occurred, strongly similar to those which have too frequently marked the manners of the French in foreign countries, from the time of Charles of Anjou when they produced the Sicilian vespers, up to the present time when, in our day, they have caused the people in nearly every country they occupied, to rise against them. It is a certain mode of violent dictation which is more galling to the *amour propre* than the dull *morgue* of John Bull, which is not more amiable, but is more supportable, as it recoils on himself. What was tantamount to a personal slight was passed on the King himself, in his own palace, by a French general who was quartered in it, itself not a very delicate operation. It was a trifling circumstance, but as I have been informed, the question was raised by it, whether the will and convenience of the General, or the wish of the King of Spain, respecting the time of giving the parole and countersign, should be preferred. The former decided, that the military was paramount. This

would have been indelicate and ill-judged any where, but in Castile! and to the King of Spain and the Indies!! In his own palace!!! A complaint was, however, made, and he was, I understood, immediately removed; and I believe, no further complaint was made on that score. When they had evaded the evacuation to the last moment possible, an insurrection broke out in Catalonia, which there was great reason to believe was concerted with the same party in France, which had directed the invasion of the Peninsula. On the King repairing to the capital of the province, to quell this disturbance, he was actually refused admittance into his own city, by a foreign officer, holding it only, as they said, for his protection, but on conditions as if he were entering a fortress of France. The place is, as before described, completely commanded by two citadels, both of which the French held, and were not I believe asked or expected to give up. The general commanding, absolutely, as I have been informed, stipulated, that the King of Spain should only enter his own fortress, with a subaltern's guard, and that no greater force should be admitted. This was quite out of the question, and he actually, by the advice of his officers, withdrew to Tarragona, leaving the capital in possession of his protectors, who were soon afterwards, by those circumstances, and the energetic remonstrances and high tone of Mr. Canning, compelled to withdraw. What the real intentions of the cabinet of the Tuileries were, is unknown, but it is beyond all doubt they were very different from this termination. Reports were made of the expence of repairing and adding to the works of Cadiz, with a view to long possession. It is more than probable the secret view was, the indemnification of expences the Spanish government could not reimburse, by the cession of some colonial possession. The change in the British cabinet ended these visions, and the impossibility of either retreating with credit, or of extricat-

ing themselves from a dilemma, the consequence of rashly engaging in an unjustifiable and impolitic enterprise, caused the expressions of the celebrated speech of the most eloquent man of those days, who described the situation of the French cabinet, as one of "unpalliated and unmitigated evil." The results were their immediate retreat without advantage to any one but the party who lately governed Spain, with the final overthrow of the dynasty of the Bourbons and of the congregation who were the principal instigators and movers of this invasion, and the dispersion, never again to meet, of the holy alliance. The commercial advantages resulting from this expedition have not been greater than the others. In fact, they annihilated the sources of commerce, besides the mass of misery and distress, in other respects, inflicted by the invasion. One curious arrangement was made. In order to complete the "protective system," they enacted a navigation law in Spain, going even beyond the old adage of the stable, for the horse was not only gone, but the stable itself destroyed. The French made it a stipulation of the treaty, that they should be put on the footing of the natives, as to the *cabotage*, or coasting trade, which was actually like pilfering the rags of a beggar. In fine, the expedition was a complete failure. France was involved in financial difficulty by it, from which she has never recovered. The hopes of political and military domination and commercial supremacy, have entirely failed in answering the expectations from them; and a memorable lesson has been given to the world, of the impolicy of such attempts. The political influence of England at Madrid, has never been at all powerful, excepting in the time of Mr. Canning. The same reasoning exactly applied to that, as to many other subjects connected with this country. Like the governments of the north of Africa, they did not really respect any one

whom they did not fear. During most of the time these observations were made, our influence was at zero. The reason of this was, that the administration our minister represented, was united with that of Spain in general principles, and they had nothing to fear. Latterly, after the revolution of July, the French had considerable power from the dread they were in of that country. Of course this does not prevent the exchange of courtesy and civility, which they lavish on every one. I doubt very much whether, excepting from the motive of fear of consequences, or the absolute necessity of support, which bound them to the holy alliance; any foreign government has influence in this singular country. None of the diplomacy, when I was in Spain, and had ample means of hearing, were ever spoken of by any party, as exercising power. The mode of living, the habits of Madrid, which are entirely diplomatic, and enable any intrigue to be detected in a moment, by people whose whole time is spent in it, and excel, in talent for it, all the nations of Europe, not excepting the Russians: the total want of real argument from those who have neither interest, nor commerce, nor character, nor any one thing in common with them, which is the case with the great military powers; must neutralize their efforts to direct such a government as that we have delineated.

Some of the views of the last invasion may be gathered from what took place in the fortresses; they demolished the fort of Pancorbo, the only defence on the direct route from Bayonne to Madrid. They emptied every arsenal of its brass cannon, leaving not a sufficiency for the ordinary defence of the place. Some of these guns were taken, as it was said, to defray the expence of the sieges. Others were claimed as their own property, having been left in the war of independence, and having, in fact, as they said, never ceased to be French. When a

protest was made at Cadiz against the illegal and unjust seizure of a large quantity, an order was procured from the King, making them a present to his brother of France. The iron guns and shot were required as ballast for the transports. They employed a set of military officers, some of whom were still in Spain when I left it; to make regular surveys of the whole country as far as Madrid, including the communications with Valencia by Cuenca, and the Sierra of that name. Two years were devoted to making a detailed plan of Jaca, a small frontier place in Aragon, with every thing necessary to besiege it. The officers employed on these services were forwarded at the public expence by requisition, and were rewarded by Spanish orders and decorations, whilst native officers, infinitely better qualified to do it, were unemployed, or languishing in exile, and a decent map of any part, even of the country round the gates of the capital cannot be found.*

The influence of the French at Madrid was so small, that I think it was only in 1830 they succeeded in obtaining the commencement of the repayment of the money expended in the expedition. It is very much to be regretted that money, literally wrung from the ruined proprietors of Spain, should continue to be claimed by France, for a service they ought to feel anything but exultation at having performed. The reasoning of a free people on receiving tribute from such a source, resembles that of the Roman Emperor, that the money is good, from

* It may be necessary to observe, that the splendid maps of the country as far as Madrid, including the Pyrenees and Catalonia, published by the war department at Paris, are not at all to be depended on for accuracy; many parts being merely founded on old surveys, and the engraving being the best part of them. The materials collected by the officers in question are at Paris, but duplicates were, I understood, lodged at Madrid.

whatever source it be derived, and they certainly ought to renounce this tax from a friendly people, on whom their alliance and system directly or indirectly, have entailed so many misfortunes.

The government which succeeded this invasion was, to use the expression, the incarnation of absolute power. The royal name was a mere *nom de guerre*, and the authority of the King little more than nominal. Another principle in reality governed: the condensed, concentrated essence of the maintenance of corporate and organised power, the head being the church, and the sole object, the support of ancient abuse against change, or innovation, or improvement. Every act of the short time of the Cortes, good or bad, was reversed. The time itself was voted a "dies non" in the history of the monarchy, and I believe every document relating to it ordered to be destroyed, in the vain and useless hope of effecting the oblivion of its existence. Calomarde, the chief who directed the machine, was a man without real talent or elevation of mind, but he possessed the power of steering amid the intrigues of parties at Madrid to a consummate degree; had great firmness, a considerable degree of moderation, and that inflexible and inexorable mind necessary to manage the power he wielded. As his power rested on foreign influence and assistance, and depended on the banishment or exclusion from office of nearly every man of talent in the country; and as he existed only by sufferance, every independent and intelligent man looking on such a ministry as a national opprobrium and disgrace; his task was sufficiently difficult. He was surrounded, and at every audience of his sovereign, was obliged to see people in crowds, whom he knew to be hostile to his government, and indignant at his holding it. The plan, mentioned elsewhere, was resorted to; the favourite system in Spain. The two parties

were run against each other. The national guards which included all the constitutional party, Grandees of Spain being enrolled in them, were disbanded; and the rabble, called the realistas, armed in their place. Between these powers, between those desirous of change and reformation, and those who were urging him to vengeance, crying to be let loose on their opponents, and considered the system of government as lukewarm and disloyal, he steered his course in comparative security. He stood in fact at Madrid, like an enchanter amongst his familiar spirits, who were barely under his controul, and at every instant were ready to rebel, and annihilate or devour him.

In this state things were at the revolution of July. The domination of that party was then struck at the root. The mortal blow was given. Like the bull in the plaza, who has received the *estocada*, a show of vigour remained, and some antagonists might yet be struck down, but their inevitable doom was sealed, and in patience, the calm and reflecting people of Spain looked forward to the certain fall of this detested administration. Of the two hostile parties, no doubt the great danger was from the apostolical or ultra party. They were armed and powerfully supported near the throne. The risk was their violence causing reaction and civil war, and the cooperation of the French. Accordingly every man in office, who was not of consummate prudence, was removed. The difficulty was to chuse between violence and imbecility, the two endemics of the party. Ever and anon the hive at Madrid became too hot; and a partial swarming, or expulsion of the more stirring part of the intriguers, was necessary, who were banished to the provinces, and the equilibrium restored.

Amongst the peculiarities in Spain, is the transmission of news, which is carried with a rapidity quite extraordinary. Although no foreign paper was permitted, and the

Gazette contained nothing of importance, until some time after it had happened; in no country in Europe were the heads of information sooner to be obtained. I happened to visit the Puerto de Benasque, in the high Pyrenees, a very few days after the insurrection of Paris. Whilst I was there, a man arrived from Zaragoza. I enquired whether he had heard any news from Paris. He said yes, they had known every thing which had happened some days ago. I was subsequently informed of the revolt at Brussels, whilst in a remote southern town, a great distance from the capital, ten days after it had happened. The Gazette, which was drawn up with so much care that it was frequently reprinted more than once before it was issued, and which the monkish directors of it believed led public opinion; had so little credit, that not only its assertions were disregarded, but were often read for the purpose of being disbelieved, and taken in the opposite sense, or turned into ridicule, whilst all deficiencies or omissions were interpreted in the same manner.* For a very short time, the publication of the transactions at Paris was withheld, when yielding to dire necessity, they determined to give regular abstracts of the events there. The system of writing was curious, and sufficiently showed the real footing of the government, and the feeling in Spain. No defence was ever made, or attempted, of the ordinances, and the public were spared the reading the miserable twaddle of some of our papers on these subjects, which made these unfortunate occurrences worse than they otherwise were, by endeavouring to support what was indefensible.

Immediately after the revolution of July was completed,

* I have very often witnessed the amusing sight of the analysis of the Gazeta, when any news of importance was expected. It frequently happened to them, as to others, that even when speaking the truth they were not believed.

the party, into whose hands the government had fallen, sent, in their official or ministerial situation, a demand of recognition of the new order of things, whilst, in their capacity of merchants and loan jobbers, they collected all the hands of banished Spaniards who could be prevailed on to join them, and sent them at their own expence to the frontiers, for the avowed purpose of overturning the very government whose friendship they were professing to court. The failure of their attempts to invade Spain is well known. Very fortunately it happened so, for torrents of blood would have flowed to no purpose, had they momentarily succeeded. They certainly had no want of well wishers in all parts, but the Spaniards had rather too much experience and sagacity to compromise themselves generally in so doubtful a cause, where the parties were in some respects nearly equal, but where the material and power were all on one side, and in the hands of those whose inexorable and relentless determination where their existence depended on it, were so well known. Those attempts could not be expected to produce any other results than as it happened. A few hundred adventurers could not be expected to move an edifice like the monarchy of Spain, whose passive *vis inertiae* alone was proof against these puny attempts. One remarkable fact occurred, which was before alluded to.

I was in Spain at this eventful period, and had full means of knowing every thing which passed. It cannot be denied that the Spanish government during this crisis was conducted with a firmness suited to the head of a great monarchy, although very far from admiring the principle on which they ruled. The most strict orders were given to all officers, especially the police, to be watchful at their posts, but the ordinary course of the laws was not interrupted. A most severe and sanguinary decree was issued against those who should disturb the public tranquillity, or

threaten the subversion of the order of things existing. The dreadful threat was held out to the liberal party, that the government kept the balance between the two factions, and that they had only to unloose the hands of their opponents, to annihilate them. This was so far true, that the one party was disarmed and the other in arms in most places, and quite ready to fall on; being composed of just the description of persons who would have obeyed such a mandate. Desirous as the people were of a change, their good sense prevented many of them engaging in so desperate a cause and the decree remained nearly inoperative. An exception occurred at Granada, where the horrible spectacle was exhibited of a young and beautiful woman, the widow of a brigadier, perishing on the scaffold, for only the alleged crime of having tricoloured flags in her possession. The sentence against this person was sent to Madrid and thence ordered after mature examination, to be carried into immediate effect. What passed in the council on this occasion cannot be known; but it may have been urged, that in the eye of the law all were equal, and that there was no distinction of sex; that it was too well known that in many parts of the country the women were avowed liberals and in hostility to the existing order of things; that every means had been tried in vain to reclaim them, that seclusion in convents and holy vigils and exhortations had produced so little effect, that they came out if possible more perverse than they entered; and that the salutary discipline which in other cases effected so much good was in this unavailing, as they even seemed to glory in their shame. That reports had reached from some provinces of their examining the political sentiments of the men; who had little chance of smiles or favours unless they were of the mode of thinking so much deprecated by the faithful friends and supporters of the monarchy. That instances constantly occurred of men

renouncing their errors, and returning to the right path, but that no example was known of the conversion of a woman.

It might have been remarked, in answer to this general charge against the sex, that if in some parts the liberals were more numerous, that in Castile, those of the opposite mode of thinking were not deficient, and that in zeal for the cause they espoused, they fully equalled their rivals.

However that may have been, the dreadful order was carried into execution. The unfortunate victim met her fate with the heroic courage which at all times has distinguished the Spanish fair. Neither threats, entreaties, or promises could induce her to inculcate a single person. The same firmness was shown by her female attendant, who was sentenced to imprisonment for two years as accessory. The only favour she asked was, to be allowed to die in her own apparel, and to be excused wearing the robe appropriated to criminals. This was denied, but they shortened the period of this part of the ceremony. This spectacle, the most horrid which had been witnessed at Granada since the burning of the Moriscos in the early part of last century, was seen by very few persons, excepting the description who are always attendants on such occasions. Horror at a display equally barbarous as impolitic and unnecessary, overpowered the feelings of curiosity in both enemies and friends of the government, and the upper classes of society left the town or remained in their houses all day, during this political auto-da-fé.

The tragedy at Malaga, a few months afterwards, is described under the head of Military, to which it belongs. A few other examples occurred of the inexorable manner in which the decrees were carried into execution. Two men were surprised at Madrid in the act of writing a letter to Mina; one of them, an officer of engineers, a man of great talent, heard the noise of the police entering, and calling

to his companion to follow him, leapt out of a window. When he reached the ground, an officer happened to be passing who drew his sword, and offered to detain him; the other, with admirable presence of mind, said: "I have been surprised in a love affair, let me pass, for they are following me." This was instantly granted, and he made his escape out of the country. The other was found secreted under a bed. The letter was on the table, neither having thought of destroying it. The difficulty was to prove the writing, which they at last procured witnesses to swear to, and he was executed. Some few other instances occurred, but all the effect they had, was to disgust the public; not a man or woman was converted by them in any part of the kingdom.

RECENT CHANGES.

THE rebellion which has broken out subsequently is too well known to require much detail or description. There are circumstances connected with it, sufficiently curious. The first is, that the free provinces should be the only real supporters of it. The reason of this, is the influence of the clergy, who are entirely mixed with the people in that part of Spain, and in fact are established in almost every house, where they are part and parcel of the society, and their yoke in no way onerous or oppressive. This will be seen on referring to the description of these provinces and Navarre. In that of Bilbao, the Franciscan convent is mentioned. These monks headed the whole insurrection, and their influence over the lower orders as there stated, enabled them to give the start, which was so quickly followed by the rest of the peasantry. The strength of the country, the fact of the arms being in possession of the

Carlist party under the denomination of realistas, and that the others were nearly unarmed; the government having no troops in the country, from prescriptive custom, and the slow and dilatory movements of the army sent against them, are quite sufficient to account for the rapid progress and the formidable appearance of the revolt at one time. The other reason is the constant fear or jealousy of the government of Castile about the fueros, which keep the whole population of the provinces on the *qui vive* and ready to turn out in a moment, at any time, whilst the existence of that feeling makes them independent and fearless of the general government. There can be no doubt to any one acquainted with those provinces, although I have seen no one, or heard directly from them, that the priests have worked on the people by the fear of the suspension of the fueros, and the imprudent manifesto of General Castagnon must have rather increased this feeling. The general result of the insurrection is exactly what every one would anticipate who thoroughly knows Spain, and the organisation of parties. With the exception of these provinces, no real stand has been made any where in support of a cause many people believe is the popular one in Spain. The reasons are these. The insurrection in favour of Carlos was a complete rebellion, and of really high treason in the state of the law. The moral weight of Spain was transferred to the Infanta, by the celebrated act of last June. The party who support the Queen are not a mere faction, but it comprises every man of talent or information, almost without an exception, in Spain. Nearly all the nobility. All the military men of rank and station, and nearly all the others. Every man and woman in the country who is *at par*, and all above it. In fact almost every one who can read or write, no inconsiderable number even of the clergy and amongst the constituted bodies. In short, all the *mind* of

Spain is arrayed in favor of the present government, not because it was the *will* or *interest* of the late King to change the succession, but because it is the real law of the country, and that it is a question of good or bad government. The solemn act by which they swore to support the Princess, is sufficient to insure the stability of attachment of people, who are not given to turn round and forswear at every instant, as in some countries.

So widely spread is the feeling in favour of the change of system, that of a most extended acquaintance I had through the country, in every station of life, from the highest downwards, of every profession and calling, I should be puzzled now to point out a single male or female who was a Carlist. The opinions of the situation of the monks, who in France especially, are considered to direct the people and change the government at will, are utterly erroneous. It will be seen in the chapter on the Clergy, what their influence is. Their position is inversely as it is in France. The war of independence was not a war of monks or fanaticism, although monks and fanatics assisted in it. It was a war of national honor, in which the monks seconded the people; their interests and feelings being one and inseparable. By their own folly and the mistaken policy of those who have governed Spain since the invasion of 1823, their influence is gone. The talisman is lost; they may cry "Wolf," no one now will second them. So far is this the case that I am confident whenever the government resolve to suppress the convents, by taking proper precautions, it will be effected without trouble, and that they will fall without a struggle. The surrender of the constitution in 1820 is no argument. Things were then very different. The acts of the Cortes had disgusted almost every one but the low democratic party, and the organisa-

tion against them was too strong in the country, to admit of resistance to an army of 100,000 men, who were thrown into the balance. The capitulations and expectations of better times and of a moderate system of government, neutralised the exertions of very many. The administration of Calomarde completely dissipated these illusions, and it would be very difficult now to organise the same system. The manner in which that government was managed; its support depending on the exclusion of every man of talent, excepting one or two who were employed from the fears of the consequences of the acts of their own followers, are sufficient proof that even with the Carlist government of France to support them, they could scarcely hold their ground. How can it be supposed, now that the incubus is removed, they will be desirous of again replacing it? The situation and prospects of Spain are certainly better than they have been at any period in modern times. The cessation of the selfish and unnatural contest in Portugal in favour of the rightful and legitimate heir, with the amelioration of government in that country, and the removal of Don Carlos; the support and alliance of France and England, with the accession to power of the party who alone can regenerate the country, are events which, a very short time since, would scarcely have been anticipated. At the time I left Spain, in August 1832, the feeling through society was universal that the government of the day must fall; but little idea was held that relief was so near at hand, and through such extraordinary and providential means. The history of these latter times would seem to verify the remark of the monk Flores, the historian, that disorder in the chief of the state frequently extends through all the members of it, as those of the head of man through all his frame. In this instance it is true, but in-

versely: for good, and not for evil. An event of itself of little importance, the succession of a child, is a question of regeneration, or retention of slavery and degradation to a magnificent country.

The changes which are known to have taken place in the administration of the government; are the act respecting *maestrazgos*, or entails, which was commenced by the Cortes, and is imperiously called for; the division of the kingdom into departments, in the manner of France, which promises to be of great advantage; and, finally, a reformation, amounting to emancipation of the press, and the subjecting it to a regular and rational law. As a proof how little the late system was suited to the state of the people, I have seen an account, that instead of the miserable Gazette, the only one permitted for all Spain, there are now nearly twenty in Madrid alone. The police is ordered to be reorganised, and it is to be hoped that a system any thing but Spanish will be abolished, excepting as far as prudence makes it necessary in the present state of political party until the disturbances cease. Nothing has yet been done respecting the finances, the most difficult of all the subjects to arrange. Most patriotic offers are admitted to have been made by the great jobbers before mentioned, who offer their fortunes as gifts, in the manner known on the north borders, where offers of *giving* have been understood to mean five per cent interest, on the sums thus liberally bestowed. The money thus generously tendered to relieve the necessities of the Spanish finances, should have been in the treasury, from which it has been wrested by the operations before mentioned. The motto of the new government should be "*Timeo Catalanos et dona ferentes.*" They must at whatever cost get rid of Riera and all his establishment, and put the general commerce on a better footing, if the intention be really to regenerate Spain. The

tobacco system is ordered to be examined, and no doubt many salutary measures will shortly follow.

It will be observed by those who have attended to Spanish affairs the immense power exercised by the Captains general for the last few months. It could not be otherwise, and it must continue to be so. The principle is highly objectionable, no doubt, but it is a part of the inheritances of former misrule, which by acting against the feelings of the wiser and more enlightened part of the people has subverted the ordinary law, and converted the management of government into a mere *brutum fulmen*.

A strange event has taken place in the late transactions. In the former part of these sketches the priestly power which directed the government is pointed out. This power prescribed the dreadful and most illegal processes, under which Torrijos was shot and the other executions took place. The monkish power which presided in these ordinances was proved, if any doubt existed on the subject, by the particular instructions given, that in every instance of execution the means of confession were to be provided! Like the bull of Phalaris, the lot has fallen on the inventors of this system, which is quite contrary to the law of Spain. For the first time the priests and monks who have caused so many executions, have felt the dreadful power of the law themselves. At the head of many others who have paid the penalty of their own law, is a canon or prebendary of Burgos, who was taken in arms. The provinces of Spain during these transactions have borne out the estimate given of them. In Andalusia no move whatever has been made, nor on any of the parts where commerce and industry are most general. The Catalans have nobly redeemed the disgrace of the war of the *agraviados*, or the monkish insurrection of 1828. In the interior they could effect nothing. The priests had completely defeated

their own purpose in old Castile. The spectres which the cities and towns represent, could furnish no force capable of doing any thing, and the command devolving on General Quesada, the former Captain general of Andalusia, no chance was left to them. As these personages are historical, the Captain general of Catalonia, who has played so distinguished a part, was the Viceroy of Navarre, mentioned in the account of Pamplona.

An idea has gone forth that Don Carlos was more popular than the late King during his life time. Having had certainly better opportunities of knowing than the writer of that opinion, I have no hesitation in saying that I am convinced he was mistaken. I believe that he had taken one Infante for the other. Don Carlos seldom walked or mixed with the public. However, admitting it to be so, the Carlist party were assembled and concentrated at Madrid, and it would prove nothing as to his popularity through the country. I can safely say, that to the better part of society throughout Spain he was an object of any thing but popular feeling; not personally, because I believe he was a respectable man, but from the system of government with which he was connected. At present he is a mere man of straw. It is the *principle* he represents, that by which the late government was conducted, which gives him his value. As to the mere popular respect shown, this notice of it was only founded on the hasty and superficial view inseparable from travelling quickly through a country, which causes many more serious errors. In a nation of gentlemen, as the Spaniards are, where the respect due to every one is paid with an attention unknown in any other, it would be rather extraordinary if the first prince of the blood did not receive his due proportion. The late King was, if any one of the family could be said to be, more respected personally, than any of them. His reign

was certainly a calamitous one, and many acts authorised by him, will reflect very little honour on his memory hereafter; but I never heard but one opinion, that as an individual he was naturally a good man. He was certainly very amiable in his converse with those who had to do with him. His conversation was not always in the best style, as his forte was understood to be *slang*, of the style of bull fighters and others, but in that taste, he is not singular in his rank, and his hits sometimes were acknowledged to be excellent. His greatest fault was versatility and unsteadiness to his principles or plans, a fatal error in an absolute monarch, in the critical circumstances he was so often placed. He was generally understood to be any thing but bigotted in religion. How it happened that he died a heretic, I am ignorant, but there is strong reason to believe that the charge of it, has proceeded from the intricate connexion of spirituals and temporalities on the part of the priests, whom his last acts rather injured in perspective.

On the death of Ferdinand, the arrangements he had made to secure the inheritance to his daughter were sound and excellent. One curious circumstance there took place so like many others which occur in this country. It was found that a leading member of the regency, was a nobleman certainly the best qualified in every way for this difficult task, who was almost under proscription by the government of Calomarde, by whom he was nominated.

The important act of succession, was altered in 1830, immediately on the declaration of the pregnancy of the Queen, the fourth wife of the last King of Spain. It is unnecessary to go into detail on this subject; but as considerable misapprehensions are abroad respecting it, a few observations are necessary to place it in a clear light. The Salic law, or custom, as is well known, is French, and not Spanish; having been imported there by the Bourbons, after the war

of succession, which established the family compact. The attachment of the French to this law is like many other circumstances in history, proving the disposition of nations as well as individuals, to cling to names rather than things. If any lecturer on history had to demonstrate the utter folly of such a law amongst civilized nations, he must, to give effect to his discourse, select France as the most striking example, and he could very soon prove, both the inutility and the prejudice from it, by the tendency of women to govern indirectly and even prejudicially, where they are excluded from a due share of power. In Spain or in England no such prejudice exists. We will not deny the right of the Bourbons to carry their law with them, but we strongly must, the considering such importation of foreign law as binding for ever on the Spanish nation, to whom it does not belong. It is quite clear that the same power which brought it in, was capable of revoking it, and steps were already taken before the revolution for the purpose by Charles the Fourth, when circumstances and the health of the late King made it no longer necessary. If any doubt on the subject remains, we can solve it in England. The House of Hanover did not bring their law or custom with them, but adopted that of their new country, as the Bourbons, strictly speaking, ought to have done. Had it happened otherwise, had an alteration been made in the English law to suit the prejudices of the new dynasty, would any one contend that such innovation was to bind us for ever? The very principle on which it was introduced, that of making the will of the chief of the government, the law of the monarchy, equally applies to the removal of it; and the sanction of the Cortes makes it doubly, as it now is, the real law of Spain.

This Salic law, then, can only be considered as a temporary innovation. To the men of Burgos or those of Toledo,

whose traditions are carried back to past ages and the early history of the monarchy, the three or four generations which have elapsed since its introduction are as nought, and it may be compared to the *hojarascas* and frippery of modern gilding and decoration in the cathedrals, in proportion to the stately edifices themselves; requiring about the same degree of veneration as those unseemly interpolations. During the time I was in Spain, when I heard every sort of discussion and opinion, no one was ever started as to the power of making this alteration. Most fortunately, every thing which has taken place since was foreseen by the serious and reflecting part of the leading men in Spain, whose situation secured them access to the King, although they were barely tolerated by his government. It was most wisely and happily determined to convene the Cortes of the kingdom, in order to give this royal decree the force of law. This was done last June, whilst all the parties were in health, with the utmost solemnity, and in the style of ancient times, the customs of 1300 being carefully resumed.* This act, the most solemn which has taken place for a long period, was scarcely concluded, when the King was taken ill, and received the extreme unction, being in fact believed and reported to be dead. Then ensued a scene, such as the Greek tragedians would have selected for the stage, or as Shakspeare would have gone to Bohemia, or some barbarous and almost unknown country, to dig out, to convert into a drama. The minister who, if he did not actually counsel these things, which it is most probable he did, at least swore to stand by them, and was responsible to God and his country for every thing which might result from a course of treachery and falsehood, unparalleled in modern history. This man,

* A curious dispute of precedency between the deputies of Burgos and Toledo, which dates, I believe, from that time.

taking advantage of the incapacity, and in fact *death*, as it was mentally, of the King, procured his signature to an act, revoking the deed by which the succession was secured to his daughter. This proceeding speaks for itself. It could not be supposed in human nature, that Ferdinand would commit such an act with the possession of his mental faculties, depriving his own children of their succession, and entailing civil war on the country. In the next place, his doing so was illegal. He could not revoke a law by his own deed, which had been just solemnly passed by the Cortes, had he even wished to do it; and if this miserable conspiracy had succeeded, the Captains general and all other authorities were justified in considering Don Carlos as an usurper and a rebel. Providence, however, directed it otherwise; one of those circumstances, which change the fate of nations, occurred on this occasion. The King recovered, and was of course soon informed of the act he had committed. The result was clear. The traitor avoided the fate he so well deserved, by escaping from the country, of whose history his domination will for ever remain the opprobrium. The immediate change which took place was a prodigious relief to Spain. The worst and most offensive parts of the system were changed. The Captains general were in general removed, and men of the first talents of the moderate party appointed in their places, and an immediate reform of most of the more flagrant abuses commenced.

The important question respecting the balance of Europe, which is materially affected by the present situation of Spain, requires a few additional observations. After the revolution of July, the Paris journals of the *mouvement* and revolutionary propaganda held these words: "Avec 30,000 troupes l'Espagne est à nous." *They were perfectly right.* A less force by one third would have sent Calomarde and