

all his party, clerical and laical, to Cadiz. In fact they would have met with no opposition, excepting from the peasants of Navarre; the first battle would have ended the struggle, especially if the minister of war had commanded the army. So utterly ignorant were the people employed at Madrid, that the opinion of a person in office was circulated and ridiculed through Spain, who held that a Spanish army might replace Charles the Tenth on the throne! So entirely disgusted were the people in general with the government, that although possessing patriotism equal or superior to that of most countries, I am quite sure that they would have looked on "siccis oculis," and let the monks deliver the country as they could, from the disgrace they had brought upon it.

Leaving all sentiment and attachment to the country out of the question, and putting it merely as a question of *business* and of political interest to Great Britain and other powers who are desirous of maintaining the peace and tranquillity of Europe, it is evident, that as far as this country is concerned there is only one way of effecting it; that is, of leaving the Spaniards to establish the government they chuse, themselves. As to going back to the old order of things, it is impossible. It is like reenacting the penal laws in Ireland; or conjuring up the ghosts of the Stuarts to govern England. The thing is now out of the question. Zea has failed, by attempting to hold a balance, which must now lean to the opposite side. If Don Carlos succeeded, he could only govern by the garrote and military law, as Calomarde did; and on the first movement in France, a small army would suffice to shake his throne to pieces. There is no more abstract attachment to dynasty or to sovereign in Spain than elsewhere. There is a strong feeling of love of order and tranquillity, and the enlightened part of the people expect, and in all probability will have, free institutions,

as in the times of their ancestors. The present government have only to complete the armament of the national guards, and they will be safe from every thing internally. I have not the smallest doubt, that, with prudence and firmness, even the church will come over to the feeling so universal in society, that a reform in the government must take place.

The greatest danger to the present order of things, is undoubtedly to be apprehended from the desperate efforts of some parties very near the throne, who, if general opinion be correct, are capable of forwarding or abetting any scheme which would alter the succession. There is a recent instance of this spirit, in a woman cursing her own offspring or something very like it, because his views on these subjects differed from her own, and in the name of religion! In this instance, as in others, in countries besides Spain, religion would seem to be merely the cloke for ambition and vindictive feelings, and tends to harden the mind, under the influence of these impressions, rather than soften it, as its true effect ought to be. It acts as the vinous fermentation, which, if not stopped in time, converts the liquid to vinegar. This appears to be the foundation of the system of inquisitors and others, who have made a religion of peace and good will, an instrument of vengeance and persecution.

The question of Portugal is so entirely mixed up with that of Spain, and by the curious coincidences so exactly parallel to each other, the prospects of both countries as to good or bad government depending on the success or non success of two selfish usurpers, that it must be introduced, in order to have a general idea of the state of the Peninsula. An elaborate article has lately been put forth in a leading periodical journal, which appears to be a paraphrase of an official manifesto of Don Miguel, published just as Don Pedro was expected to land in Portugal. I was

in Spain at that time, and was present when it was discussed in a circle of Spaniards very well qualified to judge of it. It was immediately and unanimously pronounced to be the work of some *escribano* or *avogado*, accustomed to *points* and to lead away the attention of his auditory from the real *ad hominem* bearing of the question; and the opinion was, that Don Pedro would finally succeed, not because he carried a constitution, but because he had the better title of the two, and that with him was the real heir of the monarchy.

The article alluded to is, in fact, a mere jingle of words without meaning. The question is argued as if it concerned the *two brothers only*. If any one will take the trouble of looking into the *Revolutions de Portugal*, of Vértot, they will see an abstract of the law of succession in that country, as it was fixed at the commencement of last century. Brazil was not a *foreign country* when the transactions which have led to these discussions commenced, but was as much a part of the monarchy as Lisbon or Oporto. Don Pedro had undoubtedly a right, at any time, either to abdicate the throne himself, or, by accepting that of a foreign country, to vacate it, as imperatively required by the law; but either of these acts are *personal*, and do not or cannot be construed to invalidate the title of his daughter, or heir, to whom, in such cases, the crown is secured; and of which there exist no legal means of depriving her, even supposing it to be admitted that Brazil is *now* a separate and independent country.

Supposing that in the war with Napoleon, the royal family of England had been obliged to emigrate to Canada or Jamaica, and had chosen to remain there for some time after the necessity for doing so had ceased; and that the late King, for instance, had preferred residing there, to returning to Europe, and that in course of time, the colony

had declared itself independent ; would these circumstances have destroyed the claim of his daughter, if she was living, to the succession of her ancestors in England? Even supposing, for the sake of argument, one of the royal Dukes had taken advantage of the time, and obtained possession of the government, causing or procuring himself to be called King? This is, as nearly as possible, similar to the case in question.

The possession of the government for five years, every office being filled with his adherents ; the support of the clergy who are more powerful in Portugal than in Spain, because the peasantry are further behind in civilization ; the holding all the resources of the country, with a well formed and disciplined army ; and the known and avowed support of a powerful party in England, to which country all parties look as their natural ally and protectress, are quite sufficient to account for the stand Don Miguel has made, and are circumstances quite independent of, and no way connected with, his right to the crown. An imprudent act of the French government, beyond all doubt, strengthened his cause, quite unintentionally. The attack on Lisbon, by which the forces of a powerful country were employed to avenge the punishment of an outrage, which would have subjected a Portuguese in France to severe and exemplary punishment. Apparently this expedition was like that of Ancona, being concerted in the hope the populace would rise and revolutionize the government. In both instances they were failures and strengthened the hands of those whom they were intended to weaken. In that of Lisbon it was " reasons on compulsion." No people could be expected to brook the insulting their altars, although *force majeure* might be employed to compel submission.

Both these countries, so interesting in themselves, are

infinitely more so to Great Britain. In them our brightest laurels by sea and land have been obtained, and with the Peninsula are associated the most pure and bright, as well as most durable and imperishable, glories of the British name. To the inhabitants of them we are mainly indebted for the glorious termination of the late war. We are bound, morally and politically, not to perpetuate their slavery and degradation; but to assist them in shaking off the incubus which has weighed them down, and enable them to rise and assume the rank and station they are entitled to amongst the nations of the earth. We have seen that in the late state of Spain, she had not a shadow of independence. This great national object can only be obtained, not by interference, but by preventing the undue interference of others, and leaving the people to reform their institutions themselves. How should we like to have a government causing the monarch from his throne to announce, that the rabble of St. Giles's was armed and only waited the signal to fall on and massacre all who were opposed to their system of rule? Yet our ideas do not differ in the slightest degree from those of the leading Spaniards; and neither rank, nor class, nor individuals in England or elsewhere, are superior to the men who lead society in Spain, and have now rallied to the throne of the infant Queen, in the confident expectation of seeing the regeneration of their country. It may be hoped, that very shortly they will announce from Madrid, in the phrase of Calomarde: "Toda la Peninsula goza de incomparable tranquilidad," with the addition, *con libertad*.

END OF VOL. I.

ERRATUM.—Page 195, line 22, for *professes* read *possesses*.